

WARWICK AND WAVRIN

Two case studies on the literary background and propaganda of
Anglo-Burgundian relations in the Yorkist period

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PhD thesis

2002



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I. The reputation of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in the Burgundian Low Countries from c.1450 to 1471.

II. The work and anglophilia of Jean de Wavrin (1400-c.1475).

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Abstract

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part studies the reputation of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the Kingmaker, in the Burgundian Low Countries from c. 1450 to 1471 as far as it can be gleaned from literary, non-archival sources. Warwick's decision to support the Lancastrian claim to the throne again in 1469, his military alliance with Louis XI of France and his seizure of power in England in 1470 made him a dangerous and fascinating figure to the subjects of the Valois dukes of Burgundy. The Anglo-French alliance that he embodied threatened the very existence of the Burgundian 'state', and particularly in the Low Countries Warwick's name was intensely feared and hated. Burgundian authors voiced this hatred each in their own way, both in prose and verse, until his death took away their fear as suddenly as it had struck. The foibles of various chroniclers are revealed by their image of the English earl, but it is interesting to see that general national or 'racial' prejudices against the English played little part in their judgment. The many poems about Warwick written at the time, both popular and 'courtly', present an interesting sample of such 'cycles' of political verse, which were not unusual at the time, triggered by events that stirred people's positive and negative emotions. In this case the poems show what, on the one hand, ordinary, literate people and, on the other, the nobility at the ducal court thought about the earl and the spectre of war and destruction that he released. The poems, too, suggest that in the Low Countries there was not much national or racial prejudice against the English.

The second part of this thesis attempts to evaluate the sources and method used by Jean de Wavrin in his 'Collection of Histories of England', and at the same time establish what his feelings – and those of his friends and relations – were about England and the English. In his work, too, there is little sign of prejudice, but more importantly Wavrin's history of England is particularly interesting because of his access to otherwise unknown contemporary sources and it deserves closer study than the preliminary researches presented here. It is hoped that, at the least, the value of and the need for further and fuller analysis of all his sources and the way he used them become evident in this study.

The general preliminary conclusion of this very partial study of the literary background and propaganda of Anglo-Burgundian relations in the Yorkist period is that there was much interest in English affairs at the Burgundian court and in the Low Countries, but little prejudice against the English people. Warwick was feared and hated, but not because he was an Englishman; Wavrin was interested in England, but his priority was the recording of deeds of chivalry, whatever the nationality of its exponents, for the entertainment of his peers.

General Introduction

This study started out as a first attempt at describing and analysing how, in roughly the Yorkist period (1460-1485), literate people in England on the one hand, and in the lands ruled by the duke of Burgundy on the other, regarded each other, and what they thought and were meant to think about the relations between their two 'nations'. The excuse for studying this subject was first of all a personal wish to know. It was also hoped that any closer look at the sources available would help fill in the background of Anglo-Burgundian relations in the fifteenth century. Much has been written on relations between England and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century and it may be interesting and revealing to find out more about attitudes in the preceding period. Huizinga wrote:

The opinions of a people concerning the character and characteristic traits of a neighbouring people are as a rule remarkably constant, and once formed in all their superficiality they are hardly subject to change'.¹

If he was right, and I think he was, even this partial study may contribute to the general picture of England's relations with 'the parties across the sea'.

Ideally one would like to know what people in general thought, said and wrote about the physical characteristics of the neighbouring country and its inhabitants, in the present and in the past. What ideas and prejudices existed on either side concerning the character and achievements of their neighbours? Which aspects of the 'others' were of most interest? How were they depicted in literature and art?² Were these ideas permanent or constantly changing and were they positive, negative or mixed? How were they fed, by travel, reading, the visual arts or official propaganda? Each of these questions raises a number of others and only a very few can be considered here in detail.

To justify a study of the subject it has to be postulated that both England and 'Burgundy' saw themselves as entities and unities, separate from others and therefore able to have opinions about 'others', that is their neighbours. By a circular process a study of such opinions should help prove that they did feel separate and, more or less, unities. It is here assumed that the English, whatever their internal problems, did feel themselves one people, one 'nation', separate from others, and had done so for several centuries. Their identity had been put into clearer perspective by the Hundred Years War and by opposing and contrasting themselves to the French.³

The sense of separate identity and unity of people living in the lands ruled by the Valois dukes of Burgundy is far more questionable. In the period under discussion, 'Burgundy'

1 Huizinga, 'Voorgeschiedenis', p. 146.

2 Interesting is Rickard, *Britain, passim*.

consisted of the duchy and county of Burgundy and a few other regions together forming a single unit in the south, and a larger and wealthier cluster of territories in the north: Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Artois, Namur, Boulogne, the Somme region, Zeeland and Holland, with Limburg and Luxemburg 'hanging on'. The greater part of these possessions had been 'in the family' since the early years of the century, and the duke of Burgundy, to most people living there, was – by direct or rather more indirect inheritance – their natural and legitimate overlord, and so they were told over and over again. Much has been written on the question whether this collection of territories constituted a nation or not, and the problem is complicated and obscured by later developments.⁴ All that matters, in practice, is the perception and attitude of those who lived in these lands and it is here assumed that the mass of the people, without sophisticated maps, with only limited means of communication and no prophetic foresight, assumed that they belonged together for the single and crucial reason that the duke ruled them all and that this situation was a permanent one.

Nationalism is made up of illusions and images and it will continue to be defined and appreciated differently in different periods. It is therefore less relevant to philosophise about nationalism, national consciousness and patriotism in general, trying to fit fifteenth-century conditions into our system, then to find out what was actually written and said in the period:

... pour éviter l'anachronisme il n'est besoin que de se placer au point de vue des contemporains. Les contemporains, dira-t-on, mais ils étaient bornés, ignorants; il leur manquait les vues générales qui nous permettent de juger la situation; ils étaient pris dans leur illusions loyalistes et féodales. Il me semble que c'est justement ces illusions qu'il importe de connaître afin de bien comprendre l'histoire. *Parce qu'au fond ce sont des illusions qui dominent les actions politiques* du moyen âge bien plus que n'ont fait la raison, le calcul, l'intérêt bien compris' (my italics, and I have consciously not included 'du moyen âge').⁵

It may perhaps also be said that the human mind adapts itself quickly. What has happened two or three times is already a 'tradition'.⁶ A situation that has obtained for a generation is felt to have existed 'since time out of mind'. A concept that was new to our parents often seems undeniable and inevitable to us. Images that have been around for a while become representations of reality. If this is a timeless rule it is conceivable that in the 1450s, 60s and 70s the concept of 'Burgundy', not only as something permanent, but also as a unity, as 'belonging together' vis-à-vis the rest of Europe – even France, in spite of the complex

3 E.g. Thomson, *Transformation*, pp. 75-80; Goodman, *History*, pp. 1-7, who mentions the importance of ease of communications for a sense of unity; Scattergood, *Politics*, pp. 41-46.

4 Huizinga discussed the subject particularly in relation to 'the Netherlands'; see his 'L'état', 'Voorgeschiedenis', 'How Holland became a nation', 'Burgund'. The problem is summarised by Prevenier and Blockmans, *Burgundian Netherlands*, pp. 198-213. Wouters, 'Nationaliteitsbesef', discussed several chroniclers, and found them all wanting. Vaughan, 'Burgundian state'.

5 Huizinga, 'L'état', p. 168.

relations with the 'mother country' – had taken hold of the minds of most men and women living within the confines of the dukes' lands.

The views of England that these 'Burgundians' held must have differed greatly, just as their relations with the island – if they had any – differed, being defined by geographical position and economic activity. To set the scene it will be useful describe briefly the relations between England, Burgundy and France as they stood at the beginning of the Yorkist period and, after that, look at a contemporary work which had a purpose partly similar to that of the present study and though only concerned with the views of the French and the English, is contemporary with the period to be studied here and reveals the contemporary attitude to the subject, showing the range and limits of literate people's knowledge and interest.

Because Flanders was partly a possession of the French crown relations between England and the Low Countries had always been complicated by the Anglo-French wars, though less so for the northern provinces, whose commercial exchange with England had flourished naturally for centuries.⁷ The acquisition of Flanders by the French Valois dukes of Burgundy in 1369 and Henry V's conquests in France from 1415 did not change this situation, but the ill-advised murder of Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, by the future king of France in 1419, completely upset the balance for a while, forcing the next duke, Philip the Good, to take a pro-English position, which essentially made the English king also king of France, and generally pleased the Flemish and other northern subjects of the duke because it benefited them economically, but it did not last more than fifteen years. In 1435 the peace of Arras between France and Burgundy restored 'natural' relations within the Anglo-French-Burgundian triangle, including the mutual commercial activity of the lands on either side of the North Sea – however much subject to the political whims of their new overlords – but the link between the 'mother country', France, and the Burgundian lands was weakened forever. At the same time England was heading for the first climax of its dynastic problems, while its economic interests in the Low Countries and its military ones in France were being used and abused by the protagonists of the two factions.

In this subtly balanced, triangular world, influenced mainly by economic interests but also by political, military and emotional ones, did such men as Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and Jean de Wavrin, Lord of Forestel, and their friends and relations lead their lives, shape their careers and write their books.

6 Compare Bloch, *Feudal Society*, vol. 1, p. 114.

7 On this and what follows Owen, *Connection*, Barron and Saul, *England*, introduction, Thielemans, *Bourgogne*.

*Le débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre*⁸

The limitations of sources and time will not allow it but a frivolous – and fascinating – aim of (a more complete version of) this study could be to try and provide material for an ‘imaginary conversation’ in the style of Walter Savage Landor and along the lines of the *Débat des hérauts*, between Englishmen and Burgundians circa 1480. Rather than a restrained and very single-minded set of monologues like that of the two trained heralds of the *Débat*, it would be a free-for-all tavern talk between, for example, a London merchant, a clerk from Oxford, a soldier from Calais, a ship’s master from Holland, a knight from Hainault, a Flemish illuminator, a Brabant historian and a nobleman from the Franche Comté. They would have their differences, but also probably agree to differ. They would hold strong opinions on trade, fishing and piracy, on the advantages or disadvantages of the wool staple and the monetary vagrancies of their overlords. They would discuss the merits of their countries in the fields of culture and religion in a more relaxed way than the heralds and with proper pride in their own achievements. Martial and chivalric deeds of the past would play a lesser part in their thoughts, because to most of them war meant an interruption of their daily activities and chivalry an occasional day’s entertainment, but the attractions of the women of their country would very likely lead to heated argument and much boasting. Several of them would be united in their hatred of the French king, while at the same time perhaps regarding France as the mother of all culture, of the visual arts as well as literature. There would not be such a clear demarcation and opposition of opinions, however, as between the heralds of France and England. The feelings of Burgundians and English towards each other were much more positive.

Unfortunately such theatricals as an imaginary conversation can probably not be fully realised, but that does not lessen the attraction and the relevance of the original *Débat* itself. *Le débat des hérauts* was written between 1453 and 1461. It is a fictional conversation between two heralds, the one ‘of France’, the other ‘of England’. During a moment of leisure they find themselves in the company of Lady Prudence, who by way of *passé temps* asks them the following question: you have often seen paintings and tapestries showing the image of Honour seated in majesty in the midst of those worthy to approach her, such as the Nine Worthies⁹ and

8 Medieval ‘debate’ literature has been widely studied; e.g. Walther, *Streitgedicht; Manual*, vol. 3, VII, introduction. On the *Débat* itself: Pannier, *Débat*, introduction, and Pyne, *England and France*, introduction; Rickard, *Britain*, pp. 197-205; Stanesco, ‘Héraut’, pp. 233-53, who says it has *une structure rigoureuse et la disposition symétrique d’une joute oratoire*; *Richard III’s Books*, pp. 153-55, 171, 174, 175, 178.

Mss of the *Débat*: BN fr. 5837 (10354), vellum, end 15th c., 1 miniature on first page (ill. in *Richard III’s Books*, fig. 52); fr. 5838 (10354 3), vellum, same hand, blank space for miniature; fr. 5839 (10354 2), vellum; Bodl.L. Rawl. 539, paper, end 15th c.

9 On the Nine Worthies see also below, pt I, ch. 2, sect. 3.

other famous knights about whom books have been written. Tell me which Christian kingdom would be most worthy of a place near the throne of honour?

The text was composed by a Frenchman, which is clear from such stage effects as the English herald's uncontrolled rushing into the debate¹⁰ and the use of simple tricks such as never allowing the Englishman to have the last word or sufficient time to speak. The Frenchman is painted more favourably by making him, for instance, more courteous to Prudence and less openly boastful than his adversary. What is interesting, however, and makes the text useful in the present context is the debaters' approach to the subject. Because of the way in which the question has been put to them, setting, as it were, England and France to fight each other with words but *à l'outrance*, they seem to think that almost every feature of their country serves their purpose: however unchivalrous and down-to-earth, everything is an addition to its 'roll of honour'.

The English herald sets the tone by starting on the subject of *plaisance*.¹¹ His country is 'pleasant', he maintains, because it is rich in fair ladies and good hunting, both of beasts and birds. The Frenchman does not object to this opening or to the treatment of the subject and answers in detail: France, of course, is superior on every score. Both heralds clearly consider it important that each country should contribute to a pleasant life for the leisured and offer a favourable climate for courtly love and knightly sport, but they do not spend much time on the subject. This section contains some of the well-known slights of the English: they are great boasters, they despise every nation but their own and they start wars readily but do not know how to end them.

More interesting and more detailed is the discussion of *vaillance* that follows. This involves reminding the reader of the 'valiant' deeds of each country's inhabitants and is, of course, mainly concerned with the past. The chronological division of the subject seems to run the past and the present together: the deeds performed in the *temps passe* and *temps moien, dit de memoire d'omme* are as important as those of the *temps present*. It is a periodisation that makes sense, even if the 'memory of man' is taken to stretch back rather far.¹² For the English

10 In the English version it is the French herald who jumps up as soon as the question has been asked.

11 The unashamedly aristocratic and self-indulgent Scipio in Buonaccorso da Montemagno's *Controversia de nobilitate* – known in England and in Burgundy as it was translated into French by Jean Miélot in 1449 and into English by William Worcester and printed by Caxton in 1481 – promises Lucrece, if she will marry him, a pleasant life of leisure, which means idleness, beautiful clothes, singing and dancing, as well as hunting and hawking. On the attractions of the 'garden' of France, e.g. Beaune, *Naissance*, pp. 318-23. The French herald treats the famous garden of the dukes of Burgundy at Hesdin as French.

12 *Richard III's Books*, ch. 7, for a general discussion of this division.

herald the past holds Constantine, Maximianus and Arthur,¹³ and their glory still rubs off on his contemporaries. In more recent times the French, valiant though they are, were often defeated by the English, and in his own day his countrymen wage war simultaneously on several enemies, and they are lords of the sea. The French herald's long answer discusses the early history of England and its names,¹⁴ referring to the Brut,¹⁵ the *Tresor de Sapience*¹⁶ and the *Songe du Vergier*.¹⁷ He carefully explains that the English of today are descended from the Saxon invaders and cannot lay claim to the glory of Arthur and the British who – like the French, though this is not said – were of noble Trojan descent. He adds that it is contrary to a herald's professional duty and very dishonourable for a knight to [*se*] *couvrir d'austruy robe* and *de soy attribuer l'onneur et vaillance d'austruy*. Since the Saxons came, he continues, the English have only fought among themselves or against their immediate neighbours, both *guerre commune* as opposed to *guerre de magnificence* which is fought for the conquest of distant countries or the defence of Christendom, and at which the French have gained much glory.

The subject of the Crusades sets the speaker off about religion. He takes pride in the famous French royal symbols that were sent down from heaven: the armorial lilies, the Holy Ampulla and the Oriflamme;¹⁸ he emphasises the excellent relations of the French with the papacy. The English, on the other hand, had to be converted twice, in witness whereof priests wear the manipulum sown behind the left shoulder.¹⁹ King John and his country were excommunicated and eventually had to pay tribute to the pope, whereas the French have always been free from any overlordship or tribute.²⁰

The defeat of the French in more recent times is not to their dishonour for they never refused a battle and fought valiantly, whatever the odds and the outcome. It also has to be remembered that England was conquered several times by the French, the last time by Edward III and his mother Isabel, daughter of the king of France.²¹ The enemies of England today are hardly worth mentioning: the Scots are as free as they ever were; the Irish are mere savages and hardly a tenth of their country is occupied. The wars with Denmark and Spain are wars of words only. The conquest of France was only possible because the French were divided among

13 Of Arthur the herald says *les romans en sont encores par tout l'univers monde, et en sera d'eux memoire perpetuel*.

14 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1.

15 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

16 *Li Livres dou Tresor*, by Brunetto Latini (died 1294); bk 1, ch. 89, quoted by the French herald.

17 For the *Songe* the edition of BL MS Royal 19 C iv, by M. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2 vols, Paris 1982.

18 Below, pt I, ch. 2, sect. 1, the *Response sur la dicte ballade*, stanza 9.

19 *manipulum/gonfanon* – apparel = parement = stola?, de Korte, *Mis*, p. 74; Tirozzi, 'De stola'.

20 Mention is made of the obedience the English owed to Charlemagne.

21 The French princes listed as conquerors of England are Charlemagne, William the Conqueror, Prince Louis, son of Philip II of France, and Isabel, mother of Edward III. The invasion of

themselves; Charles VII quickly regained virtually all that had been lost. The English simply are unable to fight a war decisively and do not know how to end it. As to the English being lords of the sea, they need many ships because they live on an island, but the French king is well provided with ships, shipbuilders and harbours, too, and if he wished he could make himself king of the sea. Interesting in this section is the French herald's frequent mention of, and faith in, written sources: *rommans et croniques, vos croniques, livres et croniques, le teste de vos croniques*. The *Brut* is referred to several times, its evidence used against the English.

The last part of the debate considers the material wealth of both countries, strictly subdivided: *richesse sur terre* in England means the population, clergy, nobility and workers, the produce of the earth and its wealth of cattle and sheep; *richesse sous la terre* consists of, for example, tin and coal mines, quarries of marble and flint. In the sea around the country fish is found in abundance and across the sea merchants bring silver and gold. France, of course, is more densely populated, its clergy is more numerous, its nobility older and, contrary to English custom, French noblemen actually own the land from which they derive their title.²² The craftsmen of France make things not produced in England, and as far as the fruits of the earth and the sea are concerned France excels in every field. The French herald takes the opportunity to warn his colleague, for the sake of the safety of the latter's own country, against boasting too much of his country's wealth. The French king has good reason to make war on England and might come and conquer it. After all, the English murdered King Richard and he has not been avenged.²³ They did immense harm to France and reparation could be sought. The Frenchman rounds off by saying again that the English, that is the Saxons, are great boasters and despise everyone else, considering their country, which is only an island, superior to any other place in the world.

Prudence in her 'summing up' says that the question of who deserve to stand close to Honour concerns all Christian kings and she will hear other heralds on the great deeds and *guerres magnifiques* of their countrymen, especially against the infidel. The two heralds should put their arguments in writing; this will make an instructive little book and will enable her, in due time and after consulting others, to pass judgment. The little book will be entitled simply and significantly: *Passe-temps*.

Henry Tudor was later regarded in a similar light, as was Edward IV's accession and return to England by the Burgundian dukes.

22 This is a fact that afforded great satisfaction to the French and amazement – and often ignorance – that the situation in England was different, compare Wavrin's remark about Richard, Duke of York, returning to York where 'his subjects receive him with joy', *Recueil*, 6, 3, 8; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 266.

23 This remark dates the text to before the accession of Edward IV.

The present study.

In contrast to the ideal, literary outcome of my studies sketched above – an imaginary, but credible and ‘well-documented’ debate between Burgundians and Englishmen set in the 1460s or 70s – the range and purpose of what follows are very limited and concentrate on two subjects. These two ‘matters’ offered themselves in the course of my wider research and stood out as particularly suitable for use in a study of the anglophobia and anglophilia of the Burgundian literate classes – the comparative, and perhaps timeless, lack of interest of the English in things not-English made a consideration of the other side of the coin a matter of less immediate concern, because less likely to bear fruit easily, let alone abundantly: a proper search for English views of Burgundy was therefore, for the moment, abandoned.

The two subjects studied here each provided a satisfying amount of source material; in the case of the earl of Warwick’s reputation in Burgundy the material is relatively straightforward and easy to manage; in the case of Jean de Wavrin’s work and anglophilia it is complicated and elusive. In both instances the abundance of specific material made it difficult to find the general in the particular, and the original trail and purpose of my search were constantly in danger of becoming obscured.

Burgundian reaction to Warwick’s successful coup in England, and his alliance with the French king was unique and very focussed; the fact that people in the Low Countries hated him intensely in 1470-71 had little to do with his Englishness, and it is in the additional details, to be found in the prose and verse written by French and Burgundian commentators, that we read people’s more general attitude. The subject is sufficiently interesting in its own right, for the prose texts make fascinating reading when compared and used together, and the poems in their turn provide a coherent sample of an extensive ‘cycle’ of political verse.

Wavrin’s attitude to England is worth considering because he lived and fought with the English in France, was very literate and can be seen as a representative of both the noble and the bourgeois milieu. His work, however, which has so often been ‘dipped into’ by modern historians, is also due for more careful observation on its own merit and this can only be done by listing and analysing as large a part of the evidence as is possible within the limits imposed on the present thesis by time, the number of words allowed, the demands of readability, and the daunting complexity of the manuscript tradition.

Acknowledgements.

This account of people I am grateful to and why is an exhibition of sheer self-indulgence and can be ignored (by everyone except the people concerned?). I cannot grade my gratitude and I cannot put a price on their kindness. Their names are therefore in partly alphabetical, partly arbitrary order.

My gratitude is due to many people:

Item, to my father, Dr J.W. Fuchs, for leaving me (I think) a scholarly frame of mind, for teaching me the value of the alphabet, and many other things besides.

Item, to my mother, Mrs Th.M. Fuchs-van Braningen, for bequeathing me *veine*, for asking 'the same silly questions over and over again', and many other things besides.

Item, to my (grand) children – original and in-law – for giving me another, even better purpose in life, and for being vaguely interested in what I am doing. Also to Lex in particular for frequently saving my life, computer-wise.

Item, to my ex-husband, Berend Jan, for his benevolent attitude and his support and interest over the years, and his occasional, but always valuable, bits of information concerning classical Latin.

Item, to David Morgan, not only for being my supervisor and doing everything a supervisor should in such a pleasant way, but also for always treating me as if I know something.

Item, to Anne, for my 'other life', and countless other things besides.

Item, to all my friends in England, Ricardians and others, for making my 'other life' so pleasant and rewarding.

Item, to Mark Ballard, for generously allowing me to use his thesis.

Item, to Kees van Leijenhorst, for helping to cross the t's and dot the i's in Jean Miélot's Latin.

Item, to Scot McKendrick, for generously giving me crucial information based on his own research.

Item, to Erik Kooper, for helping me to enter the academic world of the Netherlands through the side-door.

Item, to Anne Korteweg, for generously sharing useful and varied bits of information with me and allowing me to copy from books I could not afford myself. Also to all the staff at the Royal Library in The Hague for their kindness and help.

Item, to René Stuij, for sharing with me in every sense our fascination with Wavrin, his books and his work.

Item, to Jan Willem Verkaik, for being the most attentive and intelligent listener and commentator on historical matters that one could wish for.

Item, Dr François Avril, Dr Noël Geirmaert, Dr Gillian Hall, Mme Gillette Labory of the IRHT, Dr Antoinette Naber, Dr Gail Orgelfinger, Dr Jacques Paviot, Mme Monique Peyrafort of the IRHT, Dr Bernhard Sterchi, Mme M.-H. Tesnière, and Dr Margaret Yates for invaluable help, some of it given long ago but not forgotten.

Item, to Prof. Caroline Barron and Dr Graeme Small, for undertaking to be readers of this thesis; which was both kind and intrepid.

Abbreviations

<i>Arrivall</i>	<i>Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV</i> , ed. Bruce.
Barrois	Barrois, <i>Bibliothèque prototypographique</i> .
<i>BCRH</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire</i> .
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes</i> .
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> .
BL	British Library, London.
BM	Bibliothèque municipale.
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
BodlL	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
BR	Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Brussels.
de But-de Lettenhove	de But, Adrian, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove.
<i>BVGN</i>	<i>Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i> .
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> .
<i>CEEB</i>	<i>Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.)</i> .
<i>CGMBPF</i>	<i>Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France</i> .
Chastelain-de Lettenhove	Chastelain, Georges, <i>Oeuvres</i> , ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove.
Comines-Calmette	Comines, Philippe de, <i>Mémoires</i> , ed. Calmette and Durville.
Comines-Dupont	Comines, Philippe de, <i>Mémoires</i> , ed. Dupont.
CRH	Commission royale d'histoire.
CS	Camden Society.
<i>Dictionnaire</i>	<i>Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age</i> .
Doutrepoint, <i>Lit.</i>	Doutrepoint, <i>La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne</i> .
Du Clercq-Buchon	Du Clercq, Jacques, <i>Mémoires</i> , ed. Buchon.
EETS OS	Early English Text Society, Original Series.
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
d'Escouchy-Du Fresne	d'Escouchy, Mathieu, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. Du Fresne de Beaucourt.
fr. 88	BN ms. fr. 88.
fr. 15491	BN ms. fr. 15491.
fr. 20358/9	BN ms. fr. 20358/9.
Gaspar and Lyna	Gaspar and Lyna, <i>Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique</i> .
Harl. 4424	BL Harleian MS 4424.
Haynin-Brouwers	Haynin, Jean de, <i>Mémoires</i> , ed. Brouwers.
<i>HRB I and II</i>	Geoffrey of Monmouth, <i>Historia Regum Britanniae, I and II</i> .
<i>John Vale's Book</i>	Kekewich et al., eds, <i>The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England</i> .
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library), The Hague.
La Marche-Beaune	La Marche, Olivier de, <i>Mémoires</i> , ed. Beaune and d'Arbaumont.
Lefèvre-Morand	Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, Jean, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. Morand.
Lille, ADN	Lille, Archives départementales du Nord.
<i>Manual</i>	<i>A Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500</i> .
Monstrelet-Buchon (1875)	Monstrelet, Enguerran de, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. Buchon, 1875.
Monstrelet-Douët	Monstrelet, Enguerran de, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. Douët-d'Arcq.
ÖN	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library), Vienna.
<i>NBW</i>	<i>Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek</i> .
ns	new series; nieuwe serie; nouvelle série.
<i>Richard III's Books</i>	Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, <i>Richard III's Books</i> .
RS	Rolls Series.
SATF	Société des anciens textes français.
SHF	Société de l'histoire de France.
TLF	Textes littéraires français.

UB or UL	Universiteitsbibliotheek (University Library).
<i>VW</i>	<i>Verzamelde Werken.</i>
W 201	Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W 201.
Wavrin-Dupont	Wavrin, Jean de, <i>Recueil</i> , ed. Dupont.
Wavrin-Hardy	Wavrin, Jean de, <i>Recueil</i> , ed. Hardy.
Woodrow	Woodrow Hassell Jr, J., <i>Middle French Proverbs.</i>

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General editorial remarks.

Accents have been omitted in Middle French quotations, except where they are needed for better understanding of the meaning of the text or where the modern edition quoted uses them. Spelling in medieval texts has usually been rationalised, e.g. *u* and *v*, and capitals have been modernised. French texts have usually not been translated, but for Dutch/Flemish and Latin a translation has been added. French Christian names are generally given in French, titles in English, e.g. Hugues de Lannoy, Lord of Santes, but this is not done consistently in the case of people who are either very well known, such as the dukes of Burgundy themselves and Anthony the Great Bastard, and/or people whose names could be given equally well in Dutch or German, such as Philip of Cleves and Engelbert of Nassau.

MS, ms, HS or Codex has often been omitted in shelfnumbers. Series of numbers in brackets or without, e.g. (6, 6, 1) or 6, 6, 1, indicate the volume, book and chapter of the *Recueil* in both editions and all manuscripts that follow the division into six volumes of six books each.

When 'Wavrin' is mentioned as author of certain passages, and therefore as the 'brain' behind them, this is often done for the sake of brevity and convenience and with great reservations, even when this is not specifically said.

There are innumerable minor differences of spelling between the editions of the *Recueil* by Dupont and Hardy. Without going back to the mss and checking every word it is impossible to know with certainty which is the better edition, but it has been assumed that Dupont's is more correct because she had more personal and permanent access to the manuscripts. The differences are only mentioned when they are of importance.

The editions of Jacques Du Clercq's *Mémoires* are so numerous and confusing that he is usually referred to by his own book and chapter division, as are the memoirs of Philippe de Comines. For Monstrelet I have often used the edition of Buchon of 1875, because it was the most accessible to me and because it is the edition used by Wavrin's editor, Hardy.

The words 'Flemish' and 'Dutch' may at times present problems to non-Belgian and non-Dutch readers unused to the intricacies of the language 'problem', but they are in theory interchangeable.

Consistency in all matters has been attempted but not achieved.

PART I

**The reputation of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick,
in the Burgundian Low Countries from c. 1450 to 1471.**

PART I:

THE REPUTATION OF RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK, IN THE BURGUNDIAN LOW COUNTRIES FROM c. 1450 TO 1471.

Introduction.

The reputation of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, provides one of the period's most vivid and best documented examples of opinions held in the Low Countries about an individual Englishman. The intense interest that he aroused and the hatred he provoked in 1470/71¹ was due to the deep fear people felt of an alliance of France and England directed against all the Burgundian lands and the duke personally. No one at the time had any doubts that such an alliance would be fatal to Burgundy. Warwick personified the threat from France that had always been there, but would be doubled or trebled if England – ruled by Lancaster, led by Warwick and under an obligation to Louis XI – actually joined forces with her old enemy. Voicing hatred of Warwick amounted to proving one's Burgundian allegiance.

In prose it was undoubtedly Thomas Basin, the Frenchman turned Burgundian, who in the early 1470s, expressed his opinion of Warwick in the strongest terms.² He was incapable of mentioning the earl without stressing his perfidy in a number of descriptive phrases that after a while become almost ludicrous in their violence and repetitiveness. *Ille perfidus* is the least passionate and most succinct of them. Warwick, who in any case was dead and merely an Englishman, appears to have been the ideal scapegoat and focus of all the hatred Basin felt against the circumstances and people that had made his life difficult. Most prose authors, if they judged at all and did not merely chronicle events, had views on Warwick similar to Basin's, but some were more restrained by nature or had less cause for private hatred. Jean de Wavrin, the soldier/chronicler, appears to have taken a more sympathetic interest in the earl and for a while admired him.

In verse Jean Molinet's picture of Warwick was the unkindest of all: the earl as 'War' itself. Written several years after the earl's death, in 1475/76,³ *Le Temple de Mars* proves that Warwick's role in the troubles between England, France and Burgundy had not been forgotten and hatred of him was undiminished. The poem describes how the author, in an attempt to recover from a (fictional) wound and in order to placate the gods, goes to visit the temple of the god of war. The building is discussed in detail and its awful inmates described. Close

1 Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 167-70, and 'Lion'.

2 Below, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 2.

3 Not long after 13 Sept. 1476, Dupire, *Molinet*, p. 28; Picot and Stein, *Recueil*, p. 13. On the *Temple Champion*, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 339-43; Devaux, *Molinet*, pp. 129-30, 480-86; printed Picot and Stein, pp. 31-44; Dupire, *Faits*, vol. 1, pp. 65-76.

companion of the formidable god himself is *Guerre: faicte sans art*, horned, scorpion-tailed, basilisk-eyed and breathing fire. More than fifty lines are taken up by the description of such physical horrors and at the end the poet suddenly realises at whose face he is looking:

Guerre avoit les lippes vermeilles
 Et la barbe rouge et sanglante
 De suchier⁴ testes et oreilles;
 Je recognus a grans merveilles
 Werwic,⁵ le conte dont on chante,
 Qui par sa folie meschante,
 Logoit guerre entre les deux roix:
 Tendeur se prent bien a sa roix.⁶

The earl is, in fact, the only contemporary figure among the many symbolic and historical ones that are used in this poem to illustrate the horrors of war.

In his *Chronicles* and elsewhere Molinet was factual about Warwick,⁷ but it will become clear that his description of him in the *Temple* matches the pictures painted by most other writers, both in prose and verse. The earl's thirst for blood, his sowing of discord and his richly-deserved fall were recurrent themes but especially popular with poets and ballad-makers; he certainly was, for a time, *le conte dont on chante*.

4 *Suchier* = *sucher* – to suck, to drink.

5 One ms. has 'Saint Pol', Louis de Luxembourg, Count of St Pol, another traitor and sower of discord, executed 1475.

6 Molinet ends his stanza with a proverb: 'the hunter falls into his own trap'.

7 *Chroniques*, I, ch. 17 (1, 86-89), at Neuss in 1473, Charles the Bold calls Warwick *mon ennemy* while remembering Louis XI's treachery. *Chroniques*, I, ch. 36 (1, 171-72), the Burgundian blockade of Warwick's French / English fleet in the summer of 1471 is no less than one of the *magnificences* of Duke Charles (alongside e.g. his wedding and his acceptance of the Garter): *La .v^e. magnificence fut monstrée en son grant navire qu'il maintint sur la mer fort longuement contre Franchois et le conte de Wervic*. In *Chroniques*, I, ch. (1, 415), Warwick's defeat and death are mentioned in retrospect and incorrectly, but without judging him: *Il [Edward IV] vaincqui le conte de Wervicq en bataille, le jour de Pasques, et le detint prisonnier et, peu de jours aprèz, lui fit trenchier la teste*. In the '*Recollection des merueilleuses advenues*, Dupire, *Faicts*, vol. 2, p. 301): the following stanzas summarise the events of 1470-71, again emphasising Warwick's pride and impossible ambitions:

J'ay veu, par forte glave,
 Edouard, roy Angles,
 Expulsé comme esclave
 De ses roiaux angles
 En moins d'onze sepmaines
 A l'espee trenchant
 Recouvrer ses demaines
 Et son trosne luisant

J'ay veu porter souffrance
 A Werwic qui cuidoit
 Tourner Anglais soubz France
 Et France soubz son doit;
 Payé fut de ses galles
 Car il passa par la
 Et le prince de Galles
 Onques puis ne parla.

Warwick's rise.

Nothing is known about the life of Richard Neville between his birth in 1428 – as eldest son of Richard Neville, shortly to become Earl of Salisbury – and his marriage, probably in 1436, to Anne Beauchamp, sister of Henry, the heir of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.⁸ Beauchamp died in 1439, his son in 1446, leaving an only daughter who herself died, still a child, in 1449. Circumstances made it possible for Richard Neville to obtain the title of earl of Warwick by right of his wife as well as most of the Beauchamp estates, though Anne Beauchamp had three older half-sisters. Richard Neville's father, the earl of Salisbury, played a part in this acquisition, which turned his son from just one nobleman among his peers to one of the first men in the land, with estates spread over the length and breadth of the country and a vast retinue that enabled him to impress and overawe opponents and influence the political situation.

It is not clear where the new earl of Warwick stood in 1450 when Richard, Duke of York, first started to emphasise his special status in the realm and became a potential threat to Henry VI's government, but it is likely that Warwick and Salisbury were relatively favourably disposed towards the duke, Salisbury's brother-in-law, from the beginning.⁹ They were able to 'reconcile' York and Henry VI early in 1452 at Dartford, where York had positioned himself with a considerable army, ostensibly threatening the capital and the king. Shortly after, the status of the Neville earls suffered from Henry VI's advancement of his Tudor half-brothers, which may have influenced their view of the king's rule. They also became involved in the North in a quarrel with the Percy family who were eventually supported by Henry. For their own preservation Warwick and Salisbury committed themselves to York, who became protector because of the king's illness and among whose appointments was the earl of Salisbury as chancellor.¹⁰ Warwick himself became chamberlain of the exchequer and governor of the Channel Islands.¹¹

In York's victory at the first battle of St Albans (22 May 1455) Warwick played an important part. Several accounts of the fighting composed by the winning side reached the continent.¹² Among Warwick's rewards was the captaincy of Calais, which he did not in fact occupy until August 1456, and York's second period as protector followed.¹³ Most chroniclers, and modern historians following them, have assumed that it was Margaret of Anjou who made any reconciliation between the Yorkists and her husband, the king, impossible. A more

8 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 7-30.

9 *Ibid.*, ch. 4.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 98; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 16-17; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 16-18.

11 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 100; Ross, *Edward*, p. 19.

12 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 119-21; Armstrong, 'St Albans', *passim*.

13 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 123; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 23-24; Ross, *Edward*, *ibid.*

complicated explanation lies in the many feuds that earlier clashes had created between the parties and had gone too far to be resolved peaceably, even if Henry would have wished it.¹⁴ The tension was temporarily relieved by the Loveday of 25 March 1458.¹⁵

Probably in May 1457 Warwick had taken up residence in Calais as its captain; he also became keeper of the seas in the same year and eventually, in 1461, warden of the Cinque Ports as well. His attention focused increasingly on the south-east of England and the sea¹⁶ and he gained the experience and the position that was to help him in the crisis of 1470-71; being the captain of Calais meant holding 'the principal military command of the English crown'.¹⁷ It has also been claimed recently that he was able to make a better start, financially, as captain than his immediate predecessors, the dukes of York and Somerset,¹⁸ and contrary to the practice of these predecessors he resided in Calais for quite long periods, at least in 1457 and '58.¹⁹ During these years he indulged in many open acts of piracy against Spanish, Hanseatic and other shipping, which added greatly to his reputation as an admiral, but created problems for the government at home.²⁰

In November 1458, when he was in London, probably to attend the session of the great council where he would have to justify his actions, Warwick's men got into a fight with servants of the king. Escaping with his life, the earl returned to the safety of Calais.²¹ His deprivation of the captaincy seemed imminent, and it has been said that the fight 'at Westminster warf' was 'a decisive moment in the alienation of the earl from the court'.²² Tension between the parties escalated and burst out briefly at Blore Heath in September '59²³ and more notably at Ludford Bridge in October, where some of Warwick's Calais men under Andrew Trollope deserted the Yorkist side; the Yorkist lords fled: York and his second son, Edmund, to Ireland, Warwick, Salisbury and York's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, to Calais. Warwick and his companions had an adventurous voyage which became famous and was known in outline to most chroniclers.

For a while Warwick's position was threatened by the duke of Somerset's arrival in the Calais region, but the success of his many activities – capturing Somerset's ships, raiding

14 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 127-29; Kendall, *Warwick*, pp. 30-31; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 24; Ross, *Edward*, p. 20.

15 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 135-38; Kendall, *Warwick*, p. 49; Ross, *Edward*, p. 19.

16 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 138-48.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-48, 151-52; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 27-28; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 23-24; Richmond, 'Domination', *passim*.

21 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 152; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 29.

22 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 153, 154.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 163; Goodman, *Wars*, p. 27.

French territory and the coast of England, concluding a treaty with Burgundy²⁴ made him secure and enabled him to leave Calais for a while and consult with York in Ireland.²⁵ The combined invasion planned at that time took place in June 1460, when Warwick, Salisbury and March landed at Sandwich and quickly proceeded to Canterbury and London, their numbers swelling *en route*.²⁶ They entered the city to the acclamation of the people. Warwick and March went on to meet Henry at Northampton, where a brief but decisive battle took place. The king was captured, but treated with respect and escorted to London. Somerset, now isolated, gave up his attempts to take Calais.²⁷

Warwick gained much by this latest victory and 'he was everywhere and did everything'.²⁸ After a triumphant visit to Calais he returned to an even grander reception in London. When York arrived in London in October 1460, intending to be king, he received no support from Warwick and Salisbury and a compromise was reached by which York and his descendants became Henry's heirs and York himself protector for life.²⁹ It is not clear whether Warwick knew that York was going to claim the throne itself. All we know is that Warwick at some point before the accession of York's son the next year wished foreign observers to think that he had wanted no part in York's ultimate coup.³⁰

At the very end of the year, through incompetence or ill-luck – or perhaps through treason of some sort, as several sources hinted – York was killed in battle; early in the next year Warwick was defeated at St Albans and Henry VI fell again into the hands of his own party.³¹ Edward, York's son, took over his father's cause and resolved all problems successfully within a few months. Supported by Warwick – who may have hoped to rule England and Edward at the same time – the Yorkists won the field at Towton on 29 March; Edward was crowned on 28 June 1461. To many commentators, mostly foreigners, it was Warwick who made all this possible.³²

Apart from still being captain of Calais, keeper of the seas and warden of the Cinque Ports, Warwick became the king's lieutenant in the North, admiral of England, and many other offices followed for him and his relatives.³³ It was in the North, their natural territory, that his brother John and Warwick himself did invaluable work, systematically clearing out the

24 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 174, Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, p. 375.

25 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 173-76; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 42-62.

26 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 177; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 71-80; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 25-26.

27 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 179-81; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 86-91; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 26-27.

28 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 184; Ross, *Edward*, p. 27.

29 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 186-90, 211; Watts, *Henry*, pp. 358-59; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 104-05.

30 Similar versions of the events reached Burgundy and Rome; pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1, below.

31 Hicks, *Warwick*, 214-17; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 120-23; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 30-32.

32 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 220; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 33, 36-37, 63; Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis*, p. 81.

33 Hicks, *Warwick*, ch. 8.1; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 70-72, 92n.

Lancastrians, who had ‘international backing’³⁴ from the Scots and the French, during the next three years.³⁵ During this time Warwick never lost his interest in other matters and it is significant that he was expected at a number of conferences in Burgundy in early 1462, the summer of ‘63 and throughout most of ‘64.³⁶ He finally appeared at Boulogne and Calais in the summer of 1465.³⁷

Apart from the consolidation of Yorkist power in the North, these years were marked by Edward’s secret marriage to Elizabeth Woodville and its being revealed. The successful pacification of the North made Warwick less necessary to Edward and the king’s marriage made further negotiations about foreign brides and Warwick’s services in such matters things of the past. The death of Philip the Good and Edward’s less ambiguous relationship with the new duke, Charles the Bold, further changed the situation; Warwick’s brother George was dismissed as chancellor in June 1467, while the earl was away in France.³⁸

Though Warwick’s main interest may always have been in a pro-French policy, negotiations and conferences had almost invariably been three-sided, i.e. Anglo-French-Burgundian. *When* the situation changed and *why* exactly is not clear. Louis may have started to cast his spell over Warwick after Charles the Bold’s French wife had died in 1465 and the king of France began to fear an Anglo-Burgundian alliance. Any rift between Warwick and Edward would naturally also come out in their ideas about foreign diplomacy, just as it became visible in numberless small instances of friction in national and local matters.³⁹ Whether Edward’s foreign policy in the middle and late sixties was sensible or successful I do not care to judge as so much hindsight comes into any judgment on such matters. Nor would I like to say that Warwick knew better or had ‘a clearer appreciation of the realities of North European power politics’;⁴⁰ his irresponsible piratical activities of the late fifties and early sixties suggest

34 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 235.

35 *Ibid.*, ch. 8.2.

36 Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, pp. 387, 396, 406; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 296-99, 302, 326-27, 344-47, 352-59, 378-80; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 56, 90-91, 106; Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis*, pp. 36-37, 45 n. 3, 46 n. 6, 46-54, 60. Jean de Lannoy was the envoy both for the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, *pace* Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 261, also means negotiations were much more comprehensive and complicated, not merely Anglo-French and anti-Burgundian.

37 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 253, 261.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 263; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 367, 385, 398-400, 402-20, 424-27; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 104-10, 114.

39 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 264-66; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 424-27, 429, 440-45, 448-52; Ross, *Edward*, *ibid.*; Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis*, ch. 5.

40 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 268, 275; compare Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 452, for the remark that Edward understood his own people better than Warwick did; also Ross, *Edward*, p. 105.

otherwise.⁴¹ Would Edward's foreign policy have been 'in ruins' if Warwick had supported him?⁴²

Warwick did apparently feel that he was losing control and that something had to be done to save his unique position. He used the unrest in the country – and it can again be asked whether there would have been any major disturbance if he had supported Edward – and enlisted the help of Edward's brother, the duke of Clarence, making him his son-in-law against the king's wish in the safety of Calais. In 1469 Edward was too slow and for a while was in Warwick's hands; in 1470 the tables were turned and it was Warwick who had to retreat and flee the country.

The crisis of 1470-71.

When Warwick fled England in April 1470 because his break with Edward IV seemed irreparable, he became a promising ally to Louis XI of France and a direct threat to Charles of Burgundy. Denied entrance to the safety of Calais,⁴³ where he had expected to be as welcome as he had always been since he became its Captain, the earl and his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, took to the sea and turned pirate. That at least was the view of the Dutch and the Flemish and one of their reasons for hating him. Chronicles of the Low Countries have many anecdotes illustrating the cruelty of the earl towards the merchants and sailors he captured and they describe the paralysing effect his presence on the sea had on Burgundian shipping. His arrival with a train of Burgundian prizes was also extremely embarrassing to Louis XI, because any hostile act of his against Burgundy, however indirect, would mean he was breaking the treaty of Péronne and might land him with a premature war.⁴⁴ Though Louis was therefore in no hurry to welcome his English friend, Duke Charles and most Burgundian chroniclers believed that the French king was Warwick's willing partner. Only one of them records that

41 Richmond argues he did much to restore English self-confidence, however, 'Domination', *passim*.

42 Compare Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 270.

43 For the events of this summer, *ibid.*, ch. 10; Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis*, 109 ff.; Kendall, *Warwick*, pp. 228-36; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 145-53; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 519-36; Bittmann, *Ludwig*, vol. 1, pt 2, pp. 440-70; Paviot, *Politique*, pp. 162-76; Philippe de Comines' memoirs, bk 3, ch. 4 (in any edition); Chronicle of Flanders, BR 13073-74, ff. 265-67.

44 The treaty of Péronne (1468) included the following clauses: Charles was allowed commercial contact with England and be in alliance with Edward, but not against France; there would be peace between France and Burgundy and old troubles forgotten, but if Louis were to do anything, directly or indirectly, contrary to this new treaty or the old ones of Arras and Conflans, Charles and his heirs would be free of all feudal obligations for all the lands they held of the king or his successors, and all Louis' vassals would be at liberty to assist Burgundy. Accusing Louis of breaking the treaty, or believing him to have done so, thus had far-reaching implications in the minds of Burgundian subjects.

the situation was not so clear-cut and that because of Louis' prevarications 'the earl of Warwick was seen riding from Rouen in tears'.⁴⁵

Eventually Warwick and Clarence met the king and were installed in France. Margaret of Anjou and her son, exiles in France at the time, were invited to a conference and several treaties were made: between Louis and Margaret of Anjou and her son in her husband's name; between Warwick and Margaret; between Louis and Warwick. Some were concluded openly, one at least in secret.⁴⁶ In late spring an Anglo-Burgundian-Breton fleet was assembled and sealed up Warwick's ships in the Seine and elsewhere. There were renewed attacks and ships were burned and captured on both sides, until finally, in the first week of September, an early autumn storm scattered the blockading fleet and the earl managed to sail across to England and to success.

Henry VI's restoration, the Franco-Lancastrian alliance and Edward's actual flight in October confirmed the worst fears of the Burgundians and during the next seven months all along the coast from Texel to the marches of Calais people lived in fear of an attack by French or English ships. In The Hague the rumour that warships had been sighted caused panic. In Veere in Zeeland new fortifications and a new gate were built, the latter called after the enemy, the 'Warwick Gate'. Neighbouring Middelburg asked the duke for assistance and hoped that Hanse ships would be stationed off-shore to keep watch. All over Flanders messengers came and went between the principal towns and meetings were held to discuss coastal defense, special taxes, provisions, the fitting of warships and levying of pikemen. In Bruges watch was kept day and night, especially when Edward came to live there during the last weeks of his exile, and five processions were staged in little more than two months, praying for universal peace and unity, for the welfare of the duke and his army, who by that time were fighting the French, and for preservation of all his lands from treason 'from the French as well as from the English side'.⁴⁷

Flanders as a whole, Brabant and the Somme region had other reasons for anxiety, for as soon as the French king had been informed of the success of Warwick's coup he had started to take measures promoting commercial contact between the English and the French and prohibited French merchants from travelling into Burgundian territory. His aim was to transfer trade with England from the Low Countries to Normandy, which would, if successful, have had fatal results for the economy of Burgundy. Throughout the duke's lands people were probably more or less aware of the plans of Louis XI, Lancaster and Warwick, which would have led to no less than the complete conquest of all Charles' possessions. Soon after

45 Chronicle of Flanders, BR 13073-74, f. 266v; below, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 7, and app. A.

46 Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis*, pp. 113-14; Kendall, *Warwick*, pp. 269-70.

Warwick's death they knew that he and 'his old king' had thought to plunder *Flandres et Artoys, Brabant, Bourgongne et Boullenois, Haynau, Hollande et Namurois*. The general hatred and fear of Warwick at the time of Edward's sailing is clear from the Burgundian descriptions of him in several ballads: he was proud, a trickster and a coward, who was a hero in his own thoughts but a child in his actions; a poor idiot whose hands were unable to hold all that he tried to grasp; a fool and a traitor rushing towards his end; and as a crowning insult he is made to say of himself that we must not regard him as one of the Nine Worthies, but rather as a character from Boccaccio, a conceited but helpless victim of Fortune's wheel.⁴⁸

47 Despars, *Cronijke*, vol. 4, p. 65. For Edward's exile, e.g. Visser-Fuchs, 'Lion'.
48 See the satirical epitaphs on Warwick, below, pt 1, ch. 2, sect. 3.

Part I. Chapter 1.

Ille perfidus Warvich: Warwick in prose.

1. Jean de Wavrin and Warwick's 'Apology'.

The Burgundian soldier and chronicler of England, Jean de Wavrin (1399/1400-c.1475),¹ and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, did meet personally at least once in real life and because of this their names have been regularly mentioned in conjunction in the work of modern historians. This is what Wavrin himself wrote in his *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre* (Collection of Chronicles of England):²

Et moy, acteur de ces croniques,³ desirant scavoit et avoir matieres veritables pour le parfait de mon⁴ euvre, prins congie au duc de Bourgoigne adfin de⁵ aller jusques a Callaix, lequel me ottraia pour ce quil estoit bien adverty que⁶ ledit comte de Warewic mavoit promis, se je le venoie veoir a Callaix, quil me feroit bonne chiere et me bailleroit homme qui madrescheroit a tout ce que je vouldroie demander touchant ces matieres; se fue vers lui ou il me tint neuf jours en me faisant grant chiere et honneur, mais de ce que je queroie⁷ me fist bien peu dadresse,⁸ combien quil⁹ me promist que se au bout de¹⁰ deux mois je retournoie vers luy¹¹ il me furniroit¹² partie de ce que je requeroie et au congie prendre de luy il me deffrea de tous poins et me donna une belle haquenee.¹³ Je veoie bien quil estoit embesongnie daulcunes grosses matieres ...¹⁴

This visit took place early in July 1469.¹⁵ Wavrin dates it by mentioning the 'great matters' that Warwick was engaged on: the marriage of his daughter, Isabel, to George, Duke of Clarence, Edward IV's brother, which took place on 11 July 1469, 'five or six days after my departure'.

1 For Wavrin, part II, below.

2 The same description of Wavrin's visit occurs in fr. 20358, f. 225, but not in fr. 15491, f. 224v (for these mss, below, and app. F, below); the latter has: *Lequel conte tantost aprez quil fut retourne a Callaix partist ce que moult desiroit cestassier [cestassavoir?] le mariage de sa fille au duc de Clarence ainsie frere du roy Edouard et se fist la feste [dedens le chastel de Callaix ...], and the rest is the same as in the other mss.*

3 *croniques*, fr. 20358, f. 225: *livre*.

4 *mon*, fr. 20358: *cest*.

5 *adfin de*, fr. 20358: *pour*.

6 *estoit bien adverty que*, fr. 20358: *savoit bien et aussy que je lavoye adverti comment*.

7 After *queroie* fr. 20358 adds *ne demandoye*.

8 *dadresse*, fr. 20358 omits.

9 *combien quil*, fr. 20358: *mais*.

10 *au bout de*, fr. 20358: *dedens*.

11 *je retournoie vers luy*, fr. 20358: *le revenoye veoir*.

12 *furniroit*, fr. 20358: *feroit*.

13 *au congie prendre de luy il me deffrea de tous poins et me donna une belle haquenee. Je veoie bien quil estoit embesongnie daulcunes grosses matieres*, fr. 20358: *Puis prinst congiet de luy sy me deffroya et donna une haguenee au partir que je fis de luy. Car je veoye bien quil estoit fort embesongniez pour aulcunes grans materes. Et ainsy me partis de luy. Horses were popular as gifts from English to Burgundian nobles, e.g. Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, p. 220.*

14 6, 5, 45; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 578-79; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 402-03.

15 For details Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 494.

Wavrin had met the earl previously at St Omer or Aire, where Warwick had been feasted by Duke Charles between 26 April and 11 May.¹⁶ Warwick was back in England on 13 May¹⁷ and returned to Calais only on 5 July.¹⁸ So it was in the earl's absence that Wavrin was looked after so well; he was, in fact, waiting for his host for nine days, and as he departed on 5 or 6 July the historian and the earl had little or no time to exchange words; Wavrin was informed – it is not said by whom – that Warwick was too busy and that he should come back in two months' time. It is clear that, even if Wavrin did meet the earl personally, on both occasions their meetings were too brief and probably too formal for the historian to obtain any information. Wavrin was polite and understanding about this, but clearly disappointed. All the earl did at their first meeting was promise him the assistance of one of his servants, *homme qui madrescheroit a tout ce que je voudroie demander*, and the second time all that Wavrin got was more promises.

A few commentators have blown up or misinterpreted this only reference by Wavrin to his going personally in search of information: 'Wavrin ... had met Warwick ... and seems to have got from him some interesting and authentic scraps of history',¹⁹ and '... as an historian [Wavrin] showed a concern for verifying sources which was somewhat in advance of his contemporaries',²⁰ and 'Whenever possible [Wavrin] seems to have taken the opportunity to pursue his historical studies'.²¹ In fact, Wavrin's contact with Warwick in itself does not prove that he was an outstanding historian, but it is true that he did take the trouble to go and meet the earl. More importantly it appears to be true that he had some special knowledge about Warwick's doings, particularly at Calais. It has been said by one modern historian that:

The Burgundian chronicler Waurin, ... undoubtedly presented the history of England since St Albans as a panegyric of Warwick ...²²

And another suggested that the *Recueil*:

... show[s] a determination to preserve the reputation of the earl of Warwick which suggests a source close to the earl in the 1460s.²³

Warwick's most recent biographer gives a summary of the prevalent image of his role during these years, and ends:

Warwick was a splendid military commander, a chivalric hero, and a statesman of international renown. He was worthy of the throne itself. Or so it seems. For

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16 Vander Linden, *Itinéraires Charles*, p. 16.

17 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 488.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 494.

19 Oman, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 504-05.

20 Willard, 'Florimont', p. 34.

21 Gransden, *Writing II*, p. 290.

22 Wolffe, *Henry*, p. 323; in spite of this Wolffe hardly used Wavrin. For other historians' opinions, below, and pt II, conclusion.

23 Johnson, *York*, p. 196n; he used Wavrin but did not take this point further.

Warwick's new-found eminence ... owes much to the admiration and eulogies of Wavrin.²⁴

It can indeed be said that a long section of Wavrin's *Recueil*, in the third book of the sixth volume, displays a remarkably positive attitude to Warwick. As far as its political bias is concerned this text is undoubtedly pro-Yorkist, but its tone at the same time suggests that it is meant to be an 'apology' for Warwick's involvement in the Yorkist cause. There is a strong emphasis on the courage, good sense and political blamelessness of the earl, as well as on his good government of the town of Calais while he was its captain. This emphasis begins abruptly and prevails in the description of English events from the end of May 1455, when Warwick was made captain of Calais, to the end of October 1460, when Richard of York's plans to depose Henry VI and have himself crowned failed, mainly because Warwick refused to cooperate. From this point on Warwick is no longer the protagonist of the story.

The suggestion that 'Warwick's apology' was a separate text, which Wavrin copied into his work, needs explanation. The sixth volume of the *Recueil*, covering the period 1444 to 1471, contains several texts that were originally separate reports or newsletters.²⁵ The evidence varies, but taken together it suggests that the court of Burgundy received many such documents and that amateur historians, such as the high-born courtier Wavrin and the less exalted Enguerran de Monstrelet and his nameless continuator had access to them; some of these newsletters became widely known.

When no separate copy survives it is hard to prove a document's originally separate existence. Wavrin was competent at inserting such texts without obvious breaks. One has to watch for small signs, such as peculiar phrasing left over from the original, especially at the beginning, which may be a little abrupt, and the end, which may have a hint of climax or final 'flourish'. Emphasis on one person or event or an apparent unity of purpose, and inconsistencies in the text that precedes and follows, caused by the disturbance of the original context, are also 'symptoms' of a separate account. Changes in style are the hardest to establish because prose romances, historical work, newsletters and official documents all show great similarity. In any prose text, for example, standard phrases to link one passage to another are too numerous to be of any use when trying to identify an insertion.²⁶

How do we establish that 'Warwick's apology' was a separate text? What was its original purpose? Why did Wavrin use it? For lack of other external evidence the only way to establish the text's 'separateness' is comparing it to other sections of the *Recueil* in all its

24 Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 169.

25 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sects 2-6, esp. 6.

surviving redactions and to other works that cover the same period. In this case texts happen to be available that have so much in common with the *Recueil* that similarities and differences become highly significant. Louis de Gruuthuse's well-known manuscript of the *Recueil*²⁷ has been taken as 'base text', because, in spite of many indications to the contrary, it appears to be a copy of the most complete surviving redaction; the fact that this text is available in print is, of course, convenient, but it has been attempted to treat all surviving texts in the same critical way.

The second manuscript used in this comparison is BN fr. 15491,²⁸ of which large parts overlap with volume 6 of the *Recueil*. The third manuscript is BN fr. 20358,²⁹ of which extensive sections are identical to parts of volumes 4 and 6 of the *Recueil*. In order to be able to work effectively with this material it is here assumed that the Gruuthuse manuscript represents one redaction of the *Recueil* and the relevant texts in fr. 15491 and fr. 20358 derive from different redactions of the work. All these manuscripts were made after Wavrin's death and whether any of them derive from redactions made during Wavrin's lifetime or represents his personal, let alone 'final' version is impossible to say. Any or all of them may be 'pirated' copies, but fr. 15491 and 20358 in particular may be based on 'genuine' *Recueil* texts that do not survive but may have been as 'good' as the Gruuthuse text. It may be significant, however, that fr. 20358 later belonged to the de Croy family, who inherited Wavrin's possessions.

It is also far from clear whether there is any direct scribal relationship between any of the variant texts used here. So far it has to be assumed that there is not, and it is likely that there were a number of other members to this manuscript family, which have not survived. Comparison of some passages³⁰ suggests that the text as it stands in fr. 15491 preceded that of the Gruuthuse manuscript, and that fr. 20358 contains a later version, which was very accurate but in which some sections appear to have been omitted. Positive evidence is lacking because of the many 'missing links'. The fact that one surviving manuscript contains a text version that appears to be earlier than another does, of course, *not* indicate that that manuscript itself is earlier, and *vice versa*.

Of crucial importance are BL Harley 4424 and BN fr. 88. These manuscripts contain two redactions of the work of the self-styled Monstrelet-continuator,³¹ who is otherwise

26 E.g. Rasmussen, *Prose*, pp. 32-38, 71-75.

27 BN fr. 74-85, partly printed and edited by Dupont and Hardy; see the description of these mss, app. F, below.

28 App. F, below, and pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4, for details.

29 App. F, below, and pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4, for details.

30 App. E, below.

31 App. F, below, for details. Wavrin's English editor, Hardy, assumed that this continuation was an earlier redaction by Wavrin himself, *Wavrin-Hardy*, vol. 1, pp. clvi-clxi. This cannot be

unknown. Textual comparison shows that this text predates the *Recueil* and overlaps with it to such a remarkable extent that it must be either a closely followed source of Wavrin, or he and the Monstrelet-continuator shared sources; it is also at times very different and much more brief and thus provides a means to observe what choices were made – that is, what was added and what was omitted – when the *Recueil* itself was composed. Finally another closely related text, Jacques Du Clercq's *Chronique*, was included in the comparison; his account is at times very garbled but he may have shared sources with Wavrin and the Monstrelet-continuator. By comparing these texts it will be attempted first to 'isolate' 'Warwick's apology', and secondly to analyse as far as possible Wavrin's own image of the Kingmaker.

Wavrin mentions Warwick for the first time when the earl dissuades the duke of York from attacking Henry VI and brings about a temporary reconciliation between the duke and the king (6, 3, 8), which must refer to the events at Dartford in March 1452.³² From the second paragraph of this chapter, through the next two chapters and well into the third, there is great personal emphasis on Richard of York and his quarrel with the duke of Somerset.³³ York is called *sage et clairveant* and *bon duc* and his emotions and views of the political situation are described. His disapproval of the duke of Somerset's misgovernment are given in direct speech, including an oath to St George (6, 3, 8). York *comme prince hardy* was *en grand voullente de remettre le roy son souverain seigneur audessus*, and he and Warwick and Salisbury promise to do the king no wrong (6, 3, 9).

Towards the end of the description of the first battle of St Albans, Wavrin has a short statement of his own, suggesting he had had access to a (second-hand? oral?) report: *et dient les aulcuns, comme je feus adverty, que le roy y fut blechie ou bras*.³⁴ The episode ends with York's mildness towards the king and his returning to *Yorc* (his homeland, where his 'subjects'

maintained for on English matters the text of the Monstrelet-continuator is very different and much shorter than the Gruuthuse ms., fr. 15491 and fr. 20358. In my consideration of the text of the continuator I have used only Harl. 4424 and fr. 88, with occasional reference to the so-called *Histoire du Duc Charles*, BN Dupuy 724 (partly printed in Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 265-334). The comments by Stengers, 'Trois chroniqueurs', p. 127, n. 1, make clear that the continuation included in some early printed editions of Monstrelet is another late redaction of fr. 88 and adds nothing to the evidence. Fr. 88 was originally also owned by Gruuthuse: the text was apparently regarded as different from the *Recueil* – perhaps even *known* to be because the author was known.

32 Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 80-82; Watts, *Henry*, pp. 291-92; Kendall, *Warwick*, p. 23.

33 6, 3, 8 to 11: Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 264, line 21 (*Or advint ...*) to p. 271, line 8 (... *ne la royne*).

34 The first battle of St Albans is not depicted as the neat victory of Warwick it is supposed to have been and the account was not part of 'Warwick's apology'. Wavrin did not use the so-called Dijon-relation and in this instance there is no evidence he had access to the archives of the dukes of Burgundy, compare Armstrong, 'St Albans', p. 3, and below pt II, ch. 3, intro and *passim*. The episode is also in Harl. 4424, f. 157, and fr. 88, f. 138v.

live), with Salisbury and Warwick, all three *moult joieulz* (6, 3, 8). The next chapter has a very short and garbled account of the encounter at Blore Heath, apparently amalgamating it with the ‘rout’ of Ludlow,³⁵ but is mainly remarkable for including events at Newbury, described as a rebellion of York’s loyal dependents who want to keep their ‘money’ for their lord and refuse to give it to the king’s agents.³⁶ The ‘York’ section ends with a reconciliation at which York himself is not present because he is still in Ireland; it appears to be the Loveday of 1458, incorrectly dated to Easterday.³⁷ This confusion is partly due to the insertion of ‘Warwick’s apology’,³⁸ because this also ends with a scene of reconciliation, supposed to take place in 1460 after the political agreement between York and Henry VI. The description of a grand reconciliation given at this point, which is not unique to Wavrin, fits the known facts of the Loveday of 1458, with its solemn procession to St Paul’s.³⁹

Already in the build-up to the first battle of St Albans we have been told that Salisbury and his son would only help York if no harm would come to the king.⁴⁰ To this theme of the Nevilles’ objections to fighting their anointed king is added their – but especially Warwick’s – desire to reconcile the parties and both *Leitmotive* occur again and again from the middle of the chapter that has the end of the ‘York section’. No trace of this emphasis is to be found in the work of the Monstrelet-continuator or Du Clercq, but it is evident in all three *Recueil* redactions used here.

The following passages demonstrate the tone of the narrative: Warwick and Salisbury attempt to make peace (6, 3, 12); the earls exert themselves for the *bien du roy et de la chose publique d’Angleterre* and Warwick wishes the king’s person no more harm *que a son propre corps* (6, 3, 13); they will help York against everybody *exceptee la personne du roy, bien et loyaulment* and they will not make war against *leur souverain seigneur*, they send a very moderate letter to Henry and are very shabbily received by the bishop of *Excestre* (Worcester), who refuses to pass their message on the king (6, 3, 14) ; they will not oppose the king, but only the duke of Somerset (6, 3, 18); York’s son, the earl of March, and Warwick ask the people of Kent to assist them to put the country to order, but they will protect the king against disloyal subjects (6, 3, 22); the same earls claim that they have come to save the king from the

35 This may be another interpolation or a remnant of another text; it resembles Du Clercq, bk 1, ch. 4, which is even more brief and garbled.

36 Johnson, *York*, p. 203; Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 193. Dr Margaret Yates informed me that there were several disturbances at Newbury throughout the 1450s and early 1460s.

37 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 271. York is still absent in Ireland, Salisbury and Warwick acted on his behalf, and there was peace for the next eighteen months.

38 Perhaps also to another ‘joint’ between separate texts impossible to disentangle.

39 End of 6, 3, 35; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 318.

hands of his enemies (6, 3, 23); March, Warwick and Fauconberg say they are neither traitors, nor disloyal (6, 3, 24); they are the king's friends (6, 3, 26); Warwick tells the people of Calais how he has restored the king to his former position (6, 3, 28); Warwick emphatically recommends the king's person to the earls of March, Salisbury and Fauconberg before he leaves for Ireland to see the duke of York (6, 3, 30); when York gathers an army Warwick remains in ignorance of the fact and goes to the king in all innocence (6, 3, 32); when York moves to take the crown Warwick protests (6, 3, 33) and he and March try to make peace because they and their relatives have sworn to guard the king as long as he lived (6, 3, 34).

This 'Warwick-centred' section appears to end with York giving in to advice and relinquishing his efforts to depose Henry (6, 3, 35). That York was made Henry's heir around this time was also known to Du Clercq and the Monstrelet-continuator,⁴¹ whose text is here dovetailed into the end of 'Warwick's apology' in the *Recueil* proper, both texts having a grand reconciliation scene, reminiscent of the Loveday of 1458, at the end. Warwick's apology presumably had an ending that contained the agreement between York and Henry VI and this invited Wavrin to link the two texts at this point. The agreement made a proper ending to the story of Warwick's activities during this crisis, the (anti-)climax being a compromise that acknowledged York's position and descent and Warwick's politically wise role in the process. The emphasis shifts to Edward of March, but Warwick is still present, supporting March, later York, openly. From Wakefield to Towton – that is from York's death to Edward's crucial victory – the text of the *Recueil* is virtually the same as that of the Monstrelet-continuator in Harl 4424 and fr. 88.

Equally telling evidence of a particular interest in Warwick can be found in the description of his relations with Calais. The section actually starts with his appointment as its captain, and his good government of the town and the citizens' love for him become two more *Leitmotive* (his acts of piracy are never mentioned):⁴²

En ce tempz fut le comte de Warewic capitaine de Callaix, lequel gouverna notablement la ville et le pays environ, voire trop mieulx que ses presicesseurs [*sic*] en office navoient fait (6, 3, 11).

When they meet, Henry VI and Warwick *deviserent longuement ensamble du gouvernement de Callaix, et du pays denviron*, and when Warwick returns there after an attempt on his life, not only his uncle, but the soldiers, citizens and merchants of Calais, too, rejoice (6, 3, 13); after

40 Compare Watts, *Henry*, p. 327, n. 281, and pp. 356-59.

41 Harl. 4424, f. 157; fr. 88, f. 139; Du Clercq, bk 1, ch. 5.

42 People in the Low Countries were very aware of what happened at Calais; compare the second satirical epitaph, pt I, ch. 2, sect. 3, below.

the debacle of Ludlow, Calais is his place of refuge; he and Fauconberg go to *Nostre Dame de Saint Pierre* to give thanks to God, and the merchants of the staple, the mayor and the soldiers feast them (6, 3, 16); the people of Calais love Warwick (6, 3, 16) and at his request they all promise to be loyal to the earls of March and Salisbury, asking him to come back soon (6, 3, 17); Warwick is a great sea-captain, *fort sage et ymaginatif*, admired by the people of Calais, who think he stays away too long and when he finally returns they hope he will solve all their problems (6, 3, 19 and 20); when he departs again he leaves his mother in their care (fr. 20358, f. 196⁴³); later, after the battle of Northampton, Warwick *moult desiroit de retourner a Callaix pour veoir sa femme, sa mere et aussi ceulz de la ville* and he is again received by Calais with great joy (6, 3, 28); his struggle with Somerset, ensconced at Guines, is given in great detail, including Somerset's promise never to fight him again, a promise given at *Saint Pierre delez Callaix*; again the merchants of the Staple and everybody else rejoice (6, 3, 29). This is the last reference to the good relationship between the earl and the town. Calais is mentioned again much later as Warwick's place of refuge, but without any emphasis (6, 5, 29). The next reference to the earl and the town occurs when Wavrin goes to visit him early in July 1469 (6, 5, 45 and see above), and the town appears in the well-known account of how the inhabitants refused Warwick, Clarence and their wives entrance in April 1470, an event that is emphatically described in most of the relevant manuscripts (6, 6, 11).⁴⁴ At the very end – ironically – Calais is mentioned among the motives of Warwick's refusal to be reconciled to Edward IV shortly before his death at Barnet: he thought he could always find safety at Calais if he lost the battle (6, 6, 26).⁴⁵

This account of Warwick's 'loving' relations with Calais and the Staple is remarkably – and untruthfully⁴⁶ – positive; it is also full of personal detail. The most striking instance is the adventure that Warwick, his father, the earl of Salisbury, and Edward of March had after the debacle of Ludlow. Not only does the text have the right price of the ship that Warwick bought from a member of the Dynham family to escape to sea,⁴⁷ but there follows an account of Warwick's bravery and decisiveness that appears to be evidence of the hero-worship of a follower who was also an eye-witness:⁴⁸

mais quant ilz furent montez sur leaue, monseigneur de Warewic demanda au maistre maronnier et aux autres silz scavoient le chemin devers le west, a qoy ilz respondirent

43 Fr. 20358 is more detailed and probably more correct; the Gruuthuse ms. (6, 3, 21) has him leave *la dame de Warewic, avec elle la femme de son filz [sic]*.

44 Harl. 4424, f. 259v; fr. 88, f. 245; fr. 15491, f. 236v; fr. 20358, f. 233.

45 Compare *Arrivall*, p. 12.

46 E.g. Harriss, 'Struggle', *passim*.

47 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 41-42.

48 Pearse Chope, 'Last of the Dynhams', pp. 438-39, assumes Wavrin had it from Warwick himself; also Kleineke, 'Dinham family', pp. 243-44.

que non, ne le cours de celle mer ilz ne scavoient, car onques ny avoient este, dont toute la compaignie des seigneurs sesbahy. Lors le comte de Warewic, voiant son pere et tous les autres ainsi effraer, il leur dist pour rescomforter, que au plaisir de Dieu et de monseigneur⁴⁹ Saint George il les menroit bien a port de salut, et de fait se mist en pourpoint, si se tyra vers le tymon, puis fist dreschier la voile ouquel le vent se boutta telement quilz arriverent en lisle Garneuse ou ilz atendirent le vent, tant que Dieu leur donna grace de parvenir a Callaix, ... (6, 3, 15).⁵⁰

A similar, almost ‘novelistic’, but very revealing passage, that appears to contain the crux of the whole narrative of Warwick’s doings between 1455 and 1460 occurs towards the end of ‘Warwick’s apology’, when York has declared his intention to be crowned and Warwick, ignorant of his plans, is very angry because he realises that the nobility and the people do not want the reigning king deposed.⁵¹ He goes to visit the duke to tell him so:

ains entra dans la chambre du duc, quil trouva apuye a ung dreschoir, et quant le duc le parcheut il marcha avant, si saluerent lun lautre, et la y eut grosses parolles entreulz deux, car le comte remoustra au duc comment les seigneurs et le peuple estoient mal contentz contre lui de ce quil voullait ainsi debouter le roy de la couronne. Entre lesquelles parolles vint le comte de Rotelland frere au comte de La Marche, si dist au comte de Warewic: ‘Beau cousin, ne vous courouchies pas, car vous savez que cest nostre droit d’avoir la couronne, et quelle appartient a monseigneur mon pere qui cy est, et l’aura quiconque le voeille veoir’. A laquele parolle respondy le comte de La Marche illec present et dist au comte de Rotelland: ‘Mon frere, ne despitez nulluy, (car)⁵² tout se fera bien’. Apres ces parolles dites et que le comte de Warewic eut bien entendu la voullente du duc d’Yorc, il se party de la tres mal content sans prendre congie a personne, sinon au comte de La Marche auquel il pryra tres affectueusement que le lendemain il se volsist trouver a Londres auz Jacopins ou se tendroit ung conseil, lequel respondy quil ny faudroit pas (6, 3, 33-34).⁵³

As Scofield wrote, this ‘story is so interesting that one would like to believe it’,⁵⁴ but what is the passage – and the ‘apology’ as a whole – actually trying to convey? Warwick comes across as virtuous and politically blameless; sensitive to the situation, loyal to Henry and prepared to tell York exactly what he thinks about his plans; he also has a particularly good relationship with young Edward of March, who is himself sensible and conciliating.

49 From Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, p. 196 (and fr. 20358, f. 190r-v); Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 277, has *monseigneur de Saint George!*

50 Du Clercq, bk 4, ch. 1: *le comte de la marche, aisne fils du duc d’Yorc, le comte de Wervicq et aultres seigneurs de leur compaignie se boutterent en mer a l’avanture en ung petit basteau, et ainsi que fortune le voullut, arriverent a Calaix, mais ce fust grande advanture que tous ne perirent en mer*. Harl. 4424, f. 157, is confused about the order of events and puts Warwick’s sailing after Wakefield: *Le conte de Warvich eschappa de celle bataille et trouva son moyen dissir du royaume et de venir a Callaiz en ung petit batel a pou de gens moult aventureusement*. Fr. 88 is too well informed about Wakefield to make this mistake: Warwick’s escape to Calais after Ludlow does not occur in the text.

51 Above, pt I, Introduction.

52 From fr. 20358, f. 204.

53 Fr. 15491, f. 87v; fr. 20358, f. 204.

54 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 105, n. 1; I cannot agree that the scene reads as if March is trying to turn his father from his purpose; he seems to be merely asking Rutland and everybody else to go slowly. Compare Lander, *Crown*, p. 102.

It was not Wavrin who created this image, it was Warwick himself. Why should Wavrin go out of his way to paint this favourable picture of the English earl? It was Warwick who ‘would not wish to portray [himself] as a traitor and regicide’,⁵⁵ and it was Warwick not Wavrin who was ‘careful throughout [the] narrative of the events at this time, to give the impression that the preparations for York’s attempt on the throne were done without the knowledge of Warwick, thereby exonerating the earl of breach of good faith in the oaths given at St Paul’s and elsewhere’. It was not Wavrin who was ‘anxious to show Warwick in the best possible light’.⁵⁶ I suggest it was the earl himself who desired to create this moderate image and impress people with his loyalty to the reigning king.

At what time of his career would Warwick have wanted to present himself in such a light and to whom? It could have been to the Lancastrians when he was seeking reconciliation with Margaret of Anjou in 1470, were it not for the favourable view of Edward of March and Richard of York which is so obvious in many passages. After Edward’s accession there would have been no reason to reiterate that Warwick had meant to be loyal to Henry. If there was really a separate text, celebrating Warwick in the manner described above, it could have been made to exonerate him of disloyalty to his anointed king after York’s attempted coup⁵⁷ and before Edward realised the claims of his house at the battle of Towton, i.e. between October 1460 and the end of March 1461. It is even more probable, however, that it was composed after York’s death on 30 December 1460: when York was alive foreign observers identified Warwick with the Yorkist cause and saw him as its main support, but it was York who gave the Yorkists their legitimacy and his death weakened Warwick’s position for a while, making him very aware of opinions and doubts abroad.⁵⁸ Once Edward had become the obvious leader of the Yorkist party, especially after Warwick was defeated at St Albans on 17 February 1461, the situation changed again, but it was in the short period between the end of December 1460 and 17 February 1461 that Warwick may have been sensitive to foreign criticism. The letters passing between England and Burgundy and Rome and containing information on events in England emphasise Henry VI’s position as king and his good relations with Warwick. On 11 January 1461 Warwick exerted himself to tell the pope and the duke of Milan all would be well.⁵⁹ The papal legate, Francesco Coppini, in his letters stressed Warwick’s ‘sincere

55 Jones, ‘Yorkist claim’, p. 348 and *passim*.

56 Both Johnson, *York*, pp. 211-15, esp. 212, 213.

57 The Yorkists had always emphasised their loyalty to the crown, e.g. Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 199-200, 209-10, one of the reasons why York’s supporters found it difficult to accept his direct claim in October 1460, Watts, *Henry*, p. 357.

58 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 129-32.

59 *State Papers Venice*, vol. 1, nos 363, 364; Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis, pièce justificative 3*, pp. 274-75 (incorrectly dated); Kendal and Ilardi, *Dispatches*, vol. 2, pp. 76-77.

intentions' towards Henry.⁶⁰ The information that Pius II received made him include in his 'Commentaries' a statement reminiscent of Warwick's 'apology': 'it did not look as if Warwick was going to allow York to depose the man who had been accepted as king'.⁶¹ Philip the Good had a letter from Warwick before 13 January 1461, to which he 'hastened to respond'⁶² and he was about to send an embassy to London to renew the commercial treaty.⁶³ Warwick's defeat at the second battle of St Albans on 17 February prevented this.

The maker of such a narrative of the earl's motives and activities could have been a servant of the earl of Warwick, such as Warwick Pursuivant, who frequently carried closed letters and news to Philip himself.⁶⁴ Or the earl's secretary and cousin, Robert Neville, whose surviving letter shows that he was quite capable of writing a chatty narrative in French including direct speech.⁶⁵ Such men would have been familiar with the town of Calais and able to refer to 'the church of St Pierre' and use such phrases as *Callaix et [le] pays denviron* naturally; they could have remembered what the Neville ladies did and where they were on specific occasions. They respected the duke of York and the earl of March, but worshipped Warwick and could still be 'surprised' at the earl's reception by Londoners, telling their readers all the details in case anyone doubted their master's influence and popularity:

il sen alla a Londres, si fut grant merveilles⁶⁶ des seigneurs et du peuple quy vindrent audevant de luy hors de la ville, et mesmement les enfans⁶⁷ portoient grans estandars et alloient chantant comme sil eust este Dieu. Ainsi comme vous oez⁶⁸ a grant sollempnite et joye fut le comte de Warewic recheu en la cite de Londres et menez ou conduis⁶⁹ jusques a son logis, ouquel, lui descendu, vindrent tantost devers luy le maisre de Londres,⁷⁰ les bourgeois et marchans pour le remercyer des grans biens que ja piecha avoit fais et pourchassies au pays et ancores faisoit journelement; si lui presenterent de grans dons, et auz dames pareillement, sy en fist on grant feste parmy la ville (6, 3, 30 end).⁷¹

60 *State Papers Milan*, vol. 1, pp. 37-40; *State Papers Venice*, vol. 1, pp. 92-95.

61 Head, 'Pius II', p. 160, esp. n. 68. Noted by Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 210, without much comment. Pius actually wrote: *neque enim Varvicius, ..., passurus videbatur eum regno deiici qui rex esset receptus*. (it did not look as if Warwick was going to allow York to throw the man who had been accepted as king out of the kingdom), Pio II, *Commentarii*, bk 3, no. 41, p. 620.

62 Fresne de Beaucourt, *Charles VII*, vol. 6 (*suite*), p. 323; Lille, ADN, B 2040, f. 169.

63 Safe conduct from Henry VI, Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 11, pp. 468-69 (V, 2, p. 102). Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, pp. 378-79.

64 Lille, ADN, B 2040, ff. 237, 267, 268 (this last entry mentions *uurselty escuier d'Angleterre* (Wrottesley??, Worseley?) carrying Warwick's *enseigne* at Towton.

65 To the lieutenant of Calais, Richard Whetehill?, in November 1464, printed Comines-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 211-17; Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis*, p. 64, n. 1.

66 *si fut grant merveilles*, fr. 20358, f. 201v, has instead *et nest point a croire ne a penser*.

67 Fr. 20358 adds *de la ville*.

68 Fr. 20358 omits *comme vous oez*.

69 *conduis*, fr. 20358: *convoiez*.

70 Fr. 20358 adds *tous les seigneurs*.

71 Fr. 15491, f. 84r-v; fr. 20358, f. 201.

Though it appears to be clear where the Warwick story begins and ends, the existence of a separate text can, of course, not be proved without the actual discovery of another copy. There is one more indication that such an account did exist: in four instances, very close together (6, 3, chs 14, 15 and 16) Warwick is called *monseigneur de Warewic*, a turn of phrase that occurs very rarely in the *Recueil*⁷² and may be the overlooked remnants of a direct report in the first person by a servant of Warwick.⁷³ Warwick's mother is called *madame sa mere* (6, 3, 19; fr. 20358, ff. 195v and 196⁷⁴), but the latter phrase is less unusual.⁷⁵

As said before, this 'apology' of Warwick does not occur in the work of the Monstrelet-continuator, or anywhere else in Burgundian, French or English sources. It appears to have been known only to Wavrin, and analogy with other texts he used, including texts only *he* used, suggests that the duke of Burgundy was its original recipient. It may date from the beginning of 1461, when it was imperative for Warwick to clear his reputation and explain to Philip the Good and his counsellors what he had done before and during the crisis in England, and why. A possible reason for its composition may have been exerting influence on the Burgundian embassy that was preparing to leave for England. It is known that Warwick was writing to the pope, the duke of Burgundy and other foreign rulers at that time.⁷⁶

Why did Wavrin use 'Warwick's apology'? The answer is simple: it was available, and he used everything available, even when it was less relevant than this account. Also, the text was interesting and entertaining and probably agreed with Wavrin's image of Warwick at the time he included it. Later he had to change his mind and we therefore have to consider what Wavrin's attitude to Warwick was in the sections of his work that are not based on material emanating from the earl himself.

As said earlier, after York's death Warwick still plays a large role in the events, but the emphasis changes. This has to be explained by the fact that the whole of Warwick's apology was indeed an interpolation. In the accounts of the battles of Blore Heath, Ludlow and Northampton, which were inserted next – *en bloc* and chronologically in the wrong place⁷⁷

72 Used once of the duke of Bedford, 5, 5, 6.

73 E.g. my, 'Commentary', p. 522, for similar remains of a source in a different mode.

74 Fr. 20358 differs from the Gruuthuse ms.; it is more correct and 'personal', adding: *madame de Warwicq sa femme laquelle avoit souffert mainte douleur durant son voyage*; and describing her welcome in Calais.

75 *madame* also in 5, 3, 29 (end); 6, 6, 28.

76 Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, p. 378; Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 214-15: Warwick 'seems to have found it easier to confide in foreigners'(!); Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 115, 129-31.

77 6, 3, 36-38. Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 319-24, fr. 15491, ff. 90v-91v; the section with the three battles does not occur in fr. 20358 (nor in Harl. 4424 or fr. 88).

probably from yet another separate source – Warwick figures prominently, but is described in a very different way, the word *soubtil* being used for the first time and in a negative sense:

Lequel comte de Warewic avoit grant voix du peuple pour ce quil le scavoit entretenir par belles douces parolles, en soy moustrant familier et communicatif avec eulz comme soubtil pour parvenir a ses fins, en leur donnant a entendre que de toute sa puissance il tenroit la main a laugmentation et utilite de la chose publicque du royaume (6, 3, 36).

The battle of Blore Heath, confused with that of Ludlow, had already been described briefly just before Warwick's 'apology', at the end of the 'York-centred section'; its reoccurrence shows how much confusion could be created by using separate narratives. /c

From the end of Warwick's apology the events are always shared with the new duke of York and the focus shifts to the latter. Wavrin's report of Edward's accession and first battles reads like a chivalric romance, the young protagonist behaving exactly as a romantic hero should: mourning his father and his friends, haranging his troops before battle, dismounting to fight on foot with his men, expressing his gratitude to Warwick and other supporters before his splendid coronation, *and* looking the part: 'twenty-two years old, fair and a pleasure to behold, his whole body well proportioned, as good as anyone you could find in the whole of England'.⁷⁸ Mysteriously the transition from Warwick to Edward as the main shaper of events does not come about in the same way in all versions of the story: in one redaction of the Monstrelet-continuator and in Du Clercq, Warwick is still the hero of the battle of Towton, mourning his father like a man, speaking to the troops and killing his horse before the battle,⁷⁹ but in Wavrin's *Recueil* and the other redaction of the Monstrelet-continuator it is the young duke of York who rides along the battle lines and exhorts the men to be loyal, *etc.* (6, 3, 48).⁸⁰ Most texts agree, however, that Warwick was badly wounded, because the press of the battle was the greatest where he was (*ibid.*).⁸¹ and so forth |

After Towton Warwick, like other *grans seigneurs*, becomes part of the Yorkist 'establishment', being made Lord Chamberlain (6, 4, 1) and remaining loyal when the earl of Oxford conspires to kill Edward (6, 4, 2).⁸² When the *besognes d'Angleterre* are taken up again by the *Recueil* after a long excursion on Burgundy and France, Warwick's pursuit of Margaret

78 6, 4, 1, Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 349; fr. 15491, f. 105; fr. 20358, f. 213; not in the Monstrelet-continuator or Du Clercq.

79 Du Clercq, bk 4, ch. 24; Monstrelet-continuator: Harl. 4424, f. 158v. Du Clercq mentioned by Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 219.

80 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 277-79, n. 1. Monstrelet-continuator: fr. 88, f. 145r-v. Fr. 15491, f. 100; fr. 20358, f. 211.

81 Fr. 15491, ff. 100v-101; fr. 20358, f. 211; fr. 88, f. 145v; not in Du Clercq and Harl. 4424. Compare the remarks about Warwick's habitual caution, if not cowardice, quoted below.

82 Both facts also in fr. 88, ff. 147v-148; fr. 15491, ff. 106-07; fr. 20385, ff. 213v-214.

of Anjou in the North is very briefly mentioned without comment or special praise (6, 4, 27);⁸³ much more attention is paid to her escape and Philip the Good's reception of her and her son (6, 4, 28).⁸⁴

Genuine interest in Warwick's doings returns when Edward IV's marriage is discussed. In true 'romantic' style Wavrin describes how Edward's lords are pleased that he plans to marry and have an heir, but they are *pas contents* about his choice, saying that though the lady is good and beautiful, she is not the right kind of wife for such a great prince (6, 4, 34).⁸⁵ The king's choice, together with his high-handed attitude, pursuing his desires and ignoring his nobles' objections, creates a fatal rift at court. Immediately after the great feast to celebrate the wedding, 'to which some people came and others did not', the earl of Warwick departs, taking with him 'the greater part of the gentlemen of the court and the great lords',⁸⁶ leaving the king behind in a rage. Like at King Arthur's court, when Lancelot has fallen in love with the queen, the decline caused by distrust and envy sets in: *si commencerent lors les envies de regner a la court* (6, 5, 1). The reign of the new queen's relatives begins, Warwick starts to plot with whoever he can, including the king's brothers (6, 5, 2).⁸⁷

English matters are virtually left unmentioned for twenty-two chapters,⁸⁸ but when they are returned to, Wavrin's attitude to Warwick is again a little more hostile. He is *le plus subtil homme de son vivant* and his conspiring now starts to include the king of France (6, 5, 25), which to any Burgundian – including Wavrin who had been prepared to admire the earl – was a threat that could not be overlooked. As will be seen, however, the wording of Wavrin⁸⁹ remains milder than that of other chroniclers; some understanding of Warwick's side of the conflict is apparent throughout, as well as a sense of disbelief and disappointment at the behaviour of such a great man: *machinations et trahisons ... de quoy on neust jamais mescreu si hault prince que le comte de Warewic* (6, 5, 26).⁹⁰ The Edward of the *Recueil* has no

83 Or not at all: in fr. 20358, f. 218r-v, the tone is the same. Du Clercq and Harl. 4424 do not mention Warwick at all in this context, but Du Clercq has a laconic story in which Warwick plays a major role and which summarises the career of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, in 1462-64: Warwick defeats him, takes him prisoner and presents him to Edward, who has him beheaded, Du Clercq, bk 5, ch. 10.

84 Fr. 15491, f. 148r-v; fr. 20358, ff. 218v-219v. Margaret's adventures in Scotland and reception by Duke Philip are also in Harl. 4424, f. 177r-v; fr. 88, f. 167r-v; Du Clercq, bk 5, ch. 1.

85 Fr. 15491, f. 158v; fr. 20358, f. 220.

86 Actually the text first says that Warwick took 'several' people with him; the phrase 'the greater part' is subtly used in the next sentence, where Edward's view is given.

87 In Harl. 4424, ff. 193v-194, and fr. 88, ff. 182v-183, the comments on Edward's marriage are different and Warwick is not yet mentioned (see below).

88 In fr. 20358 these chapters are omitted!

89 In fr. 15491, fr. 20358 and the Gruuthuse manuscript.

90 Fr. 15491, f. 205v, is identical; fr. 20358, f. 222, reads: *Laquelle chose le roy neust jamais pense que ung sy hault homme, comme le comte de Warwich estoit, devist avoir pense et telz deshonnourables et vituperables choses, quy [=ce quy] est reprochable et infame a tous ceulx*

suspicions: 'he was young, and had no idea what was planned against him and he made Warwick very welcome'. He listens to the earl's advice on future relations with France, not realising that the earl means to improve relations with France merely in order to destroy, eventually, both Edward and the duke of Burgundy (6, 5, 25). [Follows a very detailed account of the visit of a French embassy, including who met whom and recording a conversation between Warwick and one of the Frenchmen, both very disturbed at Edward's refusal to communicate with the ambassadors directly. Finally Warwick discusses the situation with the young duke of Clarence – *jeune et oyant* – and leads him to believe that he can make him king or regent; Clarence consents to marrying Warwick's elder daughter in return (6, 5, 28). Warwick escorts the French ambassadors to the coast, planning on the way how they can 'chase Edward from his kingdom and the duke of Burgundy from his lands'; he warns his allies in the North to be ready and himself sails for Calais (6, 5, 29). Edward is informed of the problems brewing in the North and prepares himself (6, 5, 30) and Warwick, *homme subtil en tout mal et trop sedicieux en tout engin cavilleux*,⁹¹ is splendidly received by the king of France (6, 5, 31).

These

a /

English matters are again skipped for several chapters except the wedding of Charles of Burgundy and Margaret of York, which is not described in great detail *adfin deschiever prolixite* (6, 5, 36). The reason for the marriage, which the king of France had done everything to prevent, particularly by befriending the earl of Warwick, is simply stated: if Charles had not married the king of England's sister he would have found the kingdoms of England and France allied against him, *sique pour tant grant perilz eviter le duc se estoit condescendu a parfaire ce mariage* (ibid.)⁹² In the next year, 1469, the earl is received by Duke Charles at St Omer and visits 'his cousin' Duchess Margaret at Aire, *qui doucement le recoeilla car jamais on neust pense a ce quoy il contendoit*. This same chapter has Wavrin's famous visit to Warwick at Calais, discussed above. The antagonism between Warwick and the Woodvilles is taken up again, ending in the summary execution of Earl Rivers and Sir John Woodville at the castle of *Kellingort*⁹³ near Coventry (6, 5, 46).⁹⁴ The next chapter has more on the uprising in the North

quy de telz mes [-mets] se veullent servir. It is likely the first opinion is Edward's, the second (from *quy*) the author's. I am grateful to René Stuij for his help.

91 A phrase also in the Monstrelet-continuator, Harl. 4424, f. 239v.

92 Harl. 4424, f. 245v, and fr. 88, f. 232, have exactly the same.

93 So spelled in the Gruuthuse ms. – Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 581; Hardy interpreted this as Kenilworth – and fr. 15491, f. 225. Fr. 20358, f. 225v, has *kaellingert*. According to Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 498, it should be Gosford Green, 'just outside Coventry'.

94 In Harl. 4424, f. 256, and fr. 88, f. 241v, they are beheaded, but a curious story is added: *De celle bataille eschapa le seigneur de Scalles, et depuis fut il prins soy cuildant saulver et retraire en Hollande, et remenez en Angleterre; mais il chut en si bonnes mains et si estoit si bien renomme quil eut sa vie saulve*.

and the battle of Edgecote, not mentioning Warwick with any emphasis, but not leaving any doubt that he was behind it all (6, 5, 47).⁹⁵

The last book of the last volume of Wavrin's work starts with the execution of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and his brother, who are 'handed over to the people' at Warwick's command and 'piteously stoned to death'. The capture of Edward by George Neville, Archbishop of York, is given in great detail and takes up the rest of the chapter; in the Gruuthuse manuscript the scene of the capture is illustrated in the full page miniature that heads this book (fig. 1).⁹⁶ Fr. 20358 does not actually have the capture, nor Edward's captivity, but fr. 14591 is identical to the Gruuthuse manuscript (6, 6, 1). These two texts also have the story of the duke of Burgundy's letter to the mayor and people of London, in which he reminds them of the alliance between himself and them and exhorts them to be loyal to Edward and himself (6, 6, 2). Warwick, hearing about this letter, fears the people will rebel against him, because he is holding the king prisoner and

faignant quil ne sceut riens desdites lettres, dist ung jour au roy que bon serroit quil allast a Londres pour soy moustrer au peuple et visiter la royne sa femme; a quoy le roy, qui ne demandoit autre chose, respondy quil le feroit moult voullentiers. Et lors le comte, par une maniere fainte, rescripvi auz Londriens que le roy les alloit veoir ...

The earl explains to the people of London that he did everything in order to oppose Lord Rivers and his son, who extorted great sums of money from the people by pretending they would raise an army to conquer France, but actually spent the money on themselves. Everybody is convinced by Warwick's words and Edward is forced to pardon him, though he knows very well that the earl has no intention to be loyal to him (6, 6, 2).⁹⁷

The next chapter has a short introduction which leads into a French version of the English text now known as the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*;⁹⁸ the change from one text to another is unnoticable to the reader and there is no reference to a source, but thanks to the survival of an English copy there is no doubt about the originally separate existence of this section. The text, the French version and its inclusion in Wavrin's work will not be discussed here, but in a later chapter on Wavrin's sources and method.⁹⁹ All surviving versions are very close to each other and must go back to one text that was composed by Edward IV's secretariat; it does not really inform us about Burgundian views of Warwick, except for the

95 Goodman, *Wars*, pp. 68-69, uses Wavrin as a source on the battle.

96 BN fr. 85, f. 277; illustrated *Richard III's Books*, fig. 60.

97 Note the chatty description of these events; fr. 15491, f. 228.

98 In fr. 20358 this text was inserted earlier. Edward's capture and the duke of Burgundy's letter are, however, lacking in this ms., which is the more curious because the letter and its effect on Warwick are mentioned in Harl. 4424, ff. 256-257, and fr. 88, ff. 241v-242v, in virtually the same words as in the Gruuthuse ms. and in fr. 14591, see below.

99 Pt II, ch. 3, sect. 6, below.

fact that it was accepted as a source and used in Burgundy. It provides another sample of the kind of texts that were available to Wavrin.

In the Gruuthuse manuscript the *Rebellion in Lincolnshire* is followed by a very short account of the same events (6, 6, 10); this was probably a separate report that reached Burgundy a little before the longer one, as it also occurs, on its own, in the work of the

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Fig. 1. Edward IV betrayed by George Neville, Archbishop of York. From the *Recueil des chroniques d'Engleterre*, BN ms. fr. 85, f. 277 (*Recueil* 6, 6, 1).

Monstrelet-continuator; it was tacked on to the *Rebellion* in fr. 15491, but omitted in fr. 20358.¹⁰⁰ As a result of the defeat of the northern rebels Warwick and Clarence had to flee England with their family and tried to enter Calais; thwarted in this attempt Warwick turned

away and attacked and captured several Spanish, Dutch (*Hollandois*), Hanseatic and English ships, throwing their crews into the sea *sans quelque mercy* and then sailing for Honfleur where he was welcomed by the French. Burgundian, Breton and English ships were sent to sea to find Warwick but only Lord Scales was successful, retaking forty ships; *lequel victore, escripvi (le roy Edouard)¹⁰¹ au (roial)¹⁰² duc de Bourgoigne, dont il fut moult joieux*, another indication that letters were written, however seldom they were mentioned. The same chapter continues with the acts of piracy by the Bastard of Faulconberg and the increasing problems faced by French and Burgundian merchants, because of sanctions against them by the duke and the king in retaliation for each other's measures (6, 6, 11). In July 1470 Warwick attempted to leave the safe place near Honfleur where he was staying, but threatened by the Burgundian fleet he, *accoustume de fuyr et tousjours partyr de bonne heure, se retraist hastivement*.¹⁰³ There is also mention of a brother-in-law of Warwick¹⁰⁴ raising an army in England and being defeated by Lord Scales (6, 6, 12).

The next short chapter (6, 6, 13) is merely an introduction to the alliance that became particularly infamous in Burgundian eyes once it was known: the treaty of Amboise of 26 and 28 November between Louis XI and young Edward of Lancaster, concluded after Warwick had already returned to England and shortly before the prince's marriage to Warwick's younger daughter, Anne, which sealed the triple alliance of France, Warwick and Lancaster, was solemnised. It was meant to be a very active alliance. Edward of Lancaster was to make war against the duke and his ally, the exiled 'Edward of March, calling himself Edward IV', the war was not to end before the defeat of the duke of Burgundy and the conquest of all his lands had been accomplished, and neither party was to make peace separately nor divulge the contents of the treaty on any pretext. Such was the hatred Burgundians felt for Warwick that in two of the three surviving copies the treaty is called *convenances et alyances faites entre le roy de France et le comte de Warewic*, though Warwick's name does not occur in it and he did not sign it.¹⁰⁵

100 Harl. 4424, ff. 258v-259; fr. 88, ff. 243v-244v; fr. 15491, f. 236r-v.

101 Harl. 4424, f. 260, and fr. 88, f. 245v, fr. 20358, f. 233v, have Edward as the author of the letter, which must surely be correct; they also omit the odd *roial*.

102 Fr. 15491, f. 237v, has *noble* (and names Edward).

103 Harl. 4424, f. 261v; fr. 88, f. 246v; fr. 15491, f. 238v; fr. 20358, f. 233. Fr. 15491 is closest in wording to the Gruuthuse ms.

104 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 607, assumes this is Lord Fitzhugh; see Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 534. He is called *ung puissant conte* in the Gruuthuse ms. and in fr. 14591, f. 238v. In Harl. 4424, ff. 261v-262, and fr. 20358, f. 234v, he is *le conte de* [blank] three times; in fr. 88, f. 246v, he is *le conte de* [blank] once and elsewhere *ce conte* and *ledit conte*.

105 Fr. 15491 (incl. the treaty, ff. 239v-241) is identical with the Gruuthuse text. The document is not in Harl. 4424 and fr. 88, though the author seems to have known about it: f. 263 and f. 247v respectively, ... *alliances faites entre le roy Loys et le prince de Galles a la mysance du duc de*

In the Gruuthuse manuscript (6, 6, 15-16) and fr. 15491 (ff. 241-242) the story of Warwick's and Clarence's return to England in September follows after the text of the November treaty. Though chronologically wrong, logically this order is acceptable as it makes plain to the reader the threat that Warwick posed to Burgundy at the time he chased Edward out of his kingdom. Warwick's successful campaign and Edward's adventures are told in a rather bland, factual way. In the work of the Monstrelet-continuator and in fr. 20358 Warwick's return is told in an entirely different manner, mentioning the failure of the Burgundian fleet to contain him – a failure that caused a stir at the Burgundian court – and again dramatically emphasising the earl's duplicity and hypocrisy (see below).¹⁰⁶ The narrative of Edward's exile is not taken up until several chapters later, when Charles' campaign in the Somme region early in 1471 has been fully described. For Edward's return a redaction of the famous account by one of his servants was used, which will be discussed elsewhere, in a separate chapter on the newsletters from England.¹⁰⁷

As said above comparison of the accounts covering these years suggests that Wavrin put together a sympathetic account of Warwick's actions in his struggle with Edward IV, but to prove this some sample passages from the earlier and cruder version in Burgundian sources need to be quoted. The relevant sections of the Monstrelet-continuator in Harl. 4424 and fr. 88 (and even a few passages in fr. 20358) are very different in tone and much closer to the entirely black and white views and unmitigated hatred that characterise the poems written about Warwick in the Burgundian lands in 1470-71 and immediately after.¹⁰⁸ Some examples of the most comprehensive yet succinct passages give a clear and simplistic Burgundian view of Warwick and his motives:¹⁰⁹

[Harl. 4424, f. 255] **Cy parle daucunes grandes seditions et nouvelletez faites ou royaume d'Angleterre. Et comment le Roy Edouard fut prins en une bataille quil perdy contre le conte de Warvich.**

Oudit an lxi environ la fin de Julet furent en Angleterre grandes seditions et nouvelletez au grant doumage de tout le pays par la trayson subtile et engin dyabolique dun grant seigneur du pays nomme messire Richard de Neuville, Conte de Warvich

Bourgoigne comme je diray aprez (which he does not, except by a very brief remark, to be found in fr. 88, ff. 250v-251, and also still in the Gruuthuse ms. (6, 6, 18)). Fr. 20358, f. 235v, also has this announcement and has the full text, f. 236v, in its proper place chronologically – i.e. after Edward's flight to Holland – and with its correct title: ... *lettres des accords et alyances faittes entre le Roy Loys de France et son cousin Edouard, Prince de Galles, desquelles est faite mention chy dessus*; Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 174-75.

106 Harl. 4424, ff. 262v-263v; fr. 88, ff. 247v-248; fr. 20358, f. 235r-v.

107 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 6.

108 Du Clercq's chronicle ends with Philip the Good's funeral in 1467.

109 The Monstrelet-continuator: Harl. 4424, ff. 254v-56, and fr. 88, f. 240v. Dupont-Wavrin, vol. 3, pp. 277-79, printed the same passage from another ms, the so-called *Histoire de Charles, dernier Duc de Bourgogne*, BN Fonds Dupuy 724. Fr. 20358 omits this passage.

depar sa femme qui eust este [blank]¹¹⁰ du feu conte de Salsbery qui fut en son temps ung des plus vaillans hommes de toute Angleterre.¹¹¹ Ce conte de Warwic estoit fort en la grace du commun d'Angleterre et par sa subtilite avoit trouve moyen de deposer de sa couronne le Roy Henry, lequel estoit simple homme et innocent et avoit espouse la fille du Roy Rene de Secile, Duc d'Angiers, de laquelle il avoit un beau filz, quon nommoit prince de Galles. Mais ce conte de Warwic avoit telement seduit le peuple quil leur fist entendant que la royne avoit abuse de son corps et que le prince de Galles estoit batard et que le Roy Henry estoit impotent a faire generation. Le peuple, quil est de legiere creance especialement en mauvaistiez, croioit ce conte de Warwic de tout ce quil leur disoit, et furent contens que le Roy Henry fust desposez et tenu prisonnier en la Tour de Londres ... Tendant ce conte de Varvic a fin que Edouard, filz du duc d'Yorch par avant decapite, prensist sa fille a femme et que sa fille fust royne, il procura telement que Edouard fu roy couronne du gre de tout le pays, et le fut. Mais ce Roy Edouard sestoit enamoure de la fille du seigneur de Rivieres, angloiz, laquelle fille estoit niepce du conte de Saint Pol, la plus belle fille d'Angleterre. Et estoit lors commune renommee que le Roy Edouard lavoit prinse a femme pour se tresgrande beaulte.

¶Pour lequel mariage le conte de Warwic [f. 255v] moult desplaisant, se trouva a eslongier et a non frequenter le Roy Edouard si souvent quil souloit, desplaisant aussy que le roy Edouard avançoit plus quil ne vouldist le seigneur de Rivieres, son beau pere, et ses enfans, dont entre les aultres il avoit ung filz seigneur de Scalles, moult beau chevalier et moult bien renomme, quil avoit avancie avec son pere et ses aultres enfans plus que Warwic ne vouldist. Pour lesquelles causes, ou aultres que je ne scay, icellui conte de Warwic proceda telement contre le Roy Edouard quil se declara tout en appert son ennemy mortel et assambla tous ceulz quil peut avoir a son party, les mis aux champs pour aler a Londres pour deffaire le Roy Edouard. Lequel roy, adverty de toutes ces choses assembla tout son pouvoir pour aler combatre ses ennemis et sen issy de Londres droitement le iij^e jour aprez quil eut prins lordene du duc de Bourgogne. Et sen ala le seigneur de Crequy¹¹² avec lui en armes et aucuns de sa compaignie avec lui, mais quant ilz vindrent aux champs le roy le renvoya a Londres notablement et manda a ceulz de Londres quilz lui feissent autant dhonneur comme ilz vorroient faire a sa propre personne et quon lui baillast les clefz de la ville sil vouloit entrer ou issir de leens a quelque heure que se fust; le mayeur de Londres honnoura moult le seigneur de Crequy tant comme il seiourna ou pays. ¶Or estoit encores advenu que le conte de Warwic, pour meulz venir a ses mauvaises fins, avoit donnee sa fille en mariage au duc de Clarence, frere du Roy Edouard, tendant tousiours a mettre division ou pays, mesmement entre ces deux freres, et puet estre quil tendoit a la mort du Roy Edouard afin que son beau filz de Clarence fust roy, et par tant sa fille royne. ¶Les compaignies saprocerent si quil ny avoit que de combatre, mais Warwic ny estoit pas, ains se tenoit plus seurement en une bonne place, atendant illec la fortune [f. 256] de celle bataille pour soy saulver au besoing. Car on disoit de lui communement quil ne se trouvoit jamais ou tard ou enviz en batailles pour les perilz qui y sont.

Edward is defeated and taken, but left unharmed; Rivers and Sir John Woodville beheaded, Scales escapes. Charles the Bold sends his letter to the mayor of London (see above) which has

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- 110 Fr. 88 has *femme*; the identical text in the *Histoire de Duc Charles* has *fille*; see Wavrin-Dupont.
 111 There may be confusion here between Anne Beauchamp's grandfather, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, a man with an international reputation, and Warwick's own father, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.
 112 Créquy and others had taken the insignia of the order of the Golden Fleece to Edward in April 1469; Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 484-85, 488, 500-01 (incl. reference to fr. 88); Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 575, 579. The Gruuthuse ms, fr. 15491, ff. 224v, and fr. 20358, f. 225, say that the ambassadors were in great danger because Warwick had just landed, but do not mention their accompanying Edward or their reception by London. For Jean, Lord of Créquy, also below, pt II, ch. 1, sects 2 and 3.

the desired effect on Warwick's actions and Edward is obliged to pardon him. The text continues with a passage in which Warwick almost calls himself 'the Kingmaker' and which ascribes an important diplomatic rôle to the duke:

[Harl. 4424, f. 257]¹¹³ ¶ Voirement estoit ce grant malice et faulsete a ce conte de Warwic de vouloir faire entendant au peuple d'Angleterre quil pourchassoit le bien et lonneur du Roy Edouard et du royaume et neensmoins il pourchassoit soy allier au roy de France pour destruire le Roy Edouard, comme la fin le demonstra depuis, et telement que une foiz entre les aultres il en descouvrit son couraige et se vanta publiquement quil avoit fait roy Edouard de la Marche, mais il le defferoit quant il vorroit et feroit couronner son frere le duc de Clarence, lequel avoit sa fille espousee. Pour certain ainsi leust il fait par layde du roy de France neust este la crainte du duc de Bourgogne et les lettres quil envoya au mayeur et au commun de Londres, lesquelz vouloient tenir fermement ce quilz lui avoient promis ou par amour ou par crainte.

Another section that is different from Wavrin's version is the story of Warwick's return to England in September 1470:

[Harl. 4424, f. 262v]¹¹⁴ Oudit an lxx. environ la fin de Septembre le conte de Warwic se party du pays de Normandie a toute son armee de mer et sen ala descendre en Angleterre sans ce que larmee du duc de Bourgogne, qui tenoient la mer et devoient guetter sur lui, lui baillassent quelque empeschement. Et dist on quil se party secretement par temps de bruyne, si que leurs ennemis ne les pouvoient veir. Ilz arriverent en Angleterre au port de [Dartemue]¹¹⁵ et de ce port sen ala Warwic a Londres ou il fu receux a moult grant joye. Et tost [f. 263] aprez il fist le peuple assambler et leur remonstra en grant samblant de humilite congnoissant quil avoit mal fait d'avoit deboute le Roy Henry, et pour avoir pardon il avoit envoyet a Romme. Lequel pardon il avoit obtenu par tele condition quil avoit promis de remettre icellui Roy Henry en sa maieste royale et de en rebouter le Roy Edouard et que pour ce faire il estoit revenus ou pays. A la verite il avoit promis ce faire au Roy Loys de France. Et par ce moyen le Roy Loys avoit fait la paix de lui et de la royne d'Angleterre, femme du Roy Henry et du prince de Galles, son filz. Et estoit traittiet entre eulz que ce prince de Galles prendroit a mariage la fille de Warwic, et de fait il le avoit fiancye en France ou lors ilz estoient tous. Et oultre avoient este alliances faites entre le Roys Loys et le prince de Galles a la nuyssance de duc de Bourgoigne, comme je diray aprez.

It is not known whether Warwick ever claimed he had a pardon from the Pope and turned 'Lancastrian' as penitence.¹¹⁶ Chastelain has a similar version of the events: Warwick throwing himself on his knees before the people and asking their pardon.¹¹⁷ The story sounds like a romance motif: the evil protagonist – like, for example, Robert the Devil – obtaining a pardon for all his previous crimes, but its occurrence in at least two Burgundian sources suggests that the earl did indeed go through a show of humility in public.

113 Fr. 88, f. 242r-v. Not in fr. 20358.

114 Also in fr. 88, ff. 247v-248; fr. 20358, f. 235r-v.

115 Blank in the ms.; supplied from fr. 88 and fr. 20358.

116 Compare Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 296-300.

117 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, p. 485; below, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 3.



The Monstrelet-continuator goes on to tell how Edward prepared himself for battle, but the commander of his vanguard, *le frere de Warwick, Marquis de Montagu*,¹¹⁸ changed sides and left Edward with only *ung petit nombre de nobles hommes* who advised him to flee. He stays for a while in Holland, supported by the duke of Burgundy, while Warwick restores Henry to his former estate. After an interval describing the treason of Charles' bastard brother Baudouin and the duke's campaign against the French, Edward's visit to his brother-in-law at Aire is mentioned not only by the Monstrelet-continuator, but by all versions.¹¹⁹ The continuator's next mention of Warwick is a short reference to his alliance with Louis and their promise to each other to *destruire de tous points sans mercy le duc de Bourgogne*,¹²⁰ two of the *Recueil* texts have the treaty of Amboise instead, which contains the same information in detail (see above).¹²¹ The final contribution on Warwick in all texts, except in fr. 15491,¹²² is a redaction of the signet letter from Edward that told Charles all about his successful campaign and his return to power. This text, which is discussed in more detail below,¹²³ is English in origin and contains no evidence of Burgundian attitudes to Warwick, except in so far as it undoubtedly confirmed – and finally removed – all Burgundian fears of what *le plus subtil homme de son vivant* had been planning.

Wavrin, alone among Burgundian historians, at least for a time admired the earl. He was better informed than his 'colleagues', having access to a very unusual document, which he included in his work partly because it was available, partly because he trusted its information at the time. It is likely that Wavrin, like Chastelain, composed the relevant part of his history before 1469/70, before Warwick became a threat to Burgundy, and the change of tone in his text, though also the result of his reliance on different sources, does indeed reflect his own change of attitude towards the English earl, whom he had met personally, whom he had

118 In Harl. 4424 this brother is called *le conte de [blank]*, but fr. 88 and fr. 20358 have the correct title.

119 Harl. 4424, f. 265; fr. 88, f. 250; fr. 15491, f. 242; fr. 20358, f. 236v; *Recueil* 6, 6, 17 (end), Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, p. 55 and n.; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 614. In fr. 88 the end of this passage reads: *la pluspart des nobles hommes du pays qui desiroient son [Edward's] retour et qui tenoient encore son party especialement ou pays de north*, to which Harl. 4424 adds: *la ou se tenoit son second frere*, which in fr. 20358 reads: *ouquel se tenoit le ije frere du Roy Edouard quy estoit duc de Clocestre, tiers frere au Roy Edouard*. The Gruuthuse ms. and fr. 15491 have instead, after *north*: *puis sen vint le roy Edouard a Lille, et de la a Bruges* (it has to be remembered that Wavrin lived at Lille at the time). It appears that (the exemplars of) each of the surviving texts had a different piece of information to add, except fr. 88, which represents the least elaborate text.

120 Harl. 4424, f. 266v; fr. 88, ff. 250v-251;

121 The Gruuthuse ms., 6, 6, 140; fr. 20358, ff. 236v-237v, which moves into the story of the return of Edward after a short introduction.

122 This may mean that fr. 15491 represents an earlier redaction of the *Recueil*, but other evidence appears to contradict that.

123 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4.

considered an interesting, even willing, source of information and whose personality he was better able to judge than most contemporaries – and modern commentators. As a result Wavrin remained moderate throughout and kept a sense of proportion. He *was* influenced by ‘Warwick’s apology’, and he *had* at first admired the earl, for he had met him when he was at the height of his powers and when his chivalric reputation was as yet unblemished.¹²⁴ And that last fact is crucial: throughout his work Wavrin is the recorder of chivalric acts, providing entertainment for his chosen reading public, his social equals at the Burgundian court. His purpose in writing, as he himself says, was to *grandement plaire a tous*, and *recreer les esperitz*. His attitude while writing was that of an uninvolved recorder, a herald judging the abilities of the participants in a tournament, fascinated by physical prowess and outward display and recording them plainly and mildly. Therefore he had no room for terms of abuse such as Basin could not resist whenever he mentioned Warwick¹²⁵ and even Chastelain used eventually – and it argues for his impartiality that he did not delete the earlier section in his book that was favourable to the earl.¹²⁶ He also did not omit Warwick’s treasonable actions, but when he voiced his feelings they consisted of a sense of disbelief and disappointment at the behaviour of the earl, at the ‘tricks and treason ... that you would never have believed such a high prince as the earl of Warwick was capable of’ (6, 5, 26).

For a while Wavrin admired the great English earl, but as time went on the historian had to change his mind, for like a character in Boccaccio’s *De casibus*, Warwick, instead of being ‘a man of wisdom and imagination’ (6, 3, 19)¹²⁷ turned into ‘a man without courage’, ‘a crude and cunning traitor’ (6, 6, 25).¹²⁸

124 Philip the Good also admired Warwick, see e.g. the letter of Warwick’s secretary, Robert Neville, in November 1464, printed in Comines-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 211-17.

125 See below, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 2.

126 See below, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 3.

127 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 288; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, p. 210.

128 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 650; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 111, 112. The second phrase does not occur in fr. 20358, f. 242; fr. 15491 ends with 6, 6, 23 and does not have this section at all.

2. Thomas Basin: *'vidi impium exaltum et elevatum sicut cedros Libani'*.

Thomas Basin (Caudebec-en-Caux, 1412 – Utrecht, 30-12-1490),¹²⁹ Bishop of Lisieux since 1447, was a Norman Frenchman, a cleric and man of letters, who in the course of his career was forced several times to flee from danger and change his allegiance to save his life or preserve his integrity.¹³⁰ A man whose modesty on the one hand was 'not his most obvious quality',¹³¹ but who also considered publishing one's own work an act of vainglory. As a small boy Basin, like Adriaan de But (see below), personally experienced what war meant to non-combatants when he and his family were refugees from one Norman town to another for four years. In 1419, at the age of seven, Thomas became a subject of the all-conquering English king. Later he studied at Paris, Louvain, Pavia and Bologna, spending many years in Italy, at Florence, Ferrara and Rome and gaining the patronage of Italian prelates. He became well versed in classical and Christian literature and expert in Roman and canon law;¹³² he took part in a diplomatic mission from the pope to Hungary, 1439-40, and returned to Normandy in the wake of his Italian patrons who had been appointed bishops by the king of England. He was a member of an embassy from Richard, Duke of York, to Charles VII, concerning the marriage of Richard's son, Edward, to the king's daughter. From 1441 he taught canon law at the newly established university of Caen. In 1447 he was elected bishop of Lisieux and went to England to take the oath of homage. After the French recovery of Normandy he became a councillor of Charles VII of France, refused to join the rebellious activities of the Dauphin, later Louis XI, but in 1465 took the side of the League of the Public Weal, the nobles confronting Louis XI led by Charles of Burgundy, then count of Charolais. The league, among other things, desired and temporarily obtained the dukedom of Normandy for the king's brother, Charles, and thus a potential measure of independence for the duchy, which was what attracted Basin. He had to leave France and lived in Geneva, Basle, Trier and Louvain, ending his life at the court of his friend, David of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht.

According to his recent biographer, Bernard Guenée, Basin loved Normandy, the country of his birth, and he considered himself a Frenchman without being passionately so. There were many Englishmen he admired, among them captains such as Andrew Trollope. Basin appears to have accepted English rule as long as it was legitimate and beneficent. Above all he loved peace and justice. He never had any reason to trust the king of France, least of all Louis XI, by whom he felt betrayed and abused, and who was the cause of his frequent flights from one town and one country to another later in his life. Fear, according to Guenée, in

129 Family and death, Schutte, 'Basijn', esp. col. 161, n. 34; tomb, Glazema, 'Opgravingen'.

130 Basin, *Louis*, introduction; what follows is based on Guenée, *Eglise et Etat*, pp. 301-435.

131 De Groër, 'Formation', p. 271.

an age when there was much to fear, particularly for a scholar, was the main instigator of Basin's actions. When asked his opinion about the trial of Joan of Arc, he responded with a treatise in which largely taken up by the argument that the verdict should be annulled because the judges had been afraid.

His work, which he never published, was written as an apology for his actions and an explanation of his attitude to his country and his king; Guenée calls it *une apologie de la fuite*. Basin had learned to trust nobody, least of all princes; loyalty in his view was the highest virtue, treason the greatest sin, committed by many of the great men of his time, including, eventually, Charles the Bold, whom he had admired.¹³³ As Basin had the ambition to write history in the classical style, he could not help interspersing his work, even when copying other sources, such as the English signet letter that reported on Edward's return to power,¹³⁴ with observations and reflections of a general and moral nature. It is only fair to say that, as far as Warwick's changing of sides and Edward IV's miraculous return are concerned, events justified such philosophical meditation.

Given Basin's high regard for loyalty and good faith, the foundation stones of friendship and justice, it is not surprising to hear him rail against the arch-turncoat, Warwick, whenever possible. Basin was not interested in Warwick's background and early career and hardly referred to his part in the English civil wars. His only interest was in the earl's relationship with Louis XI, and in his very first mention of Louis' connection with Warwick, the earl is called 'an expert in deceit and the ideal instrument for treason, who, [Louis] hoped, would help him to obtain everything he wanted from England'.¹³⁵ This is what the earl remained throughout Basin's narrative: a traitor used by a more powerful traitor.

At first, according to Basin, Warwick hesitated to commit himself: with the habitual suspicions of Englishmen he feared a trap behind Louis' overtures.¹³⁶ Eventually, however, while ambassador to France, flattered and feasted to excess, he entered into private conference with Louis and under colour of discussing an alliance between the two kingdoms, they planned the submission of England to Warwick's will and its cooperation with France, whichever king ruled in England. In this episode Warwick is said to have been 'remarkably well provided with all sorts of tricks'. Both Charles and Edward were careful and suspicious, however, particularly Edward already realising what the word of, and an alliance with, the French king

132 His library, Samaran and Vernet, 'Livres'.

133 Contamine, 'Charles'.

134 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 6.

135 Basin, *Louis*, vol. 1, pp. 84-85, 286-87.

136 *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

was worth.¹³⁷ The first sign of Edward's shaking off Warwick's mentorship was his off-hand treatment of the French ambassadors who visited England at the time when Warwick was in France. They were forced to return empty handed and Edward, in the meantime, concluded a marriage treaty with Charles of Burgundy, turning Warwick's own embassy to France into a farce. This offended the earl deeply and made him hate Edward for the rest of his life; thereafter he did what he could to foster hatred between Edward and his subjects.¹³⁸

The events of 1470-71 are given in unusual detail by Basin, he even gives a date to them, a rare thing with him. The clash between Edward and Warwick and the latter's flight with Clarence, his reception by Louis XI, 'even warmer because en route he had captured thirty or forty Burgundian ships' – which was notoriously untrue – and the economic measures by France and Burgundy that followed are all described. Warwick, *perfidissimus proditor*, realised he needed Henry and his supporters to defeat Edward, and 'to this matter he turned all his talents for inventing ruses and treachery, with which he was notably and richly provided' (*omnes suas artes ad machinandos dolos et prodiciones, quibus insigniter erat atque opulenter instructus, ad eam rem perficiendam contraxit*). In England 'the perfidious mob, more unstable than the waves of the sea in a storm' – it is not clear whether Basin is referring specifically to the English or to the common people in general – was already tired of their new king, i.e. Edward, and willing to change. Warwick, the great architect of deceit (*magnus ille prodicionum artifex*) asked Louis to intercede with Margaret of Anjou, whom in the past the earl had not only betrayed and deposed, but also insulted by saying that her son was not Henry's child.¹³⁹ The various agreements between the French and Lancastrian parties were known to Basin as they became, in the end, known to everybody. In fact, it is Basin who reveals that Edward of Lancaster's instrument of the treaty between Louis and Lancaster, which planned the destruction of Burgundy, was found in the prince's luggage after the battle of Tewkesbury and sent by Edward to Charles of Burgundy, by whom it was made public.¹⁴⁰ Its terms shocked people: its contents were so dangerous and treacherous that they were naturally assumed to be Warwick's work. Basin, who possessed a copy of the text and called it *fedus illud illustre et sacratum*, blamed Louis for it more than anyone else and took his narrative straight into another example of the king's treachery, the story of Baudouin of Lille, Charles' illegitimate half-brother, and his plot to kill the duke, which was also widely publicised by Charles himself shortly after.¹⁴¹

137 *Ibid.*, pp. 286-93.

138 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

139 Basin, *Charles*, vol. 2, pp. 252-53.

140 Basin, *Louis*, vol. 2, pp. 94-97; Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 174-76.

141 Above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1.

After Warwick's initial success and Edward's flight to the continent, the king of France experienced a joy and pride that 'are hard to estimate and describe'. 'The moment had come when he could take revenge on the duke of Burgundy and wipe him from the face of the earth'.¹⁴² Basin, who usually did not waste much paper on battles, filled several pages with the Picardian campaign of early 1471. Charles is said to have realised that he could never have withstood the kingdoms of France and England together and that he had to raise an army against Louis and give support to Edward.¹⁴³

Edward's campaign against 'his great enemy, that notable master of intrigue' was written up by Basin with the newsletter that Edward later sent to Charles to hand. His text is even closer to the letter than the translation in the most recent edition suggests,¹⁴⁴ and in at least one case Basin's own correction to the manuscript – from *Oxonie comes* to *Exonie dux*¹⁴⁵ – reveals his continuing access to the text.¹⁴⁶

In his description of the battle of Barnet Basin shows he is aware of his own literary foibles: when, again, he calls Warwick *ille magnus prodicionum architectus* he adds *quod sepe diximus*; perhaps he was made aware of his exaggeration by the restrained language of the newsletter itself. The earl's death gives rise to Basin's final and deadly summary of his iniquities:

This was the end, the reward, the deserved payment of this great traitor, who by his ruses and his betrayals brought the civil war – in which Henry was hunted out of his kingdom and Edward made king – to his own country at a time when it was quiet and peaceful. Then again, chased from England by Edward, whom he strove to deprive of his kingship by treason, as he had done to Henry, he brought to life again by his venomous arts and treasonable acts the civil discord in France that had been lulled and nearly extinguished. When this discord had been woken and given new life and strength by his detestable intrigues, he carried its torches with him from France to England; and to this he would have added an even more pernicious conflagration and created even worse disasters¹⁴⁷ if divine Providence had not intervened. She put a stop to his crimes, so that they would not spread to bring misery and death to even more people, and she made him pay the rightful penalty and destroyed him. To him can certainly and aptly be applied the prophecy that says: **I have seen a wicked man exalted and raised high like the cedars of the Lebanon;**¹⁴⁸ when I came again he was no longer there; I looked for him, but I could not find the place where he had been.¹⁴⁹

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142 Basin, *Louis*, vol. 2, pp. 52-53.

143 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

144 There are many minor differences between Basin's Latin and the French translation, e.g. the *soi-disant* (*dictus*) of Edward of Lancaster's title is often omitted, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 78-79, 82-83.

145 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

146 Comments in Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', nn. 135, 149, 150, 178, 180.

147 I.e. the destruction of Burgundy.

148 Ps. 36: 35-36.

149 Basin, *Louis*, vol. 2, pp. 76-77.

As a final accusation of Louis XI and his part in this affair, Basin narrates how Louis by his treaty with Edward of Lancaster was bound to fight the duke of Burgundy and not conclude any truce without his allies' knowledge, adding that that was exactly what the king did when it suited him, coming to an agreement with Charles in early April 1471, before Warwick had been defeated. The climax of the relationship between Louis and Warwick thus became a row between two criminals who had nothing to blame each other for. Warwick wrote to the king of France in the most insulting terms, accusing him of treason, perfidy and perjury. Basin pronounced judgment:

As we have said, he himself was such an accomplished master at the game that he well deserved being trapped in his own snares. To both of them the saying of lawyers can be applied: A Jew owes nothing to a Jew, one crook nothing to another and Catalina owes nothing to Cethegus.¹⁵⁰

And he continues with the effect of Warwick's death:

How fortunate the success of Edward was for the duke of Burgundy, from what dangers and disasters it saved him, we consider unnecessary to explain by many words: it was just as fortunate for the duke as it was for Edward himself. And it made evident to all the clemency and good will of God towards the house of Burgundy.¹⁵¹

The cedar of the Lebanon had been cut down before it could overshadow the lands of Burgundy and put in them darkness for ever.

150 *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

151 *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3. Georges Chastelain: *un porc-sengler sauvage, de nation et extraction inhumaine*.

Joris Kastelein (c. 1414-1475) was born in Ghent (probably) in imperial Flanders as the son of a *scipman* (shipper, bargeman); during his later life he was to emphasise his Frenchness and his (mother's) noble descent.¹⁵² His ambition and his ability helped him to rise to be Philip the Good's official chronicler and gain a knighthood from Charles the Bold for his literary achievements. Chastelain studied in the arts faculty of Louvain University, taking his degree in 1432. After a spell in the Burgundian army, he returned to Ghent to try his luck in commerce, but this had ended in disaster by 1441 and made him decide to turn to service in France, a not unusual step for a subject of the duke of Burgundy at the time. Perhaps he became a member of the retinue of Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou and a man of great influence at the court of Charles VII. It may have been through de Brézé that Chastelain became acquainted with Margaret of Anjou; how intimate he was with her has to be concluded from his own words. Twenty years later, at the time of Margaret's first exile, he wrote in the *Temple de Bocace* that she trusted him through long acquaintance:

a cause de longue habitude eue ensamble par nourriture n'y avoit deffiance entre nous,
par quoy l'un ne parlast de franc estomac a l'autre de son affaire, ...¹⁵³

If he was not exaggerating, his acquaintance with her must have allowed Chastelain to regard the events of 1470-71 with an unusual sense of relativity, though by then his comments appear to have been motivated more by outrage at Louis of France's unholy alliance with Warwick than by pity for Margaret of Anjou. It must be remembered, however, that his account of her defeat at Tewkesbury, the death of her son and her miserable final exile in France – if he ever wrote it – does not survive. If he did write about these events, his account no doubt made a lengthy and heart-rending sequel to the litany of the queen's miseries given in the *Temple de Bocace*.

Chastelain's treatment of Warwick appears to be another argument for the hypothesis that he wrote up events in chronological order and shortly after they happened.¹⁵⁴ His judgment on Warwick changed from a distant and admiring view, in which the earl was an unusual Englishman of great power and influence, whose deeds were worthy of being recorded, to an abhorrence of the bestial creature used by Louis XI to threaten the duke of Burgundy with destruction. The language in which Chastelain describes Warwick and his actions shows a change from deliberate, high-flowing phrases to very colloquial, almost crude, expressions, a process that seems to make almost tangible the author's struggle between his role as the

152 This and what follows on Chastelain's life is based on Small, *Chastelain*; on Chastelain's attitude to England generally, the same, 'Aspects'.

153 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 8, p. 77.

154 Small, *Chastelain*, pp. 143-51, and compare the same, 'Aspects', p. 17, n. 12.

sophisticated chronicler of the Burgundian court and the Flemish townsman whose chauvinist passions have been aroused.

Warwick's first appearance in Chastelain's work occurs in a dignified scene, in which the earl, as captain of Calais, meets Burgundian envoys to discuss the excursions into the Boullenois by *ceux de Calais* and the capture of Flemish and Dutch ships by *ceuz du royaume anglois*. According to Chastelain Duke Philip at the time was wary of starting a full-scale war to avenge these outrages, fearing that the French had been inciting the English, and Warwick, too, was inclined to 'nourish peace' at the ensuing conference. He invited the Burgundian ambassadors, among whom the Bastard of Burgundy, to lavish entertainment in a ruined house between Mark and Oye,

laquelle il [Warwick] avoit fait tendre et mettre à point très-richement et y avoit fait appointer une manière de festoy bien somptueux.

The envois' report to Duke Philip described the earl as *gentil chevalier, plein de sens et de vertus*, and he was, Chastelain continues, a man

duquel cy-après se feront des merveilleux haulx contes et dignes de perpétuelle mémoire entre les hommes.¹⁵⁵

Chastelain also describes later negotiations which focussed on the release of prisoners by both sides; their progress is difficult, particularly because the English

fiers sont et maltraitables en leur fumier,¹⁵⁶ ne à dur, ne à fort, on ne pouvoit vaincre, ne ploier, sinon que tout venist à leur gré. Mesme le conte de Warwyc, leur capitaine, qui y laboura fort bien de la paix, ne s'en pot onques chevir.¹⁵⁷

A rare picture of Warwick being more amenable than the average Englishman!

The future fame of Warwick that Chastelain mentions refers to his victories on behalf of the young Edward IV and the paramount position he gained in the kingdom. The chronicler shows that he is aware of Warwick's position when he describes in detail the embassy from Edward IV to Philip the Good in October 1461:¹⁵⁸

... ce roy Edouart, en la vertu du comte de Warwic, regnoit maintenant en la haute roue de fortune, ...¹⁵⁹

And:

[le] comte de Warwic qui tout demenoit ceste oeuvre, ...¹⁶⁰

And:

155 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 3, pp. 318-20.

156 On their own dunghill.

157 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

158 Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, pp. 384-85; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 310-313

159 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 4, p. 159.

160 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

... les merveilleuses et sauvages conditions d'icelle [i.e. the troubles in England], dont le conte de Warwic tousjours et jusqu'en fin avoit este glorieux conduiseur; ...¹⁶¹

Other mention of Warwick is brief, until the complicated comings and goings of English and Burgundian embassies in 1463 and 1464. Warwick was to be a member and his arrival was expected in Burgundy on several occasions from June 1463.¹⁶² Chastelain explains that he did not come because he had been busy capturing the Lancastrian castle of Bamburgh. Edward had a good excuse not to send Warwick, for he could not spare

celuy par qui toute sa [Edward's] fortune et sa gloire s'estoient eslevees et conduites, et sans qui rien en son royaume, qui fust grand, ne de poix, ne pourroit prosperer, ne avoir efficace: c'estoit ledit comte de Warwic. Et certes, entre les grans hommes du monde, ce en est un dont, a mon semblant, on peut grandement et haultement escrire, tant en sens et en vaillance comme en clere fortune.¹⁶³

The present tense of 'among the great men of the world this is one that, I think, one can write about in the grand style' appears to indicate that this section was written when Warwick still actually was 'a great man' in Burgundian eyes, and also one who was not part of Burgundian history, and not yet relevant to the matter of Chastelain's work. As soon as Warwick had been welcomed by Louis in 1470 he became of crucial interest to a reporter of Burgundian affairs and the elevated words and the lofty language of the official historian changed for the first time (but worse was to come):

... les outrages, ravissements et extorsions faites par mer pour ou au nom de Warwyc, Anglois, donc le duc se doloit, pour cause que le roy le [Warwick] portoit, soustenoit et garandisoit en son royaume.¹⁶⁴

Louis and Warwick, or so Charles thought, were:

machinans ensemble la ruyne du roy Edouard et de luy.¹⁶⁵

Chastelain explains at length that Charles was careful and well prepared, and powerful – as long as Edward was on the throne: *avecques son Edouard*¹⁶⁶ – but Louis' support of Warwick, his enemy, made him (Charles) turn away from France and become *toute d'autre nature que françoise*. The duke hated his liege lord, the king, because he supported his enemy, and was hated by the French in return, because *si fort s'estoit declare Anglois encontre le salut du royaume*.¹⁶⁷ It was because of the English earl's alliance with Louis that the duke spoke the famous words: 'We Portuguese have a custom: when those whom we thought our friends

161 Chastelain, *Livre IV*, ed. Delclos, p. 277.

162 Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, p. 396.

163 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, pp. 22-23.

164 *Ibid.*, p. 447.

165 *Ibid.*, p. 448.

166 *Ibid.*, pp. 456-60.

167 *Ibid.*, pp. 449-50.

become the friends of our enemies we commend them to all the hundred thousand devils of hell'.¹⁶⁸ Louis indeed

avoit devers luy le comte de Warwyc, nulle part seur, qui dessous sa main, ne visoit et n'estudoit qu'a soy aider au profit de son royaume et a la destruction et ruyne du roy Edouard et de la maison de Bourgongne.¹⁶⁹

The French court, too, was not pleased with this alliance; the nobility hated Warwick and Clarence because

ennemies estoient anciens de France, mauvaises gens, et secondement pour ce qu'ils estoient gens forfais, laches et recreans, paillars, sans honneur et sans vergongne, et prouves publiquement traitres encontre le souverain seigneur et prince, l'un cousin germain, et l'autre frere d'un pere et d'un ventre, beant iniquement a destituer son frere par bataille, la dont il estoit enfui confus.

The count of St Pol, uncle to Queen Elizabeth Woodville, refused to come to court as long as Warwick was there. Ordinary people, too, along the coast of Normandy, cursed the earl and lived in dread of him.¹⁷⁰

Chastelain explains Louis' plans concerning York and Lancaster, but for dramatic effect he first rehearses how Henry had been deposed and abused by Warwick and how the earl had proclaimed publicly that Margaret of Anjou was a *mauvaise lisse* and her son the child of a low-born man, an acrobat. In spite of all this Louis proposed that Warwick re-embrace Lancastrian interests, and Warwick, knowing full well that he needed a 'cause' to make himself welcome in England, accepted. The king of France had known all the time that the earl was

homme propre a luy, en cautele et en divers moyens, pour estre instrument et tout propre homme pour venir par luy a ses fins, comme il a este trouve depuis.¹⁷¹

Warwick's 'marriage policy' is fully discussed: first he had given his elder daughter to Clarence, hoping to make her queen, and now he tried to make his other daughter queen, too, *et sur un titre tout au contraire*:

par quoy il semble que ce comte anglois-icy usoit et savoit user de merueilleuses trafiques et doublesses, et que son honneur luy estoit de petit poids, qui de tant de fraudes et cauteles, les unes contraires aux autres, usoit, et en France et en Angleterre, et toutes confuses pour luy.¹⁷²

Margaret of Anjou's reluctance is set out at length and it is to Chastelain that we owe the knowledge that the queen kept the earl on his knees for a quarter of an hour.

168 Compare Vaughan, *Charles*, pp. 65-66.

169 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, p. 462.

170 *Ibid.*, pp. 463-64.

171 *Ibid.*, p. 466.

172 *Ibid.*, pp. 466-67.

Et finalement les deux appetits du roy Loys et Warwyc tendirent a une commune fin principale, qui estoit de desfaire la maison de Bourgogne, ce qui faire ne pouvoit, sinon par desfaire premier le roy Edouard.¹⁷³

The narrative of the course of events is interrupted – like in many sources – by the Baudouin de Lille affair and Louis' part in it, which leads Chastelain to philosophise for many pages about the *condition des princes de la terre*. Finally, before he has told the end of the affair he returns to Warwick and his triumphant entry into England. The earl's explanation to the people is given in such clever detail that it is tempting to believe that Chastelain is repeating a version of events that was reported at the time.

leur dit: que ja-soit fust-il ainsi, que autrefois il avoit este contraire audit Henry et avoit este cause de sa ruyne, cuidant bien faire et servir a la chose publique du royaume, toutesfois maintenant, revenu a cognoissance du tort qu'il avoit tenu en fait, et dont il estoit repentant, en acquit de sa conscience, luy vouloit reparer son injure et le remettre en son estat [de] devant, comme vray roy droiturier de la couronne sur tout autre. Donc, et du delit qu'il en avoit fait a mauvaise cause et par mauvaise information, present tout ce peuple, il en prioit mercy a Dieu. Et en soy ruant a genoux devant eux, leur en requit mercy et perdonnance. ... Et la obtint Warwyc et acquit le bruit et la grace du peuple par ceste maniere de faire; et se tint comme assure quasi petit a petit d'avoir tout le royaume pour luy, et d'y faire un nouveau monde, ...¹⁷⁴

Edward was full of confidence, knowing that Warwick *estoit lache et couard, ne onques ne se trouva en lieu, fors fuitif*, but he was deserted when he felt most sure of his friends. Warwick *bouta sa corne tout outre*¹⁷⁵ *et se baignoit le roy Louis en roses*.¹⁷⁶ Chastelain even says that Warwick would have killed Elizabeth Woodville and her unborn child if she had not escaped – to *Sante-Catherine, une abbaye*, or, according to others, to *Wasemonstre, lieu de franchise*.¹⁷⁷

Or vissiez en Londres tout le monde prendre le ravestoc, qui veut dire un baston ventilleux, livree du comte de Warwyc. Et ne s'y osa trouver, ne monstrent homme qui portast la rose. En Calais mesme churent en division l'un contre l'autre, et prirent ceux qui soloient porter la rose, le ravestoc de Warwyc, en grand multitude. Autres en grand nombre toutesfois et fermes a Edouard, porterent la rose toujours.¹⁷⁸

After thus undermining Comines' suggestion that everybody in Calais without exception turned away from Edward at the drop of a hat, Chastelain adds the story of Lord Duras, a Gascon and not even English, who stayed loyal to Edward throughout, unlike Lord Wenlock, *homme fort double et variable, et ployant et vauçant merveilleusement a tous les vents, sans fermete ne arrest, fors au plus fort*.¹⁷⁹

173 *Ibid.*, p. 468.

174 Compare the text of fr. 20358, quoted above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1.

175 Dropped his mask completely, Woodrow, C308.

176 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, pp. 486-87.

177 *Ibid.*, p. 487.

178 *Ibid.*, p. 488.

179 *Ibid.*

Chastelain confesses he has not done much research into Warwick's actions in London, but he did hear that the earl, 'who was a cruel man once he was in control', created havoc among the people, acted tyrannically and made everybody, including the great merchants and foreigners, afraid of him. The king was 'a sack of wool that could be dragged around by the ears', 'a shadow on the wall' and as much master of the situation as 'the blind man in blind man's buff'. The king of France ordered a three-day holiday with festivities, processions and bonfires; even the people of Tournai, the French enclave in Burgundy, had bonfires and processions.¹⁸⁰

Chastelain, who was to be present at the chapter of the Golden Fleece in 1473 and knew how the king of England was regarded by his Burgundian brother knights,¹⁸¹ does blame Edward, not for cowardice, but for not being ready. If he had only listened to the advice and plans of Duke Charles, brought to England by *Anthoine de Lameth*, he would have secured Calais and allowed a carvel of Anthony of Burgundy, lying ready in the Thames, to take Henry VI to Burgundy and remove him from Warwick's grasp. Charles was annoyed that Edward did not want to be helped, but said that he would stay duke of Burgundy even if Edward let himself be thrown out of his kingdom.¹⁸²

Follows another fascinating description of the characters and relationship of Louis and Warwick in which Chastelain lets himself go. Louis delighted in the *malice* of the earl, but knew very well *que point n'estoit bien sain de ventre et de nez*¹⁸³ and Warwick was well aware of the *belles moeurs et conditions* of the king,

et pour ce s'accouplerent-ils ensemble, et firent de deux natures, anciennes ennemies ensemble l'une a l'autre, une soudure et jonction deshonneste, pour faire encore mauvaise oeuvre.¹⁸⁴

How could a king of France, who should have the heart of an eagle and the nature of a lion, take for comrade-in-arms 'an Englishman, a criminal, corrupt (?*surhomme*), low born and not at all his equal, an enemy of his crown and his estate' and all that only to undo the house of Burgundy which had always served and supported the house of France.

O roy Louis, peu prises-tu ta dignite et ton glorieux estat, qui vaux a estre requis de l'empereur et prie pour estre son frere d'armes, et tu requiers par flatterie et a fainte vicieuse fin un porc-sengler sauvage, de nation et extraction inhumaine, et la ou il n'y a fors brutal orgueil, crudelite, viles moeurs et nature, ramage [savage] sans foy, sans loy et sans quelque vertu, sinon de faire grief au monde.¹⁸⁵

180 *Ibid.*, pp. 490-91.

181 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', pp. 112-13.

182 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, pp. 492-93.

183 Was not a man to be trusted?

184 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, p. 494.

185 *Ibid.*, p. 495.

In his horror and amazement of the behaviour of the king, Chastelain forgets Warwick for a while and spends several pages bemoaning Louis' *vices* which brought out the worst in Charles, who would never have behaved towards his sovereign as he did without provocation.¹⁸⁶

The – chronologically – last surviving pages of Chastelain's *Chronique* narrate the events in England up to Edward's flight. The reader is reminded of Edward's popularity with the notables and merchants of London, and also that his person was *agreable et belle, autant qu'oncques de vue d'hommes y eust eu prince*.¹⁸⁷ Betrayed by Warwick's brother, the earl of Northumberland – whose past is fully discussed – and only saved at the last moment, Edward puts a brave face on it and gives a long, high-minded speech to his friends on the vicissitudes of life: 'If fortune had not been able to give him his high position, she would not have had the power and the right to take it away. What he had, he had merely on loan ...', etc. His supporters heave great sighs, they are deeply moved and promise to live and die with him. Their actual flight is lacking in Chastelain's text – and so, unfortunately, is his description of Warwick's downfall, which would no doubt have been highly dramatic.

186 *Ibid.*, pp. 496-98.

187 *Ibid.*, p. 499.

4. Jean de Haynin: *i appert par les epitafles que les nouvelles furte vraies*.¹⁸⁸

Very little has been written about Jean de Haynin (1423-1495). He was a member of the minor Hainault nobility who decided that, in the intervals between being away on campaign in the service of the dukes of Burgundy, he would write up the events he witnessed.¹⁸⁹ The only special study on him of any length concerns his dialect and here his historical efforts, that is his descriptive talents and his psychology, are unfavourably compared to *la verve, le brillant d'un Froissart* and *la finesse et la profondeur d'un Commines* and he was incapable of *une vue d'ensemble* or placing himself in the position of his readers, and 'life for him was a series of unconnected events'.¹⁹⁰ It is probably unfair to blame him for a lack of something he did not attempt to achieve and his 'untiring curiosity' and the 'simplicity and ease' of his style have also been noted,¹⁹¹ and it has been remarked that he was *d'un abord bien plus agréable que Chastelain*.¹⁹² One is grateful to him for his factual descriptions and small facts, for example, concerning the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York. Who else bothered to tell us that Margaret spent two hours in prayer before she landed at Sluis, that she wore headdresses in 'the English style' and that when she entered Bruges the streets were muddy because it had rained?

Haynin's prologue is one of the most attractive among the many written by the memorialists and chroniclers of his day.¹⁹³ First of all he thanks God at length for sparing him through all his journeys and enterprises. It is interesting that apart from the usual remarks about his *petit entendement*, his request to be corrected if wrong and his wish to avoid *wisense (huiseuse)* and find *passetans*, he also very sensibly stresses that even when one is present at a certain event one cannot 'see everything well, know everything, nor remember everything'. In his introduction to his account of the wedding of Charles of Burgundy and Margaret of York he says he made draft notes of what he saw and heard from other people, and that he wrote it up immediately on coming home, while he still remembered things. Even so he would not venture to claim he had seen and remembered everything. Elsewhere in his memoirs he regularly admits to having forgotten something, not being certain or not knowing.

188 Below, pt I, ch. 2, sect. 3.

189 Ed. Brouwers; also Bayot, 'Notice', and Van den Gheyn, 'Manuscrit', both about the autograph BR II 2545 (Phillipps 3212).

190 Bronckart, 'Etude', pp. 20-22, 26.

191 Bayot, 'Notice', p. 111.

192 Bronckart, 'Etude', p. 303.

193 Printed Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 1, pp. 1-2; Van den Gheyn, 'Manuscrit', pp. 58-59. He more or less repeats his remarks in the introduction to the wedding of Charles and Margaret, Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 2, pp. 17-18.

Warwick was to Haynin – but less emphatically than to Comines – another proof that nothing in this world is firm or stable. When Edward IV is crowned this is ‘partly’ thanks to the counsel and help of the earl, who married his daughter to Edward’s brother. Warwick nurtured hatred against Edward and the king against him.

The causes I cannot really say or truthfully record, unless it was as rumour had it that Warwick would have liked, if he could, to make his son-in-law king and his daughter queen, and that, in spite of the fact that he had helped depose King Henry, he would willingly have helped to depose King Edward. And after many troubles, discord and killing in England in the year 1470 King Edward banished Warwick and his brother, the duke of Clarence, who went to France and stayed there quite a while.¹⁹⁴

Warwick, Haynin reports, tried to enter Calais, was refused, promised to come back with a great force and on his way captured several ships from the lands of the duke of Burgundy. Charles put a fleet to sea in May and kept it there until after St Remi (1 Oct.), but later in October *ne say comment ne par quelle maniere* Warwick went across to England. Edward fled to *Hollande ou en Zelande, ne say point bonnement lequel*, was honourably received and stayed until ‘around’ Candlemas / 1471. Charles, as soon as he had learned of the alliance between Warwick and Louis, called up the *fieves et arriere fieves*, had them mustered and reviewed all through early May; their wages are set out in detail and Haynin realised there were a great number of them and it was very expensive.¹⁹⁵

The Baudouin de Lille / Jean de Chassa affair is described next, but briefly, and then Haynin explains that the Somme towns deserted Charles because they thought he would never be able to *porter verde feuille*¹⁹⁶ and withstand the king of France as well as the English. Warwick is not mentioned on the many pages that Haynin spends on describing the campaign in which he took part, apart from some sorties from Calais, which the earl organised. For Edward’s return and Warwick’s defeat Haynin had to hand the very important letter from Margaret of York to her mother-in-law, Isabel of Portugal, which he copied verbatim.¹⁹⁷ Halfway / the text, without introduction, on a new right-hand page, he included the two satirical epitaphs on Warwick; at their end he explains why he has inserted them there. Elsewhere he voiced the opinion that the epitaphs *proved* that the news of Warwick’s death was correct; he took them at face value and quite seriously, overlooking their satirical overtones.¹⁹⁸

194 Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 2, pp. 91-92.

195 *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94.

196 Be victorious?, carry the palm?

197 Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 2, pp. 125-29; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 210-15; see Visser-Fuchs, ‘Memoir’, p. 204 and references given there.

198 Below pt I, ch. 2, sect. 3; not printed in Haynin-Brouwers, because they contain no ‘new information’; BR II 2545, ff. 205r-206v.

5. Werner Rolevinck, Jan Veldener, the *Fasciculus temporum* and its continuations, the *Gouds Kroniekje* (Little Chronicle of Gouda), the *Kattendijke Kroniek* (Chronicle of Kattendijke) and related texts.

Werner Rolevinck (1425-1502), a Carthusian monk from Westphalia was a prolific author, mainly of religious texts, who also wrote a summary history of the world, the *Fasciculus temporum* ('A Bundle of the Times'), in the shape of parallel 'time tables' showing events happening contemporaneously in various parts of the world. The *Fasciculus* was first printed at Cologne in 1474 and had many reprints before 1500; it remained an important work of reference well into the sixteenth century.¹⁹⁹ The original *Fasciculus* had nothing on Warwick, but the Dutch translation published by Jan Veldener at Utrecht in 1480 contains several additional little chronicles focussing on France, England, Brabant, Utrecht, Flanders, Holland, Gueldres, and Cleves.²⁰⁰ These texts have nothing of interest for the present enquiry, with the exception of the English and Brabantine ones. The English chronicle has the Albina and Brutus stories at the beginning and towards the end shows signs of being based on an English genealogical roll ending with Edward of Lancaster and the accession of Edward IV.²⁰¹ Its maker also relied on *oude cronijcken van Enghelandt* that proved that Edward III's son, Lionel of Antwerp, had no children, witness the fact that his title, duke of Clarence, returned to the crown. His first wife, called *Ultonie*, committed adultery with *Jacob Andelay* (James Audley?) and she and her daughter, Philippa, were banished to Ireland where she had inherited the earldom of *Vulster*. Lionel's 'other' wife was the daughter of the duke of Milan and she bore no children.²⁰²

The story of Henry VI's flight and capture and Edward IV's accession is briefly told. Margaret of Anjou and her son flee to her father. Next the text reads:

In the year of Our Lord 1470 the earl of Warwick was driven out of England and came to the king of France. How he returned to England, to Dartmouth and drove King Edward out by treason and how King Edward fled from England and came to Holland, in Texel etc. must be looked up in the chronicle of Brabant on folios 240 and 241'.²⁰³

And, indeed, on f. 240v, in the Brabant chronicle the story is continued:

And he [Warwick] became a pirate and took Flemish, Dutch and Zeeland ships, and thus enmity rose again between the king of France and Duke Charles of Burgundy. But when Duke Charles heard that the earl of Warwick wanted to go from France to England with a great force to drive out King Edward, he kept the lord of Veere on the sea with many ships to prevent that. But even so Richard, Earl of Warwick, came to

199 *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, s.n.; Tilmans, *Aurelius*, pp. 55, 84; *Repertorium*, pp. 339-40; *Cinquième centenaire*, nos 74, 76;
 200 *Ibid.*, no. 76; *Repertorium*, pp. 339-46.
 201 F. 131r-v; on such rolls *Richard III's Books*, pp. 135-41.
 202 Ff. 227-231v.
 203 For all Dutch texts app. A, below.

Dartmouth in England and drove the king out by treason. When Edward saw that he had been betrayed he left England and came to Tessel. When the governor of Holland was informed of this he went to meet him with great honour and took him to The Hague around St Denis' Day. And [Edward] stayed there until Christmas, and when Christmas had come, the king of England went to Duke Charles and Margaret, his sister, to obtain help to regain England; and this happened, for Edward crossed to England with a force during next Lent, and around Easter he defeated all his enemies and became again a strong king of England.

Other chronicles of the same period have much the same information as they all seem to be related or derivative. The 'Little Chronicle of Gouda', a chronicle of Holland, Zeeland, Friesland and Utrecht, which in its first redaction was started *circa* 1440 and ended with the year 1437, in the end was given two continuations. One went as far as 1477 and for the events in England and concerning Warwick it closely resembles Veldener's *Fasciculus*.²⁰⁴

More individual is the curious little book known as the 'Kattendijke Chronicle', the only surviving copy of this text and perhaps the only one that was ever made.²⁰⁵ It probably was a printer's exemplar never actually used for printing. It has connections with the press of Jacob Bellaert and its artists and may have been made for Yolande de Lalaing, wife of the Dutch nobleman Reinoud II van Brederode; she died in 1497. The text is a mixed one: history of Troy, world history and chronicle of Holland, and it used many sources, which cannot all be identified.²⁰⁶ Among them were Veldener's *Fasciculus* and the 'Little Chronicle of Gouda' and the Warwick story does indeed in part overlap with those two texts, but it is a little better informed and more detailed. Its first reference to Warwick is his landing in the south of England (at *Hamton*) in 1460, and the author was also aware of the second battle of *Sinte Albouts*, which he runs together with Wakefield and the beheading of 'the duke of York's father'. Henry VI's flight to Scotland and 'the duke of York' being received in London as king are also mentioned in the correct year. Warwick's defeat and flight are placed in the year 1470 and Calais' refusal to receive him were known to the author; the rest of this section resembles the sources mentioned above, though a few extra words have been added.

In the year 1471 King Edward and the duke of Gloucester, his brother, on the third day of March sailed from Zeeland to England and arrived at *Gladsmeer*, and on Easterday they fought the earl of Warwick. And King Edward won the battle; about 4,000 people were killed there, and the bishop of York was taken prisoner, a brother of the earl of Warwick. And King Henry, who was in prison in London, was taken out of prison, and after the battle imprisoned again and taken to the Tower in London. After this he lived only a short while, God have mercy on him.

204 *Repertorium*, pp. 179-80. Despite its name the *Chronicle of Gouda* was probably written in another town.

205 Tilmans, 'Kattendijke-kroniek'.

206 It has a curious version of the Albina story, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1, below.

The chronicle also mentions Margaret of Anjou's arrival in the *westcontrey*²⁰⁷ and with unusual accuracy and correct spelling lists the dukes of *Excester* and *Sommerset*, and the earls of *Pembroeck*, *Denster* (Devonshire), and *Oexevoirt* as her adherents.

Two other chroniclers were active in the county of Holland: Jan van Naaldwijk and Cornelius of Gouda, but ~~there~~ work is too late and too derivative to be considered here. Jan van Naaldwijk was a member of the gentry and wrote a chronicle of Holland and Zeeland, finishing his first redaction in 1514.²⁰⁸ He had been to Paris and met Erasmus and probably Robert Gaguin; their influence cannot be gauged exactly, but van Naaldwijk did copy passages from Gaguin's *Grandes chroniques*, and referred to him as a source. Van Naaldwijk's work is interesting on local matters,²⁰⁹ but of no value on international affairs. Similarly Cornelius Aurelius (of Gouda), like van Naaldwijk – whom he used as a source for his *Divisie*-chronicle (1517)²¹⁰ – can only be taken seriously on local matters. He, too, had for a time been part of the Paris 'circle' that included Erasmus, Gaguin, Domenico Mancini and Guillaume de Rochefort, many of them humanist scholars and no great lovers of England and the English and more concerned to find *exempla* for their didactic treatises than simple facts.²¹¹

Heir /

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- 207 The word suggests an English source (compare Jan Allertsz.'s *Noortcontrey*, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 8, below), but *contreye* is also Dutch.
- 208 *Repertorium*, no. 309; only two copies survive, one of each redaction: BL Cotton Vit. B xv (1st) and Cotton Tib. C iv (2nd); there is no printed edition because the *Divisie*-chronicle used van Naaldwijk's text.
- 209 Visser-Fuchs, 'Lion', pp. 98-99.
- 210 Tilmans, *Aurelius*, *passim*.
- 211 Visser-Fuchs, 'Domenico Mancini', *New DNB*, forthcoming; also: Jan Allertsz., pt I, ch. 1, sect. 8, below.

6. Olivier de La Marche: *Warvich fut homme saige et subtil en ses affaires.*

Almost twenty years after the events Olivier de La Marche (c. 1425-1502), loyal servant to Philip and Charles and to Mary and Maximilian, writing his courtly memoirs for the education and information of Philip the Fair, remembered most of the better known details of the Warwick years. He knew that Clarence, *beau prince, fort ayme du royaulme*, married Warwick's daughter; that Edward did not trust him and that in the end Warwick and Clarence had to leave England. Louis *les receut amyablement, bien joyeux de ce qu'ilz estoient a gairand* (protection) *devers luy et son royaulme*. La Marche's description of Warwick's three methods of gaining popularity is worth quoting in full:

Cestuy conte de Warvich fut homme saige et subtil en ses affaires, et entretint la cite de Londres et le royaulme d'Angleterre par trois voyes. La premiere par capperonnees [flattery] et par humilite fainte au peuple de Londres, dont il estoit moult ayme. Secondement il estoit maistre des cinq portz d'Angleterre, ou il souffroit grans pillages faire; et jamais de son temps on ne fit droit en Angleterre a aucung estrangier de perte qu'il fust faicte; parquoy il estoit ayme des pillars [thieves, pirates?] d'Angleterre qu'il vouloit bien entretenir. Et tiercement il entretint la ville de Londres par tousjours y devoir trois ou quatre cens mil escuz a diverses gens et a diverses parties; et ceulx a qui il devoit desiroient sa vie et sa prosperite, affin d'estre une fois payes de leur deu.²¹²

La Marche appears to have forgotten much, but he had been well informed about English affairs shortly before Warwick's coup. He had been to England several times before,²¹³ and in 1469-70 frequently crossed the sea on secret missions from Duke Charles to the king of England: once in May to the king of England and then on to the duke of Brittany, once on 25 February to the king of England, once from 23 February to 18 June from Bruges to the same king, and once on 8 July from St Omer to the same king; unfortunately the ducal accounts do not help to place these visits in the correct year.²¹⁴ As he says himself about English events: *j'ay beaucoup vue et congneu dudit cas.*²¹⁵

La Marche also remembered that the fleet that Charles put to sea was a *moult fiere chose a veoir*, but that Edward and Charles decided to draw back this army for the season, and then Edward 'managed to capture his brother and had him drowned in a bath, as people say; but Warwick stayed in France for a long time'. Eventually Edward defeated Margaret, her son, 'who called himself prince of Wales', and Warwick in battle.²¹⁶ Elsewhere in his chronicle, entirely out of place, La Marche remembers that when Edward fled to *Zeelande* the duke went

212 La Marche-Beaune, vol. 3, p. 69.

213 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 410, 417-19, 441.

214 Stein, 'Etude', *pièces justificatives* 28, 29, 30, 31.

215 La Marche-Beaune, vol. 2, p. 210.

216 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

to see him and comforted him as best he could, ‘as one brother should do to another in such a case’ and he also refers to Gruuthuse’s part in welcoming Edward, and his reward.²¹⁷

La Marche may have had a rather confused and conflated view of some events, but one thing he did remember with clarity: the moment the news of Warwick’s death was brought to Duke Charles at Corbie in April 1471.²¹⁸ It is likely he was entirely correct, as Charles did stay at Corbie until 18 April and Warwick had been killed four days earlier. La Marche added that the French were very ‘troubled’ and the Burgundians very ‘joyful, for he was our great enemy’. The fact that La Marche remembered this single event vividly again shows that to the Burgundians the news of the battle of Barnet and the death of Warwick was of much more interest than that of Edward’s final victory at Tewkesbury. La Marche’s description of the way the news was received contradicts Comines’ statement that Duke Charles did not know whether he should be happy or sad when he heard about Edward’s success.²¹⁹

The earl of Warwick, coupled with Clarence, also appears in La Marche’s *Chevalier délibéré* (1483), where ‘Fresh Memory’ takes the author round the cemetery of the famous dead, killed by either *Accident* or *Debile*. John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (died 1453), and Thomas, Lord Scales (died 1460), are buried there, who had been ‘feared and loved’ in France.²²⁰ And finally:

Warwick qui tant ot de puissance
Je congneus a la rouge croix;
Si fiz je le duc de Clarence.
Accident les mist a oultrance.²²¹

Warwick’s pawns, Henry VI, *plain de simplese*, and Edward IV, *le beau roy anglois, si valeureux, renomme*, rest in the same cemetery.²²²

217 *Ibid.*, p. 237; also vol. 1, p. 130.

218 *Ibid.*, p. 73; Visser-Fuchs, ‘Lion’, pp. 104-05.

219 Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, p. 215.

220 La Marche, *Chevalier*, ff. 29v-30.

221 *Ibid.*, ff. 32v-33.

222 *Ibid.*, ff. 33v, 46v.

7. Anthonis de Roovere and the *Cronijcke van Vlaenderen: de overdaet vanden grave van Werwijc*.

The ‘Chronicle of Flanders’, also known as the *Excellente Chronyck van Vlaenderen*, is a composite work put together in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, perhaps from as early as 1472 and probably at Bruges. It was based on the work of several authors, most of them anonymous, but the section from 1467 to 1482 is now considered to have used the writings of Anthonis de Roovere, the famous Bruges *rederijker* (rhetorician, member of a chamber of rhetoric; c. 1430-1482).²²³ His authorship is partly concluded from the unusual and rather abrupt introduction into the text of a series of chronograms, called *incarnatioenen*, complicated poems, some acrostics, some including dates and numbers in their structure and all following a strict scheme. The one on the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York runs, for example:

CraChtICh CarLe
MargrIJeten traVVVede

‘Mighty Charles Margaret married’, in which the capitals make the date, the number of small characters equals the age of the bride, and the total number of letters gives the age of the groom.

De Roovere was a mason by trade and his fame originated from his organising and building the pageants for the *Blijde Inkomste* (Joyous Entry) of Charles, Count of Charolais, in February 1466. The event fell on the same date as the celebration of carnival, the festivities became unrivalled in the annals of such feasts and de Roovere was rewarded with an annuity of six pounds for life. All he had to do, to continue earning it, was to stay and live in Bruges. If his work is indeed the source of the 1467-82 section of the ‘Chronicle of Flanders’ its account represents what a well-informed, literate citizen of Bruges knew at the time and it is likely to have been written up almost simultaneously with the events. Four manuscripts of this section of the ‘Chronicle’, covering the years 1470-71, survive:²²⁴ Brussels, BR 13073-74;²²⁵ Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek 437 (after 1481);²²⁶ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 435 (after 1494); Douai, BM 1110.²²⁷ They are illustrated with water coloured drawings of coats of arms,

223 Van ‘t Hoog, *De Roovere*, pp. 242-57; Viaene, ‘De Roovere’.

224 For all four mss, Dogaer, *Painting*, pp. 118-19.

225 *Karel de Stoute*, no. 46, pp. 138-43.

226 E.g. *Catalogue ... Bruges*, no. 437 (MS 436 goes up to 1467); *Trésors de la Toison*, no. 36, pp. 122-23; *Vlaamse Kunst*, no. 10, pp. 81-82, pl. 34; Schenk zu Schweinsberg, *Illustrationen*.

227 Haufrecht, ‘Ducs’.

objects relevant to the text and ‘portraits’ of e.g. Philip the Good and his wife, Charles the Bold and his wife, and Philip the Fair receiving the order of the Golden Fleece.²²⁸

In 1531 the Antwerp printer, Willem Vorsterman, printed the *Excellente Chronijke van Vlaenderen*²²⁹ and illustrated it with woodcuts from many different sources, including the *Theuerdank*, a metaphorical narrative of Maximilian of Habsburg’s journey to find his bride Queen *Ehrenreich* (Mary of Burgundy). He is accompanied by the herald *Ehrenhold*, on whose tabard is depicted the Wheel of Fortune and who appears in most illustrations. The woodcut of ‘Warwick killing the duke of Somerset in the presence of Henry VI’ (f. 149v; **fig. 2**), for example, is based on woodcut 24 by Leonhard Beck (died 1542), which shows *Theuerdank* striking his adversary *Führwittig* in the face. The ubiquitous herald is here taken to represent Henry VI.²³⁰

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Fig. 2. Warwick kills the duke of Somerset in the presence of Henry VI. Woodcut from the *Excellente Chronijcke van Vlaenderen*, printed by Willem Vorsterman, Antwerp 1531, f. 149v.

228 Schenk zu Schweinsberg, *Illustrationen*.
 229 11 Juli 1531, Nijhof-Kronenberg, 659.
 230 *Theuerdank*, pp. (108), 589-602.

(Here follows the outrage of the earl of Warwick); it is worth giving in full:

In this same year 1469 there was much trouble in England concerning a certain earl of Warwick, called Richard Neville, Lord of Salisbury. One should know that this Richard had obtained the earldom of Warwick by marriage. This earl had created so much unrest that through him many lords and princes had been beheaded in the past and common people killed without number. ¶This said Warwick stabbed to death the duke of Somerset in the presence of King Henry, who had made him a knight. The said Warwick was so changeable that through his faithlessness King Henry of Lancaster was deposed and held a prisoner in the Tower of London. He raised up Edward of York and made him king of England, saying that the crown rightly belonged to him by birth. And so King Edward ruled for a while.

¶This Warwick gave his daughter in marriage to Lord Clarence, King Edward's brother. ¶Warwick knew that King Edward was a friend of Duke Charles of Burgundy, and this Warwick was opposed to Duke Charles, even though he had spoken to him personally at Boulogne in Picardy. He was so full of evil, however, that he began to plan how he could depose Edward and deprive him of the crown of England and make his daughter's husband, the lord of Clarence, king. He did everything he could to gain this end and caused great unrest and severe bloodshed. ¶Because of this matter all the nobles of England came together and a parliament was held at Westminster outside London; and King Edward said: 'Mylord earl of Warwick, I understand that you want to make a new king and desert me, even though you yourself told me I am the rightful heir and that the crown belongs to me by right. This I know to be true and I do not intend to relinquish it, and if you still want to have another king you will have to wait until I am dead. ¶The earl of Warwick worked hard and many people came to fight against King Edward, but King Edward maintained his position all the time, and Warwick kept himself out of harm's way and never went to fight himself. ¶Then Warwick went to King René in France, and told him that his daughter's son, King Henry's son, should rightly be king of England, and to accomplish this he asked help and assistance from King René. ¶But King René said he was too old and too far gone and that he wanted no part in it. ¶Therefore Warwick created so much trouble in England, going from one side to another, that he became known as an evil traitor, and was banished from the realm of England on pain of death, and all his goods were confiscated by King Edward.

¶The said Warwick went to sea with mighty ships and he took his wife with him and many other women, and he came before Calais, thinking he would be received there, but the people of Calais sent to Duke Charles for advice, who answered that they should not allow anyone to enter except those that were good and loyal to King Edward of England. And so Warwick was denied the town of Calais; this was in Lent of the year above said.²³²

¶This earl of Warwick was very angry and distraught and gathered a large, evil company of pirates from England, and finally around the day before Easter in the year 1470²³³ the said Warwick sailed with a mighty fleet and fought the Rochelle fleet, consisting of Flemings, Dutchmen and Zeelanders. And he captured as many as forty ships of theirs in a fierce battle and with much bloodshed on both sides. ¶Duke Charles send messengers to the earl of Warwick, asking him to let the ships from his lands go and return the goods in a friendly way. ¶But the said earl of Warwick was not at all inclined to do so, but said he would take more, as many as he could get. Therefore Duke Charles made great preparations to defeat the said Warwick.

¶Shortly afterwards, around 27 April 1470, the said Warwick came before Southampton in England with all his ships and when King Edward knew this he sent to

231 Flemish text, app. A, below.

232 Between 7 March and 21 April 1470; compare Paviot, *Politique*, p. 162, where the events are dated 16-18/22 April.

233 *Ibid.*: Good Friday, 20 April.

Warwick and asked him what he did out there. Warwick answered that he had come to see whether he would find any friends there. He was ordered to lower his flag for his rightful lord, but he refused to obey and remained riding at anchor throughout that night. The next day Lord Scales came, very well prepared, and he fought Warwick with great strength, killing many of Warwick's men. And if the great ship the *Trinity* had been able to come, Warwick would clearly have been killed, but he escaped in a little boat to Le Croy. ¶And Lord Scales recaptured from Warwick many ships of Flemings, Dutchmen and Zeelanders, which the said King Edward kindly released and allowed to go wherever they wanted.

[Follows a paragraph about Edward receiving the Golden Fleece at Westminster, on St Simon's and St Jude's day (28 Oct.) 1469, from the hand of the lord of Créquy]

¶An Easterling, called Hans Voetkin, fought with Warwick in this same period and recaptured a part of Warwick's ships and drowned some of his men.

[Follows a paragraph containing an example of Charles the Bold's justice of 9 May 1470].

¶While Duke Charles was manning his ships with noblemen and others in the roads of Veere and Arnemuiden there were many ships from Amsterdam lying at anchor there, fully laden, who did not dare to go home, but they hoped that Duke Charles' ships would be on the sea and they left the harbour. Warwick's ships saw this and they attacked the Hollanders with eighteen ships and captured as many as fourteen. And everybody who resisted they threw overboard and they killed and maimed many people, taking all the ships with the goods. The Hollanders they put ashore between Calais and Boulogne. This happened around 29 May 1470.

¶And within three or four days after this the said Warwick's people captured another seven or eight ships on the sea and drowned all hands.

¶A man from Veere returning home from the Somme saw three ships of war quickly approaching him and the Zeelander fled as fast as he could. In the end the men of war gave him a peace signal, showing they would not harm him, so the Zeelander slowed down and spoke with them. They asked him where the ship came from; he said from Zeeland. They asked him where his prince was; he said he thought in Holland or Zeeland. They said: we will not do you any harm, but we order you to tell your prince that the earl of Warwick salutes him, and wonders where he is waiting so long, and tell him, when he comes, he shall be welcomed with joy, as one usually welcomes such friends. And with that they let the skipper sail away, who promised to pass on the message. ¶The lord of Clarence, the king's brother of England, was one of Warwick's captains, for he had married Warwick's daughter, and he lay at Dieppe. ¶And Fauconberg was also one of his captains, and he lay at Cherbourg; and Warwick at Honfleur. And these said [captains] sailed out in turns to steal and plunder all that belonged to Duke Charles.

[Follow two paragraphs with examples of Charles the Bold's justice, at Middelburg on 4 June 1470].²³⁴

234 In A the next paragraph is preceded by a chapter heading: *Hoe dije hertoghe Kaerle van Bourgoengien sercours ded den coninc Edewaerd van Inghelant, wel met .xxiiij. groote schepen besondere die cleene schepen omme jegehn den grave van Werwijck te vechtene*, and a woodcut (fig. 3). This was taken from the Haarlem printer Jacob Bellaert's edition of Raoul Le Fèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troye (Die vergaderinghe der historien van Troyen)*, 5 May 1485, which had original woodcuts. The one used to illustrate Edward's betrayal originally depicted the first attempt of the Greeks to land on the shore of Troy and probably the death of Protesilaos, the first Greek to actually go ashore; see van Thienen and Goldfinch, *Icunabula*, no. 1421; *Oude Drukken*, no. 53, fig. 2; Nieuwstraten, 'Overlevering'.

¶On 7 June the ships of Duke Charles went to sea, carefully provided with everything; the admiral was Lord Hendrik van Borsele, Lord of Veere, and the number of large ships was *circa* twenty-three, not including the small ones.

¶The earl of Warwick was at Rouen in Normandy at that time, and he sent an embassy to the king of France to ask for help and succour against King Edward of England. ¶But the constable of France, mylord of St Pol, understood clearly the falseness of Warwick, for Warwick had it proclaimed that he would make King Henry's son king. All the French lords objected to this and advised the king of France against it, and they went and said that the said earl of Warwick had always been an enemy of the French crown, and full of evil thoughts, making one man king and deserting another etc. ¶And the constable of France also said that his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, meant to take the said Warwick prisoner at any cost. And to avoid all trouble the king of France gave in to the advice and forbade anyone to buy Warwick's stolen goods, or harbour him on pain of a large fine. This was the reason why the earl of Warwick was seen riding from the city of Rouen in tears.

[Follow two chapters on Charles the Bold: an *aide* asked by him on 16 June 1470, how he came from Zeeland to Bruges via Antwerp at noon on 22 June, and his arrest of French merchants in retaliation for the arrest of Flemish ones in France].

Duke Charles' ships being on the sea, as said above, it happened that they were sailing along the coast of Normandy when they became aware of the earl of Warwick sailing forth on the sea to go the the north of England, where he had many friends. ¶But mylord of Veere, with the other captains, did their best to prevent it and they chased Warwick and all his men on to the shore of Normandy, and the English deserted their ships and put them to the flame. ¶And Duke Charles' men pursued them quickly and went ashore to fight the English, and many people were left dead on both sides, but mostly Warwick's men. And this was on the Visitation of Mary, 2 July 1470.

[Follows a paragraph on the doings of Duke Charles at St Omer²³⁵ and a procession in Bruges to pray for peace].

Shortly afterwards a great storm arose and the lord of Veere, the admiral, did his best to leave the sea because of the terrible wind. ¶The Earl of Warwick, with great courage, risked to cross the sea with all his ships and with a favourable wind sailed to England. And he and his people went ashore and he did everything to be able to fight everyone who had injured him, and immediately a great number of people came to his help.

¶And when King Edward heard that Warwick had entered the country, he prepared himself to fight Warwick. ¶There was a traitor, called the lord of Montague, who said: 'Lord King, stay in this castle, we will quickly seize Warwick and deliver him into your hands'. ¶But if King Edward had retreated into that castle, the traitors would have taken him prisoner or killed him there.

¶But though the traitors could not accomplish that, they went straight over to Warwick with their arms, in opposition to King Edward.

¶When King Edward realised this he was very much afraid, because everybody joined Warwick and he found himself alone. And he fled in secret with a few of his nobles to Southampton to the harbour, where fortunately three merchants ships were lying. And he sailed throughout the day and the night until he came to Holland to Brill, and from there he travelled to The Hague, where he rested for a long time, together with everybody who had fled England with him.

235 Charles arrived in St Omer on 5 July and left on 25 July, Vander Linden, *Itinéraires*, p. 25.

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Fig. 3. The betrayal of Edward IV. Woodcut from the *Excellente Chronijcke van Vlaenderen*, printed by Willem Vorsterman, Antwerp 1531, f. 151 (see n. 234).

[The next two and a half columns on ff. 240v/267v-241/268, tell the detailed story of some treacherous servants of Edward who flee via Bruges to Calais and Warwick. This is not immediately relevant to Warwick himself and I have summarised the story elsewhere].²³⁶

¶When Warwick had thus made King Edward flee most people joined Warwick, and everywhere throughout England people cried: 'Warwick'; in Calais, too. ¶And people there who had previously worn the rose, pulled the rose off their tunics and put the staff on it, which was Warwick's device; and in Calais they did the same, and everybody went over to Warwick's side.

¶Then the earl of Warwick went to the Tower in London and he took out King Henry of Lancaster, who had been in prison there about five years. And he had him dressed in royal robes and he mounted him fairly and Warwick went on foot at his side, crying: 'This is your rightful king, and no other!'. ¶This in spite of the fact that said Warwick with the help of the city of London had driven out and deposed the said King Henry in 1460 and made Edward, Duke of York, king in his stead. ¶And now, in 1470, in October, there was a change again, and so King Edward had ruled hardly ten years.

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Finally a chapter in which Duke Charles sends home his fleet, thanking them for their labours and, on f. 241/268, by a twenty-line *incarnacioen* about the fall of Henry VI and the rise of Edward IV. The initials of the first column of the poem read, from top to bottom:

HENRICUSDELANCAESTRIA

and those of the second column have, from bottom to top:

236 Visser-Fuchs, 'Lion', pp. 96-97.

*EDUVVARDUSDUXDEJOORCK.*²³⁷

It ends with a chronogram:

Deen coninc gaet of, dander coninc es an,
dat regiersel bevvijst fortvne den man
.m.cccc.lxx.

‘One king goes and the other comes, the lines show the fortune of the man’. The bold letters – touched in red in the manuscript – give the date, 1470.

The rest of the page describes the grief of Margaret of York, the joy of the French, the treatment by France and Burgundy of each other’s merchants, the impudence of the people of Tournai at the expense of Duke Charles and his revenge on the town by prohibiting the import of any food. Edward’s stay in Bruges is described in detail next,²³⁸ together with the full translation text of his letter of thanks to the town authorities. The Warwick section ends with a translation of the signet letter – the ‘memoir on paper’ – that Edward sent to Duke Charles after his return,²³⁹ and the two satirical epitaphs on Warwick, also in Dutch/Flemish translation (see app. B).

The author of the ‘Chronicle of Flanders’ knew many facts and told them simply and straightforwardly; his moral comments were limited: fortune is fickle and pride comes before a fall.

237 Printed van 't Hoog, *De Roovere*, p. 255.

238 Visser-Fuchs, *Lion*, pp. 93-94, 97, and, 'Richard in Holland, 1470-71', pp. 224-25.

239 Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 208-26, for these two letters, with translation.

8. Jan Allertsz: 'the common people all cried 'Warwick'.

Jan Allertsz. (c. 1430-1489) was secretary/recorder to the town of Rotterdam from 1455 and a notary from *circa* 1453 until his death in 1489.²⁴⁰ In the formulary that he and his predecessors used he included rather extensive notes on the events of his own lifetime. They can be regarded as original, but there is little doubt he shared sources with other chroniclers of his day, depending, as they did, on the news that came in. There is no doubt his information was on the whole different from that which reached Jan van Naaldwijk and Cornelius of Gouda; on the battle of Tewkesbury, for example, he had the list of casualties, which occurs in no other northern Netherlandish source and his information about the Yorkist invasion of June 1460 is unusual. He wrote contemporaneously with the events in the years after 1462.

Allertsz.'s text concerning Warwick and the events of 1470/71²⁴¹ is sufficiently original and informative, even accurate, to be translated in full;²⁴² he seems to have had no particular axes to grind, but his profession must have insured that he saw with his own eyes most of the official news that reached the municipal authorities of Rotterdam. This is what he recorded about Warwick:

In 1460 an earl in England created an uprising with many people, whom he gathered in Calais with the help of Duke Philip of Burgundy, and he sailed from Calais to Sandwich. Many Englishmen supported him and he gathered together so many people that he fought against King Henry; sometimes he won a battle and sometimes he lost; they fought many hard battles with each other and in the end Warwick got the upper hand. He had many great lords beheaded; he caught King Henry and put him in strong prisons and afterwards in the Tower of London and had him well guarded.

Edward, a son of the duke of York, was made king and he chased away the duke of Exeter, the duke of Somerset and other lords, who went to the lands of the duke of Burgundy and were maintained by the duke. King Edward was crowned and reigned from the year sixty to the year seventy.

In 1470 the earl of Warwick was exiled from England for strange reasons, for he was loved by the common people of England. In the year '69 a great number of people rebelled in the north of England; in their banners they bore a plough and b g, high shoes. They fought against King Edward and many people were killed on both sides; they hated King Edward because he had devalued his money and because he taxed the common people. When Warwick had been banished he went to France and came to the king of France and also to King Henry's son and King Henry's wife, a daughter of the king of Sicily, to whom the mother of the king of France is also a daughter. He was given a safe conduct by the king of France, but [literally: for] he would have liked to stay in Calais, which was closed against him, however, and supported my gracious lord, Duke Charles of Burgundy, who had taken the sister of King Edward to wife. He [Charles] therefore had my lord of Veere with other lords and knights and soldiers with hulks and galleys full of armed men sail into the mouth of the Seine, at Honfleur, and along the coast. Warwick lay there with his ships and my lord of Veere with his men burned a part of Warwick's ships and Warwick fled to France, to the king, and stayed with him in his land throughout one summer. My lord of Veere was on the sea with his ships throughout the summer of 1470 to make Warwick turn

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240 *Repertorium*, no. 295. Ten Boom, 'Secretarissen', and Allertsz., *Kroniek*.
 241 Also Visser-Fuchs, 'Warwick', pp. 65-67, 200-08, and, 'Lion', p 98.
 242 I have slightly modernised his pedestrian style.

back or wait for him and take him prisoner. But the earl of Warwick was conspiring with the king of France and with King Henry's young son, who had been in exile with his mother for eight years, for Warwick had held King Henry, the father of the same young man, prisoner, as is written above.

He [Warwick] managed to make the king of France give him ships and men, with whom he sailed back to England. When this earl of Warwick came to England the common people all cried 'Warwick'. He gathered a large number of men and marched against King Edward, who, having been informed of this, also gathered many men and marched towards Warwick. Among others the king had with him a brother of this Warwick, who was a great commander of the king with many men under him, and when the king intended to fight Warwick, Warwick's brother went over to Warwick with all his men. Other lords also went over to Warwick with their men, so when King Edward looked around him eventually he found himself alone with only a few people. All roads were guarded to catch him or kill him, so the king fled to save his life and rode down a road that people normally did not use, with Lord Scales and others whom he had with him; he could not go to London, but rode to Lynn and there found a hulk of Bergen op Zoom and other ships that were lying there. They killed their horses²⁴³ and boarded ship; they sailed into the Marsdiep and landed on Tessel in Holland. They came to Egmond, from Egmond to Haarlem, to Noordwijk, and there he spent the night. [He went] to Leiden and the day after St Victor's Day of the year 1470 the king of England came with his people to The Hague. My gracious lord of Burgundy was at Hesdin at that time and messenger were sent to him in haste with the news. The people of Calais quickly displayed the arms of Warwick.

The king was in The Hague until St Thomas' Eve and then went with my lord of Gruuthuse, stadholder of Holland, to Bruges and to Hesdin to my gracious lord. He stayed there for a while and in Middelburg in Zeeland. He gathered his men in Middelburg and his ships in the Wielingen and the Zwin in large numbers and then sailed to the North, where his friends were. He had many horses, which he had put in his ships and 3,000 men, or so people said. He took to the sea on the Sunday in lent that *Reminiscere* is sung, that is on 10 March of the foresaid year 1471, and came to the northern coast of England. He brought together so many men that he was able to fight a great battle against Warwick on Easter Day of the year 1471 at about seven o'clock in the morning, ten or twelve miles from London. Warwick was defeated together with a great lord, who was his brother and was called Montague. They were immediately brought dead to London and thus were laid down in St Paul's Church, naked from the waist upwards, so that everybody could see them. Many people were killed in that battle.

Allertsz. references to Warwick end here. The battle of Tewkesbury was only known to him through its casualty list, though the list of Barnet, which became well known on the continent, was apparently not available to him. Allertsz.'s work represents what ordinary, literate people in the northern Netherlands could know at the time; unlike van Naaldwijk and Aurelius he was not influenced by later and more literary sources.

243 These words may mean that Allertsz. had a Latin source and read *equis distractis* for *equis destractis*.

9. Adriaan de But: *'quasi tertius rex habebatur'*.

Adriaan de But (1437-88), monk/chronicler at the Cistercian abbey of Ter Duinen (Les Dunes) in Flanders,²⁴⁴ in his childhood had personally experienced the dangers and miseries of war and disease. His parents had died of the plague before he was a year old, he lived with one member of his family after another and the lands he had inherited were burned and destroyed. From an early age he studied at Bois-le-Duc, Louvain and Paris and when he entered the monastery of Les Dunes in 1457, he devoted himself to theology and the writing of history. His abbey, some twenty-five miles west of Bruges, was on the route to Calais and had many important visitors. In de But's day the abbot of Les Dunes, Jean Crabbe, to whom de But was related, was a councillor of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian and a collector of illuminated manuscripts, who also commissioned work by Memlinc and van der Goes. Crabbe urged Gilles de Roye, one of the abbey's scholarly inmates, to continue his historical work, and in his turn de Roye had made it possible for de But to go back to Paris and study at the college of the Cistercian order, where he remained for several years, corresponding with de Roye. He was persuaded at last to return to the monastic life and became de Roye's associate in his historical research. Together they wrote a continuation of the *Chronodromon* of Jan Brandt (Jean Brandon, another monk of Les Dunes) and de But himself composed the *Chronicon*, in which he probably used notes by de Roye, who died in 1478.

De But filled many positions in the abbey and in his last years was *portarius ad eleemosynas pauperum*, 'keeper of the gate to give alms to the poor'. He did not only welcome the poor, however; great figures from the outside world stayed at the abbey and were met by him. Among them Charles the Bold on his way to meet Edward IV in 1475, Margaret of York and Maximilian, Antony of Burgundy and his son, and many Flemish nobles. Some of these guests may have given him information and news to add to his chronicle, but the abbey also had close connections with Bruges and anything known in the town might have been known to the monks. It is difficult to establish what de But's sources really were, but some of them must have been quite unusual, such as the account of the battle of the Sark (see below).

It is unlikely that his historical work became generally and well known; it is hard to believe that a text that dared refer to the *stultitia* of Philip the Good²⁴⁵ and criticise Charles the Bold to the extent of saying that 'he perhaps tried to emulate the conquests of Charles "the

244 De But-de Lettenhove, introduction; Fris, 'Chroniques'.

245 De But-de Lettenhove, p. 341: *In hac guerra potest notari magna principis stultitia*; the context is Philip's war against Ghent, the duke's 'own people and land', which he destroyed.

Great” (Charlemagne), but by comparison he rather deserves to be called “the Little”²⁴⁶, became very popular and was read widely at the Burgundian court.²⁴⁶

The edition by Kervyn de Lettenhove of de But’s work is confusing; de But was adding to and commenting on Gilles de Roye’s work in the form of glosses or notes and these have been printed in such a way that they repeat the same events in slightly different words.²⁴⁷ Because the manuscripts’ tradition and relationship is too complicated to be unravelled here it is assumed in the discussion of de But’s views on Warwick that the whole text published under his name by Kervyn de Lettenhove was either written by de But or accepted by him as being in agreement with the truth. His style is unusual; his Latin is mostly terse, sometimes epigrammatical. He did not often go in for sensational detail and he expressed his view of people’s actions by his economical and pregnant use of words and his irony. He reduces people’s motives frequently to the most basic: love, hate and lust for power.

De But did use original sources when he could. For example, he quoted apparently verbatim the texts of the treaty of Péronne and of Mary of Burgundy’s promises at the beginning of her reign, and many papal documents.²⁴⁸ Sometimes, too, he did not follow his original exactly, but used words and expressions taken from it in a slightly different context and order. Often his account appears at first sight to be totally garbled; in some such cases a closer look at times reveals that he did have detailed information, but did not know enough of the background to make things clear either in his own mind or to his readers. In other cases, unfortunately, his collection of jumbled statements cannot be disentangled or understood.

It is impossible to give de But’s information about Warwick in the order in which it occurs in his work, as he repeats the story of the civil war in England again and again, launching into yet another summary of the events from *circa* 1450 to *circa* 1470 at the slightest provocation. It will therefore be attempted here to deal with his references to the earl and contemporary English history in a systematic way, which is artificial and does not reflect de But’s creative process, but at least allows the modern reader to view the whole range of rumours, opinions and judgments that were available to a literate man living geographically at the crossroads of news and information between Flanders and England. In fact, it appears that de But received more information than he could cope with, too much conflicting detail to put into proper order. He has also been so little studied – least of all by English scholars – that it is worthwhile to

246 De But-de Lettenhove, p. 506,

247 *Monasticon Belge*, vol. 3, *Province de Flandre occidentale*, pt 2, pp. 353-55; Fris, ‘Chroniques’; Isaac, *Livres manuscrits*, pp. 273-76.

248 Not all printed by de Lettenhove.

give some of the other rumours that he reports, such as those about the death of Richard, Duke of York.

The earliest and most curious reference to Warwick needs to be mentioned because it is also remarkable for other reasons. It appears to be a relatively accurate account of the battle of the Sark, 23 October 1448. De But's version runs thus:

In this year [1449] the duke²⁴⁹ of Warwick, *Riquardus de Novavilla*, gathered an army, and at the head of it he put *Thomam Harnitonne et dominum de Persy, filium comitis Noorthumberland*; they were 15,000 men. They crossed the river *Sallonause*. But Duke Douglas attacked with 6,000 Scotsmen and defeated almost all the English and turned them to flight; the foresaid commanders of the English were taken prisoner. When the earl of Salisbury, the father of the duke of Warwick, was informed of this, he prepared, it is estimated, 40,000 men, who again crossed the river; and again came the foresaid duke with his brother, the earl of Ormond. A terrible slaughter took place: a large part [of the English army], pursued by the Scots, was caught by the river and drowned, and the Scots ventured as much as twenty miles across the river, as far as the port that is called Newcastle, destroying everything. A man of great authority among the Scots remained a prisoner, however, *dominus Johannes Vloualles* [Sir John Wallace]. And so the English were beaten on every side, which showed clearly [*fuit signum experimentale*] that he who seeks to strike with the sword, must needs die by it.²⁵⁰

The other surviving accounts of the battle show that many facts were known on the continent,²⁵¹ but only de But mentions Warwick's role.

Another early reference to Warwick is also minor, but occurs in the interesting context of a prophecy. De But, under the year 1448, talks about the terrifying prophecy that predicted the impending coming of the Antichrist, pronounced by *frater Johannes de Bassigneyo* and *frater Alanus de Rupe Scissa*.²⁵² Both prophets, according to de But, had agreed that from 1446 many political disasters would happen, and that a great prince of the West would be miserably chased away and almost all his nobles perish by the sword. De But added

and this genuinely came to pass in the kingdom of England, for when King Henry ... had been chased from the kingdom of France back to his own kingdom, the dukes of York and Warwick and their supporters started so many battles and so many factions against him, that King Henry was taken prisoner and put in chains, his queen and his little son, Edward, fled, and he soon ceded the crown to Edward, Earl of March, son of Edmund [*sic*], Duke of York, around the year 1470.²⁵³

249 Warwick is consistently called *dux*.

250 De But-de Lettenhove, pp. 304-05.

251 News of the battle was taken to France by three Scots priests, Chartier, *Charles VII*, vol. 2, pp. 88-93. For the battle Griffiths, *Henry*, pp. 409-10; *Benet's Chronicle*, p. 194; *Bale's Chronicle*, pp. 123-24; *Incerti scriptoris*, p. 35; *Asloan MS*, vol. 1, pp. 227-28; Michel, *Ecosais*, vol. 1, p. 206.

252 De But-de Lettenhove, p. 296. 'Jean de Bassigny' – if that was his name – has not been identified; his prophecies are also mentioned on pp. 284, 302, 303 and 529. The second is the Franciscan Jean de Roquetaillade or Johannes de Rupescissa, born c. 1300, scholar, alchemist and prophet, who prophesied among other things that either the king of Aragon or the king of England would conquer half the world and join forces with a Saracen king, after which the two together would become the Antichrist and perish. E.g. Lerner, *Powers*, pp. 136-41, 151.

253 De But-van Lettenhove, p. 296.

The prophecy thus takes him into one of the many summaries of the controversy between York and Lancaster. In the chronicle of Gilles de Roye, under the year 1422, the accession of Henry VI had already given rise to an extensive *resumé* in which Warwick had been a traitor, *proditor*, who had restored Henry and

brought back the queen ... and her son ... to whom the crown belonged, and intended to couple his daughter with him, and so aspire to the dyadem of the realm.²⁵⁴

De But's own first summary of the same events starts with the Southampton plot against Henry V, the death of Richard of York and his son, Edmund of Rutland – here as elsewhere by de But called his 'first-born' son and frequently misnamed – and York's death and mock coronation. De But also has a number of memorable phrases, emphasising Warwick's disapproval of Elizabeth Woodville and his 'altruistic' role in heading the people's opposition to Edward's marriage as well as to the king's devaluation of the coinage:

Edward ruled instead of Henry until [*donec*] he took the daughter of Lord Rivers, an ordinary knight, to wife, which displeased the lords and the common people of the kingdom. Next he started to vex his people with continual burdens and he also devaluated the coinage. In this way he provoked the antagonism of all and because Richard, Duke of Warwick, offered himself as the protector [*scutum*] of the people, he was banished from England ...²⁵⁵

The low birth of Elizabeth Woodville's father is mentioned several times:

Edward took a wife, the daughter of Lord Rivers, an ordinary knight, who, though only a knight, had married the sister of the count of St Pol, by whom he had many sons and daughters.²⁵⁶

[Edward] crowned as his wife [one of these daughters] and many nobles were very discontented, notably the duke of Warwick, ...²⁵⁷

And again, looking back in the year 1472, criticism of Elizabeth is joined to criticism of Warwick's scheming to place his family on the throne, which as shown above is also a recurrent theme:

[Warwick] had two daughters and would have been pleased to give one, by any means to ... King Edward, but he preferred to marry the daughter of an ordinary knight.²⁵⁸

Apart from Warwick's hopes of having one of his daughters crowned, de But like everyone else in Burgundy, knew that Warwick had his wife to thank for his titles and his position of influence. Under the year 1450 de But has an unusually garbled story about a widow of 'the earl of Lincoln' who was 'duchess of Warwick' and whose hand was sought by many nobles.

254 *Ibid.*, p. 188, in the *Chronique* of Gilles de Roye.

255 *Ibid.*, p. 252.

256 *Ibid.*, p. 361.

257 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

258 *Ibid.*, p. 518; de But implies that Warwick wanted Edward to marry his daughter.

Among them the son of the 'duke' of Northumberland, an excellent youth, to whom she promised herself; later she broke her word and married Richard Neville, the son of the earl of Salisbury. 'It is said nonetheless that she went into a convent and gave in to neither, which is not very likely'.²⁵⁹

Another version of the marrying of the 'duchess of Warwick' occurs under the year 1451, where the quarrel between the dukes of Somerset and York is mainly blamed on this duchess who is wanted by Somerset in marriage *pro se sive pro suo*, but fraudulently taken by the earl of Salisbury for his son. Somerset kills Salisbury in revenge and his son, *cum uxore dux Warwic effectus*, goes over to York's party to seek vengeance in his turn. The struggle between York and Somerset is described several times²⁶⁰ with various additional details, such as the patience of Henry VI and the fate of his wife and son. Unique is the description of Wakefield and its aftermath:

In this year 1460 Margaret, Queen of England, the wife of the captive King Henry, with the help of some people, took prisoner the duke of York, when he with others, that is the duke of Warwick and the earls of Salisbury and *Sufford*, wanted to do his devotions in a monastery. This queen ordered the foresaid men to be beheaded, and also the first-born son of the duke of York, called Edmund, and Lord Rivers, [and she had] this text set above [York's] head: This is he who wanted to be king of England [*Hic est qui voluit esse rex Anglorum*].²⁶¹ But Richard, Duke of Warwick, secretly escaped and soon joined the second son of the beheaded duke, *scilicet domino Gillemer*,²⁶² otherwise named Edward, Earl of March, and started to act strongly against the party of the queen, ...

Under 1461 the story of York's death is further elaborated on:

this same duke was taken prisoner by *Andrea Trolot* and by him, with his own hand, killed with his sword, and his head with a crown on it was exhibited on a pole in York for everybody to see [*in spectaculum ... coram cunctis*] with his first-born son of the same name. But the second son of this duke of York, called Edward, joined forces with the duke of Warwick and with an innumerable multitude of soldiers gathered from Calais and the surrounding lands sailed across, besieged London and took it by agreement ...²⁶³

And again:

this Edmund who was killed by *Andrea Trolot* together with Richard of York in a monastery of our Cistercian order ...²⁶⁴

This is followed by a passage again saying that York, Salisbury and *Sufford* were beheaded.

Soon Edward, his second son, then earl of March, recalled his two brothers from Holland and with the help of Richard, Duke of Warwick, involved himself in war with

259 *Ibid.*, p. 320.

260 *Ibid.*, pp. 351, 352-53, 361

261 The words *rex Anglorum* instead of *rex Angliae*, were perhaps used in conscious imitation of the biblical *rex Iudaeorum*.

262 I can think of no reason why Edward should be called 'Lord Gillemer'.

263 *Ibid.*, p. 432.

264 *Ibid.*, p. 447.

the queen and almost as by a miracle [gained] the kingdom, at the same time that King Louis was newly enthroned; and this same Edward won the crown.²⁶⁵

Under the year 1467 is described Warwick's diplomatic visit to Louis of France, which took place in June, while Edward IV hosted a large Burgundian party headed by Anthony the Great Bastard. In the same month Philip the Good died (15 June) and both Anthony and Warwick returned home. De But's chronology is confused, but otherwise he was well informed.

In this year, after the death of the good duke, Richard, Duke of Warwick, came from England to the king of France at Rouen. This man, his mind full of rebellion, entered into a treaty with the king; under the guise and colour of unity he managed to make the king of France write very amiably to the king of England, and in order to draw trade to Rouen and thus destroy the fairs of Flanders and Brabant, he organised that freedom and privileges were willingly given to the community of London.²⁶⁶

This was not the only way in which Warwick plotted the destruction of Burgundy:

There were many embassies in that year, especially to conclude a marriage between the duke of Burgundy, Charles, and Margaret, the daughter of the duke of York, sister of the reigning king, Edward, and the king of France, asked his opinion in this matter, gave permission to the duke. But Richard Neville, Duke of Warwick, in whose heart deviousness was hiding, wanted to prevent it, because, people said, he had organised with the king of France that he would obtain the liberty of King Henry and an alliance of the two kings against the house of Burgundy. When this had been achieved Flanders, Artois and Hainault would be ceded to the crown of France, and Holland and Zeeland to the crown of England.²⁶⁷

The story continues:

Richard, Duke of Warwick, behaving like a third king, stirred up rebellion against King Edward, saying that he was a usurper and should be deposed because he had devaluated the coinage, and he [Warwick] point by point made many other allegations [*multos articulos alios allegavit in praejudicium ipsius*] against him [Edward] with which the people agreed. Called to parliament he did not want to appear except if summoned under the king's signet.²⁶⁸

The epithet 'third king' is used again,²⁶⁹ and explained elsewhere by de But himself:

I call Richard the 'third king' because in England his reputation was so great that, having deposed King Henry, he made king in his place Edward of York, Earl of March, and then again by his doing Edward was chased away and Henry restored.²⁷⁰

The *multos articulos* against Edward are also mentioned elsewhere,²⁷¹ suggesting that some of the many proclamations published by either side in this period reached the continent.

Curious is the remark under 1468, at the end of the description of the wedding of Charles and Margaret, which claims that Warwick 'hindered', *impedita*, the return of the

265 *Ibid.*, p. 447.

266 *Ibid.*, p. 486.

267 *Ibid.*, p. 487.

268 *Ibid.*, p. 487.

269 *Ibid.*, p. 583.

270 *Ibid.*, p. 572.

271 *Ibid.*, p. 489.

duchess of Norfolk to England. This is followed immediately by a reference to the beheading of *dominus de Widville* and *dominus de Riviers*, presumably Richard, Lord Rivers, and Sir John Woodville, executed after the battle of Edgecote in August 1469; the reason for this reference here is their presence at the wedding festivities at Bruges.

On the crisis of 1470-71 de But has several pages in a curious mixture of factual detail and incomprehensible confusion. His use of the newsletter from Edward IV's signet office, so-called 'short version of the *Arrivall*', has been discussed elsewhere,²⁷² as has his knowledge of the casualty lists of the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury,²⁷³ but his version of the events leading up to Edward's exile and his knowledge of many later details are of interest. He starts the year 1469 with an anecdote, which takes him to the rebellion of that summer:

In the year 1469 the king of the French sent his constable, Louis, Count of St Pol, to the court of the duke of Burgundy at St Omer. ... At the same time Richard, Duke of Warwick, Earl of Salisbury and *dominus de Noville*, crossed the sea from England with a fair company and came to the duke of Burgundy. [Warwick] wanted to enter with his weapons, but this was not allowed and the sword that he was wearing was taken from his side. What he discussed with the duke did not come to light, but the constable of France refused to go to the duke of Burgundy as long as this duke of Warwick resided at the court; there was strong hatred raging between them, because the duke of Warwick had had Lord Rivers killed, a very good knight, with his son, *comite de Widville*, whose mother was the sister of the constable of France. And the constable called him a pirate and went back to France. ... Shortly after Richard, Duke of Warwick, stirred up much evil against his king and lord, Edward, under the pretext that the said King Edward burdened his people too much and devaluated the coinage and that the coinage of King Henry, now unjustly in prison, had been strong. This Richard began to make many untrue accusations against King Edward, which did not concern the country as a whole, but he tried shamefully to bring charges against the royal majesty. He attracted the mob not a little in this way, but he also caused the nobility to take up arms against King Edward and did enough to send him into exile and make King Henry reign again. Next a conspiracy that the same Duke Richard had organised with his people against King Edward became public, and he drew the duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward, into his alliance and joined one of his daughters to him in a secret marriage at Calais; he wanted the same [Clarence] to aspire to the kingship. When this had been done the kingdom of England was in a turmoil, the people of Kent striving to set free King Henry and the other regions exerting themselves to the contrary. Therefore King Edward convoked the estates of the kingdom, ordered Duke Richard and the duke of Clarence to come to the parliament, which they refused, saying that they did not have to come unless the brother of the queen, that is *comes de Schalles*, with others had been sent from the court. When he heard this the brother of the queen ... went to sea, and then Richard, Duke of Warwick, under the king's seal came to the king, and in his presence made many statements and accused many relatives of the queen, while others encouraged the duke and said that he was talking of matters profitable and useful to the kingdom. The king was angered and banished him from the kingdom with his supporters.²⁷⁴

272 Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 179-80, and *passim*.

273 Visser-Fuchs, 'Riddle'.

274 De But-de Lettenhove, pp. 499-500.

Elsewhere it is said that Warwick not only married his daughter to Clarence, but also did not scruple to allege that Edward was illegitimate, which Clarence was prepared to confirm in order to obtain the crown.²⁷⁵

De But's second version of the St Pol anecdote adds a little more detail: when St Pol arrives Charles of Burgundy had already sent the Lord of Créqui to England to organise a meeting at St Omer, to which Warwick came. St Pol, at first ignorant of the earl's arrival, returns to France as soon as he learns about it.

For this reason the duke of Burgundy was very angry with the duke of Warwick and spoke to him in an insulting manner, hinting that because of his arrival the good relationship between the kings and also the duke of Burgundy was endangered. For the constable of France immediately tried to find out whether the people of St Quentin and Amiens would surrender themselves to him, and soon the Lord Philippe d'Esquerdes, their captain, fled and they surrendered to the king; and the people of Vermandois did the same, next Roze, then Mondidier, etc. The constable of France, the count of Dammartin and others openly left their allegiance to the duke. When the meeting at St Omer had broken up the duke of Warwick returned home in a rage, gathered an army against King Edward in the field, and was victorious; the king was imprisoned in London, but Duke Charles wrote to the leading men of the city, and the king was soon released, the duke of Warwick banished.²⁷⁶

On Warwick's stay in France de But has the following to say: he put his *querelam, ut non dicam potius traditionem* before King Louis at Tour, Louis concludes a treaty with him, which is published in Paris and the whole kingdom.²⁷⁷ Warwick also became godfather to Louis' new born son, together with Edward of Lancaster.²⁷⁸ In Calais the people, after having refused Warwick entrance, changed their minds to the extent of wearing his badge of the *baculum peregrinantium*.²⁷⁹ Warwick was given money and men to depose Edward and the ships of the duke of Burgundy could not prevent his sailing back to England:

When his arrival became known, a large army of the common people gathered to him; and so when the day for the battle had been set, he ordered the attack on King Edward, who had come into the field with a large multitude of nobles, all commanders were in battle order as they should. This perjured duke, who was much weaker in warfare than the king himself, thought he could put to the test of arms what he had presumed to do in his excessive pride. King Edward, however, who thought that his people were loyal, was suddenly deceived, frustrated and deprived, hearing that his more important commanders had chosen the path of treason. And so without a blow, without a wound, turned to flight, left the battle field and reached the sea with a few men. Taken where the wind blew him he landed in Holland, where he was received with the greatest splendour by the governor, that is the Lord of Gruuthuse. He stayed a while in The Hague at the duke's court there, and then travelled to his brother-in-law, who was staying at Aire at the time. When the king had arrived, they quickly came to an agreement and discussed the way in which they should proceed.²⁸⁰

275 *Ibid.*, p. 506.

276 *Ibid.*, p. 502.

277 *Ibid.*, pp. 500, 502.

278 *Ibid.*, p. 572.

279 *Ibid.*, pp. 500-01.

280 *Ibid.*, p. 503.

Among the interesting details provided by de But is the fact that Richard of Gloucester did not accompany his brother on his flight, but stayed behind to do what he could in England and arrived later with a large number of supporters, a fact that is confirmed by other sources.²⁸¹ It is also stated that Henry VI recalled Edmund, Duke of Somerset, and his brother John, Earl of Dorset, from their long exile on the continent and that they supported Henry as soon as they were in England *contra juramentum*, suggesting that they had promised Charles they would not actually fight. De But also knew that Warwick was unable to order everything as he wanted and as he had promised Louis and that he did not cross to Flanders to fight, ‘although Calais was prepared for war on sea and land’ (*per terram quam per mare plurimum infesta fuit*).²⁸² The problem of the English kings’ claim to the crown of France and its visual expression on their coins, much resented by the French and apparently the subject of one of the concessions made by Warwick in his treaty with Louis, is also mentioned, and the strong English opposition to deleting the text voiced to the French ambassadors: *et vacui reversi sunt ambassiatores regis Franciae*. As a result the French king, seeing himself deceived, made a treaty with the duke of Burgundy.²⁸³

De But’s image of all three English protagonists of the story, Edward IV, Henry VI and Warwick himself, reveals his attitude to Warwick’s career. De But never says that Edward was the rightful king of England – after the battle of Towton (won by Warwick) he is still *rex putativus*,²⁸⁴ his winning of the crown happened *quasi miraculose*, and it is repeated again and again that he was a ‘burden’ to his people, particularly because he devaluated the coinage.

Henry VI, as king, allowed now one, now another to rule and therefore the people thought him unworthy,²⁸⁵ but de But’s own opinion is evident when he calls him *nobilis vir Henricus rex*.²⁸⁶ He also reports the dramatic events of Henry’s first deposition, of which he appears to have a *specialis historia* to hand:

Henry was deposed and put in the tower near London, with dreadful dishonour and many insults, as the story narrates at length.²⁸⁷ And he, however shamefully he was treated and abused with words, answered humbly and showed patience. They called him a fool and a cuckold and said the son of his wife and queen was not his.²⁸⁸

281 *Ibid.*, pp. 503, 505. Visser-Fuchs, ‘Richard was late’.

282 De But-de Lettenhove, p. 503.

283 *Ibid.*, p. 505.

284 *Ibid.*, p. 361, under 1457.

285 *Ibid.*, p. 319.

286 *Ibid.*, p. 572.

287 *prout specialis ad longum narrat historia*; does this mean that de But had a ‘separate account’, a written report?

288 De But-de Lettenhove, p. 361.

Though Warwick is a 'traitor' in de Roye's text, in de But's work there is no particularly negative description of him at first. Like in other chronicles Warwick is 'a very powerful and very rich duke' (even *tertius rex*) and an important *cause* of events, but no criminal. Only when he allies himself to Louis of France, and *cum eo plura conclusit in praejudicium tam personae ducis Karolae, quam patriarum suarum*,²⁸⁹ the earl becomes a man *seditione plenus*,²⁹⁰ *in cuius animo latebat dolus, perfidus ille dux*,²⁹¹ *dux perjurus*²⁹² and his *ausus temerarius, conatus traditionis* and *calliditas* are mentioned over and over again.²⁹³

As /

289 *Ibid.*, p. 583.

290 *Ibid.*, p. 486.

291 *Ibid.*, p. 572.

292 *Ibid.*, p. 503.

293 *Ibid.*, pp. 500-01.

10. Philippe de Comines: ‘luy sembloit que son maistre estoit un peu simple’.

Philips van den Clyte (1447-1501), Lord of Renescure, whose father was Lord of Comines, or Commynes, by right of his wife, became a penniless orphan at the age of six, and entered the service of Charles the Bold, Count of Charolais, in 1464.²⁹⁴ At the battle of Montlhéry he had his first taste of war; he was also present at the sack of Dinant, the battle of Brusthem and the surrender of Liège. He was one of the courtiers carrying the body of Philip the Good at his magnificent funeral and rose so high in the service of Duke Charles that Adriaan de But called him *secretissimus secretarius* to the duke at the time he (Comines) deserted to the king of France. During the meeting between Charles and Louis at Péronne in 1468, which resulted in a treaty that attempted to establish relations between the duke and the king for the future, Comines may have played an important part; it is also possible that he was already in Louis’ pay and exaggerated his role when he wrote up the episode towards the end of his life. His diplomatic career in Burgundian service continued until, in the night of 7 to 8 August 1472, during one of the duke’s campaigns in France, he left Charles’ camp and fled to King Louis. For five years he was one of Louis’ most trusted and intimate servants and counsellors; this good fortune appears to have lasted until the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, when Comines may have lost his unique value to Louis as someone who had intimate knowledge of the duke’s mind and habits. One of the high points of Comines’ career at the French court was being present – dressed in the same clothes as Louis – at the interview of Louis and Edward IV on the bridge at Picquigny in 1475.

From 1477, and particularly from the death of Louis in 1483, Comines’ career knew more downs than ups and he never regained his former position. Because of this lack of success, his desertion from Burgundy may have turned very sour indeed. By the time he was writing his memoirs at the request of Angelo Cato, Archbishop of Vienne, in 1489-90, his treason and particularly the fact that it did not profit him much in the end, had perhaps become an overwhelming mental preoccupation. One modern commentator calls the memoirs *une anthologie de la trahison*²⁹⁵ and it is quite feasible that every description of an individual’s actions and every version of an event as given by Comines is coloured and slanted in unconscious justification of his own crucial and irreversible decision, which could not be forgotten and had such disappointing results.

294 For Comines’ life, the introduction to the translation by Michael Jones; Dufournet, *Vie*. For his views of England, Dufournet, ‘Commynes et l’Angleterre’, in his *Historien a l’aube*,

295 Dufournet, *Destruction*, p. 35.

What happened in Anglo-French-Burgundian relations in 1470-71²⁹⁶ fitted very well into Comines' 'anthology of treason': the sudden turns of events caused by the protagonists' changes of allegiance were perfectly suited to his unacknowledged theme, but as the story is told with his usual apparent restraint and masked innuendo his intentions are easily missed. His narrative does leave the reader with a lasting impression of the author's sense of superiority, his distaste of the ways of the world and his amazement at people's foibles, but it is remarkable that Comines does not use Warwick as the very obvious and convenient *exemplum* of pride and treachery that he was to almost all contemporaries.

Warwick appears to be first mentioned in Comines' curious summary of English events from the peace of Arras in 1435 to Richard III's death in 1485. The text says that Warwick was beheaded along with Richard of York, but it is likely the words 'the father of' were left out by the copyist and the earl of Salisbury was in the original text.²⁹⁷ The additional phrase: 'who had so much authority in England' no doubt does refer to the Kingmaker himself. No interest is shown in Warwick's family background and early career; when he next appears he is merely one example in a list of princes who hated each other: from the time Warwick visited the Burgundian court in the spring of 1469 there was no love lost between Duke Charles and the earl. No explanation for their dislike is given; it is stated as a fact and by means of a vicious circle the reader has to find proof in the many examples of princes who, according to Comines, disliked each other as soon as they met personally, mainly, he says, giving general but no personal reasons, because of the envy that meeting eye to eye generates.²⁹⁸

Nowhere does Comines call Warwick a traitor, an epithet that for all other Burgundian commentators was clearly the first that sprang to mind. References to the earl are always descriptive and low-key, never is Warwick himself characterised, but he and his actions are used to suggest to the reader where other people's weaknesses lay and why certain things happened. Warwick's authority in England and his wealth were due to the need that Edward had of him and which made the earl almost a 'father' to the king. Warwick's power over Edward makes the latter look feeble, but the earl's treatment of the king is never condemned, merely stated. It is Edward, not Warwick, who is described by such phrases as: 'Warwick thought his master was a little simpleminded'.²⁹⁹ When Edward escapes from Warwick's hands

296 Most of the events are in Comines' bk 3, chs 4-6; Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, pp. 190-217; Jones, *Comynnes*, pp. 179-97.

297 Bk 1, ch. 7; Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, pp. 51-54, esp. 53; Jones, *Comynnes*, p. 89, n. 47.

298 Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, pp. 135-41.

299 Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, p. 193: *luy sembloit que son maistre estoit ung peu simple*.

in 1469 it is because of Charles' secret aid and Edward's habitual good fortune, and when Warwick has to flee the country he still does so 'in his own good time'.

Clarence's marriage to Warwick's daughter is seen more from Clarence's perspective than from Warwick's. When it is first mentioned it is not said that it was Warwick who married his daughters into different factions, but that Clarence married Isabel and took Warwick's side against Edward, his brother. Wenlock's refusal to let Warwick into Calais is described as 'great harshness for a servant to use towards his master', and not as the proper action of a king's man towards a traitor. Edward's and Charles' gratitude to Wenlock sounds almost simple-minded. In the end, of course, it turns out that it was the king and the duke who were being betrayed and Warwick was in fact served very loyally, but again there is no disapproval of the earl's own behaviour.³⁰⁰

The king of France's welcome of the exiled earl is never doubted in Comines' text; the king and the earl were always of one mind and to Comines this was as positive a fact as it was abhorrent to most of his countrymen. When Edward of Lancaster's marriage to Warwick's second daughter is mentioned the earl's name is left out, though it is clearly Warwick who 'had destroyed the father of the said prince'. Again it is Clarence's position that is emphasised, he 'had to fear that the line of Lancaster would be restored'. The rest of the story, Warwick's return and Edward's flight, is told in a low-key fashion, every event being blamed implicitly on everybody's dissimulation or incompetence. Only the outward signs of the quick change of allegiance in Calais move Comines to words of surprise: it was all new to him and he had 'never realised that things are not very stable in this world'.³⁰¹

When Warwick delivers Henry from the Tower there is again a certain neutrality in the words that remind the reader how Warwick himself put him there, long ago, when he had proclaimed him a traitor, whereas now he calls him king and returns him to his royal palace and estate. There is disapproval in the way Comines describes the events, not so much of Warwick as of the ways of the world.³⁰² Even his death does not make Comines voice any praise or blame of him. The cowardice that Warwick is often accused of is turned into merely a sensible habit of the earl: he 'used not to dismount, but was in the habit of mounting his horse once he had put his men and affairs in order. If things went well for him, he would join the fight, if they went badly he would remove himself in time'.³⁰³

300 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 192-96, esp. 196, n. 2; Jones, *Commynes*, pp. 180-83.

301 Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, pp. 207-09; Jones, *Commynes*, pp. 191-92.

302 Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, p. 206; Jones, *Commynes*, p. 190.

303 Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, p. 214; Jones' translation is more 'negative' than Comines' words, p. 195.

It is difficult to explain Comines' treatment of Warwick. Of course, Comines was 'French' by the time he was writing and, of course, the tenor and quality of his work was different from that of his fellow memorialists, but the fact that he seems to have used another historical 'language' does not explain why he should have painted such a curious picture of Warwick, almost as if the earl was an impersonal force of nature, a storm or an epidemic, a tool of fortune that had no plan of its own, but made other people act and react to him. The figure of Warwick was too useful as a mirror to show up the actions of others to be given a personality of his own. He is on a par with the three princely protagonists as a mover of events, but he is 'beyond' Comines' reproach and never in so many words included in the pageant of individual human traitors and deserters. Warwick is not even used as the type of an Englishman, as an exponent of English vices and weaknesses.³⁰⁴ If anyone has that function in Comines' memoirs it is Edward IV.

Perhaps Warwick should be seen as Comines' *alter ego*, someone who was also not satisfied with his very influential position and sought to gain even more by changing sides, by deserting to where the grass seemed greener. Very successful for a time in his new situation because of his talents, he came to grief in the end through outside factors, through the mere turning of Fortune's wheel.

304 Dufournet, 'Commines et l'Angleterre'.

Part I. Chapter 2.

Le conte dont on chante: Warwick in verse.

1. The earlier ballads.

The earl's activities and their repercussions in the relations between England, France and Burgundy from April 1470 to April 1471 released a flood of defiant, sarcastic and triumphant poems from the French, but particularly from the people of the Burgundian Low Countries. The poets were to be found even at the ducal court itself.

These poems, particularly the popular ballads, were in the 'tradition' of the *véritable jouête politique* between France and Burgundy which broke out in earnest at the time of the War of the Public Weal and continued all through Charles the Bold's life and after.¹ The love – and also the hate – that the duke inspired found an outlet in dozens of poetic outbursts of varying literary value. The subjection of Dinant and Liège gave much food for such work from lesser poets. It has been said that the factual information historians can glean from the Dinant/Liège 'cycle' is negligible and does not offer much beyond what we know from contemporary chroniclers.² As far as historical events themselves are concerned this is also generally true of the Warwick poems – except for a few instances indicated below, where they perhaps contain some suggestive extra material.

The Dinant/Liège poems have also been considered to emanate a *malaise moral*, in that those written by supporters of the duke – the greater part of the surviving ones – appear to find it difficult to cope with the events and their causes. An excuse had to be found for Charles' un-chivalric and excessive behaviour, and his motive for the utter destruction of the rebellious cities had to be analysed, a motive that amounted to little more than hurt pride. The poets might have turned the story into a chivalric epic but in the end could not or would not. They concentrated on the overweening conceit of the cities, which in their picture appears to be directed at no one in particular, but was a sin – just as Warwick's *oultrecuidance* was sinful – and consequently had to be punished by God, who used the duke as his instrument.³

There were no such doubts in the minds of the critics of Warwick. Their feelings and aims were clear, they felt free to hate Warwick and his allies, the French; they fought to survive and composed their verse to show their national pride.

1 Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, pp. 389-402.

2 Thiry, 'Poèmes', *passim*.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

The *Ballade aux Franchoix*.

The first two ballads discussed here⁴ were made January to March 1471, when Charles the Bold and Louis XI were actually at war in the Somme region.⁵ The French gained St Quentin (6 Jan.), Amiens⁶ itself (2 Febr.) and some smaller towns; the Burgundians managed to keep Abbeville and occupied Picquigny (24 Feb.), while Calais in the meantime was full of supporters of Warwick.

The *Ballade aux Franchoix* is the earliest surviving.⁷ It exhorts the French to wake up (st. 1) and attack the Burgundians without fear. The author rejoices over the help Warwick is giving to the French king – ‘the noblest blood royal’ – and over the good alliance with Henry VI. Edward is belittled (st. 3) by describing his humiliating flight, his loss of power and his crown – to which he had no right anyway! Duke Charles fares even worse (st. 4): he is made ridiculous by showing him eating – with relish, too – the ears of his mule and his bonnet in his

4 Two other ballads survive in the *Dagboek van de Gentse Collatie*, i.e. *Dagboek van Gent*, ed. Fris, vol. 2, pp. 237-39. They were also printed by de Baecker, *Chants*, pp. 210-14, where they are said to refer to Warwick’s and Clarence’s acts of piracy in 1470. I cannot make head or tail of either poem and I suspect they do not refer to Warwick’s activities; for the moment I leave them out.

5 Vaughan, *Charles*, pp. 67-72; Calmette and Perinelle, *Louis*, pp. 120-30; Bittmann, *Ludwig*, I, 1, pp. 487-510.

6 Another Burgundian song was written in February or March addressing the people of Amiens: *Une ballade fette pour Amiens*. Jean de Haynin included it in his memoirs and must have picked it up during the actual campaign (Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 2, pp. 241-44). The author blames the Amiénois for making a foolish choice in surrendering to the French and bringing suffering on themselves whatever the outcome of the war; he reminds them of the fall of Babylon, *Troie le grant* and *Attenes la sage*, and, of course, Dinant and Liège. Interestingly he warns that when *les croniques du tamps present* will tell the story of Amiens it will be a tale of blasphemy and treason. He continues:

Connois tu ores Franchois
comment il tient fidelité?
N’en jures fors que t’en vois.
Eus et Warvich ti [*sic*] ont bouté;
tu es née en perplicité,
a nus tu n’en dois demander.
On doit connoistre avant qu’amer.

Warwick and the French landed them in this situation, but they should not have trusted people they did not know (compare Woodrow, C 272). Each stanza ends with a proverb summarising its contents.

7 Printed Le Roux, *Chants*, no. 27, pp. 156-58. The ms. Le Roux used is the only source for this text, as it is for many others. It belonged to him, as no. 284 in the catalogue of his library: ‘*Poésies françaises du xve s., petit in 4^o, demi reliure, maroquin rouge. Manuscrit sur papier*’; see *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Leroux de Lincy, 1ère partie (littérature, histoire)*, Paris 1870. The present whereabouts of the ms. is unknown; it is not in the BN or the Arsenal. I am most grateful to Mme M.-H. Tesnière of the BN for this information. – This *Ballade* cannot have been the earliest one made: when Comines was sent to Calais in October 1470 he found on the doors of his lodgings not only more than a hundred (French) white crosses, but also (pro-French) *rimes, contenant que le roy de France et le comte de Warwic estoient tout un* (*Mémoires*, book 3, ch. 6). The *Ballade aux Franchoix* discussed here does not seem to answer to Comines’ description as Le Roux suggests, *Chants*, p. 155.

rage. There is mention (st. 5) of the people of Calais pillaging and burning the possessions of the ‘buttery’ Flemings. This may be an indication of the date of the poem and explain its triumphant note, for it was in early February that soldiers from Calais made plundering sorties into the countryside. To this period belongs Warwick’s letter to Louis XI, claiming that he sent orders to Calais to start the war and that he had just heard that the men from Calais had already done so; he added that he would come himself as soon as possible.⁸ It is not clear whether this short note actually heralded open war between England and Burgundy. It is arguable that Warwick, in his exasperation over the lack of cooperation of his countrymen – who were not prepared to ally themselves to France in accordance with his wishes – and his uncertainty over Edward’s plans, used the initiative taken by the Calais garrison to create an impression of genuine activity on his part, pretending that he had ordered the sorties. It is obvious from the reaction of the French poet that the Calais contribution was very welcome and boosted French morale. He apparently felt at liberty to attack Duke Charles personally (st. 6), reminding him what a burden he had been to his father, Philip the Good; blaming him for the sorrow he had caused to the women of Liège and Dinant and rubbing in the fact that he owed homage to the French crown.

In the last strophe the Burgundians are advised to lay down their arms and ask for mercy on their knees. Here and in other parts of the text the beloved chivalric symbols of lordship and unity are unashamedly used: no ‘lion’ (of Flanders/Burgundy) or ‘leopard’ (of England) will help the fugitive English king (st. 3, line 4); the English from Calais are invited to ‘destroy the order of the Golden Fleece for ever’ (st. 5, lines 9-10); and the Burgundians should take off their *chimeres* (St Andrew’s crosses)⁹ and *fusilz* (flints, firestones) before they beg the King ‘of the *fleures-de-lice*’ for mercy (st. 6, lines 7, 9).

Ballade aux Franchoix¹⁰

1

Resvilliés vous, gentilz Franchoix,
De toute noblesse la choix,
Mettés vous subz en armes;
Marchés en Flandres et en Artoix,
Soyés loyaulx et fermes.
Courés subz à ces Bourguignons
De toute part du monde:
Montrés que riens ne les craignons,

8 BL Add. 48988 (1), Davis, ‘Wars’, pp. 61-62, pl. xviii a; repeated by Myers, ‘Outbreak’, pp. 114-15. Warwick shows himself a match for any jeering Burgundian versifier, calling Duke Charles *ce maudit bourgoignon*.

9 On the *chimere* see below.

10 Le Roux, *Chants*, no. 27, pp. 156-58 (f. 29v). As Le Roux’s edition is the only available text I have followed his headings, spelling and punctuation except where otherwise indicated.

Ihesus Crist les confonde!

2

Warvic le bon conte léal,
 Au plus noble du sang réal
 A bien tenu promesse,
 Dont le Bourguignon desléal
 A souffert au coeur grant mal
 Aussi vray que la messe.¹¹
 Chascun Bourguignon est mary
 De la bonne alliance
 Acordée au bon Roy Henry
 De par le Roy de France.

3

Or est maintenant Edouart
 Recullez arriere à la part
 En povre compaignye;
 Il n'a plus lion ne lieppart
 Qui voeulle tenir de sa part,
 Sa puissance est fallye.
 Il n'oseroit plus retourner
 Au païs d'Engleterre,
 Où il se fist roy couronner
 Sans le droit de la terre.

4

Quant le duc le vit arriver
 Et sy povrement haborder
 Au païs de Hollande,
 De doeul il cuida bien crever,
 Et de despit ne volt menger
 De vin ni de viande.
 Comme esragiés et hors de sens,
 L'oreille de sa mulle¹²
 Prist et mengea à bons dens,
 Et son bonnet en brulle.

5

Vous qui estes dedens Calaix,
 Pilliés castiaux, villes, pallaix,
 Pilliés tout jusqu'au feurre;¹³
 Servant Flamens de gros galles,¹⁴
 Car n'est que pour les vallès,¹⁵
 Ilz ne sont que de bure.¹⁶

11 Compare Woodrow, M 135.

12 Female mule, not a proper mount for the duke of Burgundy; there may be a connotation of 'bastard', and a reminder of the proverb about the mule of the Pope that would neither eat nor drink.

13 *Feurre* – stubble.

14 *Galles* = *galets* = buffets.

15 *Vallès* = *valets*.

16 *Bure* = *beurre*. The Flemings had a reputation for eating butter with every meal and as a result (?) for being as soft as butter themselves. This is the point of the remark of the *Libelle of English Polycye*, lines 290-92:

Wythoute Calise in ther buttere they [the Flemings] cakked,
 Whan they flede home and when they leysere lakked,
 To holde her sege; ...

They were so frightened when they fled the siege of Calais, July 1436, that they actually fouled their favourite food. Huizinga, 'Voorgeschiedenis', pp. 146-47.

Vengiés maintenant la traïson
 Qui en France fut faite,
 Destruiziés l'ordene à la toïson
 Que jà ne soit refaite.

6

Souviengne toy que tu fus fis
 Au duc Philippe à qui tu fis
 Tant de maulx en sa vye;
 Souviengne toy que tu deffis
 Liege et Dignant, là où tu fis
 Mainte femme marie.
 Mais s'il plaist à Dieu et au Roy
 A qui tu dois hommaige,
 Nous metterons brief en desroy
 Ton fier et hault coraige.

7

Tramblez, mahios et hacquins,¹⁷
 Tramblez, flamens et hennequins,¹⁸
 Tramblez, l'eure est venue!
 Mettés jus arqs et crennequins,¹⁹
 Vostre parcq et ribaudequins,²⁰
 Doubtés nostre venue,
 Ostez chimeres²¹ et fusilz,
 Mettes jenoux à terre!
 Et au bon Roy des fleurs de lys
 Venés merchy requerre.

The Response sur la dicte Ballade

Every jibe of the *Ballade aux Franchoix* is answered systematically in the *Response sur la dicte Ballade*, written in the Burgundian 'camp' very shortly after. The French at Picquigny, it says, were not roused by the war cry of their own poet in the *Ballade* (st. 1), but it was the Burgundians who woke up the inhabitants when they captured the town on 24 February. 'Loyal' Warwick has become an expensive friend to Louis XI and paid the king back in his own untrustworthy coin, never turning up to fight (st. 2). No Burgundian wept at the French alliance with Lancaster, rather they laughed at Louis' disappointment and regrets (st. 3), for he

17 The meaning of *mahios et hacquins* is not certain; perhaps they are both equivalents of 'heathens' or 'devils', *mahios* deriving from *mahom* = Mohamed, *hecquins* being *halequins*, *herquins*, creatures from hell; on Herlequin and his 'wild hunt', Janssen, *Nicolaas*, ch. 8, *passim*. Both words appear to be taken to mean 'heathen' in the next poem, the *Response*, strophe 13, line 3. The poet may have liked the similarity between *hacquins* and *hennequins*. Compare the ballads quoted in Chartier, *Charles VII*, vol. 2, p. 29: *la mesgnie Hanequin*.

18 *Flamens et hennequins* – Flemings and Hainaulters.

19 *Arcqs et crennequins* = long bows and crossbows; *crennequin* = *crannequin*, the rack and pinion mechanism used to load a steel crossbow, here used as *pars pro toto*. For the *crannequin*, which was not used by the English and for which there is no English equivalent, Michael, *Armies*, pp. 30-31, pl. G, 1; more detailed Boheim, *Handbuch*, pp. 410-13, ill. 491 (*der deutsche Winde*); Payne-Gallwey, *Crossbow*, p. 131.

20 *Parcq et ribaudequins*, the camp with all that it contained, particularly artillery. The *ribaudequins* were the waggons that carried several light guns, see Michael, *Armies*, p. 18.

21 Le Roux's *chivieres* no doubt should be read *chimeres*, see below.

had lost everything: Warwick is dead and both had been a bit too clever (st. 4). As for Edward who had to flee, he came back in time to crush Warwick's alliance with the French, who should no longer expect Warwick to turn up at Harfleur or anywhere else in Normandy, but had better be careful that Edward will not land there shortly (st. 5)²².

The Burgundian poet reminds the French one that it is unwise to talk about the duke's mule and ignoble mounts; he must not think that the duke resembles the poorly-dressed king of France who looks like an *advocat du parlement* rather than a king (st. 6).²³ Nor should the Frenchman think that the Duke burned his bonnet in his rage – he has to be lying anyway because he would not be a Frenchman if he did not – though it is true that Louis XI did so when Rouen was taken by John II, Duke of Bourbon (st. 7).²⁴ The author also laughs at the soldiers of Calais (st. 8): they will soon be thrown back into their town if they show themselves, and anyway all the English and the Burgundians will soon turn on Normandy, where the English used to drink their cider, rather than eat butter in Flanders.²⁵

Those same Flemings whom the French poet holds for mere 'varlets', are the men who defeated the French in the past (st. 9) and seized a booty of more than 500 of the French knights' spurs after the battle of Courtrai (1302). In popular opinion this battle was on a par with Crécy and Poitiers and one of the most famous events in the history of Flanders; it became known as the Battle of the Golden Spurs.²⁶ The author of the fifteenth-century poem appears to say that the outcome of the battle would have been even more disastrous for the French chivalry if it had not had the good fortune of being protected by the Oriflamme.²⁷ He

22 Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 2, p. 108, records such expectations in the Burgundian camp as early as 23 February, the day before the recapture of Picquigny. He and others expected to go straight to Abbeville and on to Normandy, where they would wait for Edward. See also above.

23 The un-kingly way in which Louis dressed is well known, e.g. Comines, *Mémoires*, bk 2, ch. 8; Gandilhon, 'Contribution', pp. 340-45. The comparison to an *advocat de parlement* I have not found elsewhere; presumably such an official dressed soberly (or shabbily?) in black.

24 The surrender of Rouen (Sept. 1465) to Bourbon, one of the rebellious princes during the War of the Public Weal, was decisive in that it forced Louis to sign the treaty of Conflans with Charles, then count of Charolais, the leader of these princes. Comines, *Mémoires*, bk 1, ch. 13; Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 1, p. 102: *Et quant le Roi en seut les nouvelles* [of the surrender of Rouen] *il fut encorre plus courchie et plus trouble que devant, et tant que vois couru il avoit rue et jete son bonnet ou fu; qu'il en fu, je ne say.*

25 Cider was a typically English drink, of which the use and making had spread to Brittany and Normandy. The English love of cider was probably as characteristic as the Flemish preference for butter, but not as easily turned into a joke against them.

26 For the battle of Courtrai, e.g. Verbruggen, 'Gulden Sporen'.

27 Beaune, *Naissance*, pp. 112-13; Contamine, 'Oriflamme', pp. 179-245, esp. 197-98, states that the sacred standard was taken by Philip IV on his Flemish campaign, but does not mention its presence at Courtrai. French sources would be reticent on the subject; no Flemish sources that mention it appear to survive, though there are several that describe the Oriflamme and its rôle on the occasion of the battle of Mons-en-Pévèle, 18 August 1304.

apparently takes the miraculous powers of the sacred battle standard of the French kings for granted.²⁸

The Burgundian admits that Charles the Bold may have angered his father at times (st. 10), but their quarrel was exploited and fanned by the French king, and at least Duke Philip never chased his son out of the country, forcing him into exile as did Charles VII to the dauphin, later Louis XI. In the next stanzas (11 and 12) a harsh picture is painted of Louis' character and actions. The sacking of Dinant and Liège is blamed on him, as it was he who led the citizens into foolish rebellion and promised them his help, then sent his constable, Louis de Luxembourg, Count of St Pol, to attack them.²⁹ Who trusts the king is a fool, for he laughs one moment and the next cruelly bites. For a time he makes things appear smooth and then starts his cruel game all over again. When he left Péronne in the company of the Duke it was his express wish to go to Liège in person and he actually wore the Burgundian emblem of the St Andrew's Cross; moreover, when the duke's army entered the city at the end of *la besongne*, the brave king shouted 'Have at them! Long live Burgundy!' in everyone's hearing.

The Burgundian poet was not alone in condemning the king's treachery and shiftiness in his treatment of both Dinant and Liège, and his curious, pro-Burgundian exhibition during the sack of the latter. Most chroniclers, heavily influenced by Burgundian propaganda, took for granted that Louis was a willing partner in the destruction of the city after he had first roused the Liégeois to rebellion. They do not mention that he had little choice and was partly forced into this situation by his blood-relationship to the bishop of Liège, Louis de Bourbon, and partly by his own unfortunate presence at Péronne in Duke Charles' power when the final episode in the rebellion began. It is probably true³⁰ that the king wore the St Andrew's Cross during the campaign, since there is such consensus among chroniclers, but it is unlikely that he himself cried *Vive Bourgogne*, though he may have exhorted others to do so.³¹ The present

28 At Mons-en-Pévèle its bearer was killed and the standard thrown to the ground. A Ghent commentator on that occasion said the Oriflamme had not been much help to the French; a French source claimed it had not been the real sacred standard! Verbruggen, 'Pevelenberg', p. 191, n. 5.

29 Comines, *Mémoires*, bk 2, ch. 1, says St Pol came on his own initiative and with his own Picardians.

30 Vaughan, *Charles*, p. 33.

31 De But-de Lettenhove, p. 492: *Rex igitur Francorum, chimiram sive signum sancti Andreae, quod erat ducis Burgundiae, suscipiens, cum suis omnibus ingressus, evaginato gladio, donec in medio fori venisset, clamavit in signum victoriae: Vive Bourgogne! Ville gaignie! Quae res inaudita creditur accidisse, et inter ejusmodi temporis miranda valde reputatur evenisse.* Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 2, p. 80: *et le Roy avecque eus, portans la crois Saint Andrieu, son espée toute nue en sa main, disant a compagnons: 'Avant enfans, cryes Bourgogne!'*. Divisie-chronicle, f. 321 (a): *Ende die coninc mit des hertogen teyken gecleet wesende reet in des biscops hof.* Jan Allertsz., p. 41: *den coninc van Vranckerijc mit sijn volc all riepen: Bourgoengen, Bourgoengen! Ende terstont toech mijn heere [Charles] crafellic mitten coninc*

poem shows once more how successful was this propagandist picture of the untrustworthy French king ordering the slaughter of his former allies and shouting his enemy's war-cry to save his skin.

In stanza 13 the poet returns to simple 'bashing' of his French adversaries: they are no pilgrims (i.e. crusaders) at whose coming the heathen tremble, their 'prowess' is well known; nor are they that eager to enter Burgundian territory, where – as they well know – clubs are heavy and blows are usually 'sold'. There will be no kneeling or trembling (st. 14) when the Burgundians arrive, but killing and beating, and the French had better find themselves an enemy that will not fight back. It is the French that will be trembling (st. 15): the cruel *fran[c]s archiers* will be shaking to their knees in their pourpoints. Why the poet refers to werewolves that the French made at Amiens remains so far a mystery.

In this ballad Warwick's treachery was put on the same level as Louis XI's and the latter's shiftiness reflected on his English ally. Warwick was dead, however, and the French on their own were less awe-inspiring and could be jeered at with impunity. Not only had a treaty been concluded between the duke and the king on 9 April, the news of Warwick's defeat and death on 14 April was also known in the Burgundian camp, reaching the duke at Corbie before the 18th.³² The present ballad must have been written immediately after.

Though Comines was later to write that Charles did not know whether to be happy or sad at Edward's success,³³ there cannot really be any doubt about the duke's relief at Warwick's elimination. His subjects went into ecstasy, witness the *Response* and some of the other poems discussed below.

Response sur la dicte ballade.³⁴

1

Vous qui resvilliés les Franchoix,
Ayez des Bourguignons merchy,
Laissiés au lieu Flandres et Artois
Où il ont esté jusqu'a chy.
Se Franchoix dedens Picquigny
Estoient trop endormis trestoux,

*in die stadt. La Marche-Beaune, vol. 1, p. 129: Et finalement le Roy de France porta la croix saint Andrieu en ce voyage de Liège. Molinet, Faicts, vol. 2, p. 299, Recollection des merveilles advenues, str.xlvi: J'ay veu les murs de Liège Destruis et abbatus, Son perron perdre siege, Ses meutins combatus Criant: 'Vive Bourgogne!' Le roi vint de surcrois, / Qui porta sans vergonne / De Saint Andrieu le croix. All these writers were equally shocked, though only de But and La Marche actually expressed their dismay. Basin, Louis, vol. 1, pp. 322-25, in particular 'blushes' to tell this story of Louis' treachery; he says the inhabitants of Liège cried *Vive la France* in the hope of reminding the king of his former support and their loyalty; to their faces Louis shouted *Vive Bourgogne*.*

32 Charles was at Corbie 13 - 18 April (Vander Linden, *Itinéraires*, p. 20) and La Marche, above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 6.

33 *Mémoires*, book 3, ch. 7.

34 The text, like the previous one, is only found in Le Roux's edition.

Vostre cry n'eust de rien servy
On les resvilla bien sans vous.

2

Warvic, que dittes tant léal,
Et qui sy chier avoit cousté
A ce plus grand du sang réal,
A bien depuis ung pau vellé.³⁵
Le Roy avoit bien rencontré
En Warwic proppre compagnon;
Eux deux, leur cas considéré,
Furent d'une complexion.³⁶

3

Ne scay nul Bourguignon mary,
Quoy qu'il vous ayt pleu de rescripre.
De l'aliance au Roy Henry,
Ainchois en ay veu chascun rire.
Mais le Roy qui en vostre dire
Encoulpes³⁷ l'avoir acordée,
Nous savons comment le doux sire³⁸
L'avoit acquise et achetée.

4

Pour l'amistié qui est jà morte
Le Roy a beaucoup despendu;
Aux Normans assés m'en rapporte
Tel est qu'en a son lit vendu.³⁹
Or a-il bien son temps perdu,⁴⁰
Et son argent qui plus lui touche,
Car Warvic est mort et vaincu:
Ha! que Loys est fine mouche!

5

Edouart qui fut recullé
En sy petite compaignie
Est de telle heure retourné
Que vostre alliance est fallye:
N'attendés plus en Normendie
Warvic à Harfleur n'aultre part
Mais je ne vous assure mye
Que brief n'y trouvés Edouart.

6

Du duc qui mengha les oreilles
De sa mulle, but-il point après?
Oy, ou ce fut merveilles;

35 *Vellé* = laid low??

36 Kendall, *Warwick*, p. 272, translates these lines:

The King had met indeed
In Warwick his true kin;
This pair - who runs may read -
Were brothers under the skin.

37 *encoulpes* = admits, confesses ?

38 *le doux sire* = Warwick?, 'who bought and sold' Louis XI?

39 *vendre son lit* = spend his last penny?

40 Kendall, *Warwick*, p. 323, translates the next four lines:

Now time his schemes has eaten
And his coin - yes, there's the sting:
For Warwick's dead and beaten -
Ha! *What* a sly dog is the King!

Mais je cuide que vous mentés.
 Vous estes sy fins que penssés
 Que une en ayt samblablement
 Que a le Roy qui, comme savez,
 Samble advocat de parlement.

7

De ce qu'il brulla son bonnet
 Pardonnés moy se ne le croix.
 Qui soi loant mentir ne scet
 Il n'est point naturel Franchoix.
 Mais adrechies une aultreffoix
 Au Roy qui le fist, ce dist on,
 Quant Rouan fut, sauve son droix,
 Prinse par monseigneur de Bourbon.

8

Au regart de ceulx de Calaix
 Que vous envoiez sur Flamens,
 Plus que vous ne nous sont mauvais,
 Se ils wident on les reboutte ens.
 Tout tournera sur les Normans:
 Car les Anglois la nourriture
 Est boire cidre dès long temps,
 Non pas en Flandre mengier bure.

9

Servir faittes de gros galletz,
 Flamens; vos mos sont bien cornus,
 Vous ne prisiés que pour vallés
 Ceulx que les Roix ont combatus.
 Aultreffoix vous ont tant battus
 Que on eust vos esperons dorés;
 Se l'oriflambe et ses vertus
 Ne fust, tous fussiés demourés.

10

Se le duc Philippe à son filz
 Aulcuneffois se couroucha,
 Le Roy, pour atrapper païs
 Le trouble finement brassa.
 Onques le filz on ne enchassa
 Hors du païs, pour le brassin,
 Comme on fist, ung temps qui passa,
 Vostre Roy, lui estant daulphin.

11

Dignant que jadis on brulla,
 Le Roy les mist en la follye,
 Puis son connestable envoya
 Aidier à faire l'envaye.⁴¹
 Fol est qui en lui ne se fye,
 Maintenant rit, tantost est felle,⁴²
 Ores mort, après aplanye,⁴³
 Puis recommenche de plus belle.

12

Le Roy au partir de Peronne,

41 *envaye* invasion, attack.

42 *felle* – cruel, terrible.

43 *aplanye* smoothed.

Quant le duc en Liege thira
 Y volt aller en sa personne,
 Et lors la cimere⁴⁴ porta,
 Oultre plus, ains que⁴⁵ on entra
 Dedens, au fort de la besongne,⁴⁶
 Oyans tous, plusieurs foix crya:
 Frappons dedens, vive Bourgongne!

13

Vous n'estes pas les pelerins
 Qui par trop doubter vos venues
 Trablent mahios ne hennekins,⁴⁷
 Vos proesses sont trop congneues.
 De venir n'estes pas si grues,⁴⁸
 L'on ne vous y voit pas souvent;
 Vous savez le pois des machues⁴⁹
 Et des horions que on y vent.

14

Ce n'est pas mis genoux à terre,
 Merchy crier, ne fort trambler,
 Quant on vous va en vos fors⁵⁰ querre
 Vous tuer et vous rembarer.⁵¹
 Et jamais n'osés effondrer,⁵²
 Sur nous, vous ne nous querés pas;
 Vostre fait est de rencontrer
 Gens qui ne se revengent pas.

15

Tremblés Franchoix, trablés premiers,
 Vous nous doubtés et nous point vous,
 Tremblent vos crueux frans archiers
 Aux paltos⁵³ jusques aux genoulx.
 Faites trambler les leux waroulx⁵⁴
 Que en Amiens avez creés;
 Car a la fin seront escoulx⁵⁵
 Quelque chose que vous brassés.⁵⁶

44 *cimere*, see below, the notes to Miélot's poem on Duke Charles.

45 *ains que* as soon as, when.

46 *au fort de la besongne* = at the climax of the affair (the actual capture of Liège).

47 *mahios* and *hennekins*, see above and n. 17.

48 *grues* – *grés?* – willing.

49 *machues* = *massus* = clubs.

50 *vos fors* = your strong places?

51 *rembarer* beat up, fight.

52 *effondrer sur nous* come down on us.

53 *paltos*; were the pourpoints (tunics) of the *francs archers* longer than those of the Burgundian archers and therefore ridiculous?

54 *leux waroulx* – werewolves.

55 *escoulx* *secoués* shaken.

56 *brassés* lit. 'brewed'; hatched, as in stanza 10.

2. The Latin poems of Jean Miélot.

Jean Miélot, *homme des lettres*⁵⁷ at the ducal court itself, secretary, ‘translator of books of Monseigneur’, was also moved to comment in verse on the quarrels of the English and the role of his overlord and patron in their affairs.⁵⁸ Writing occasional verse was not his usual activity, but he went to great trouble to produce something elaborate. He turned his poetic efforts into displays of learning, stuffing them with quotations from Roman authors. His passive knowledge of Latin is well known and can be concluded from the translations he had made before 1470, but the poems discussed here give some insight into what else he read (and knew very well), as well as showing how effectively he could handle the Latin language, the metre and the various images, and how cleverly he ‘played around with’ the quotations.⁵⁹ They also prove his hatred of Warwick, ‘the monster full of deadly evil’, ‘hated in heaven and on earth’, ‘the drinker of blood’.

BN fr. 17001 is a remarkable manuscript, a note-book-like collection of the work of one man, who was a scholar, translator and calligrapher as well as something of a poet and illuminator.⁶⁰ Among more substantial items such as translations of Cicero’s letter on good governance to his brother and Boccaccio’s *Genealogia deorum*, there are elaborate calligraphic drawings, including labyrinths, genealogies – both historical and contemporary – and four Latin poems of twelve hexameters each.⁶¹ They are headed *Ad regem Francorum*, *Ad ducem Burgundie*, *Ad regem Anglie* and *Ad comitem Warvici*, the second and the last containing a chronogram, 1470, in their first and first two lines respectively.⁶² Even without these chronograms their contents would date the verse to early 1471 (i.e. 1470 in Burgundian reckoning), when the four ‘dedicatees’ were the principal actors on the political stage.

57 Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, p. li; for Miélot, *ibid.*, pp. 138-43, 213-8, etc.; Perdrizet, ‘Miélot’, is still the main study. Dogaer, *Painting*, pp. 87-9.

58 I discussed the poems on Edward IV and Warwick in Visser-Fuchs, ‘*Sanguinis haustor*’, but the four poems very much go together and it is essential to include all of them again for the sake of cross-reference and completeness. Since writing ‘*Sanguinis haustor*’ I came across Mombello, ‘Poesie’, which also discusses all four poems. Mombello did not notice the emphasis on Warwick in *all* poems and his article contains many errors and omissions. See also Armstrong, ‘Verses’. – I am grateful to Kees van Leijenhorst for his invaluable help and suggestions.

59 Both Mombello, ‘Poesie’ and Armstrong, ‘Verses’, are dismissive of Miélot’s learning.

60 Bossuat, ‘Miélot’, pp. 85-93; Wilson and Wilson, *Mirror*, pp. 66-72.

61 Facing each other, as if to emphasise they go together, on ff. 33v-34.

62 In the first line of verse on Charles of Burgundy Armstrong reads 1468, and Mombello 1469, but there is yet another -i- in the word *incipe*, which is not picked out in red but, if included, brings the total to 1470. It is more likely that Miélot forgot the red mark when he copied the text than that he allowed a superfluous -i- to spoil his perfect chronogram when he was actually creating his composition. The -d- was usually not considered in pre-1500 chronograms.

Louis XI

Miélot's attitude to the French king is different from that of the popular ballad makers. He has a more balanced view and still holds Louis in respect as the duke's theoretical overlord and considers the 'most Christian' king not so much treacherous himself as in danger of becoming the victim of that arch-traitor, Warwick, here compared to Sinon, the man who talked the Trojans into pulling the wooden horse through the walls of their city. Sinon succeeded in doing by fraud what strength had been unable to do: defeat the might of Troy, deceiving its king and its people. Louis should take counsel, as advised by the sage Solon, and consider the abilities and wishes of his 'great men' (his *pairs?*), his nobles, and not trust mere outward show. He should not support that deadly monster, Warwick, but preserve peace remembering the uncertainty of war and the fickleness of fortune:

Ad regem Francorum⁶³

- 1 Inclite Francorum rex regum totius orbis
 Religione sacra, omnem disce Sinonis ab⁶⁴ uno
 Crimine perfidiam, sub proditione nephanda
 Fraude Sinon fecit potuit quod nulla potestas,
 5 Periurus stulto regi acceptus populoque;
 Si non credisset⁶⁵ Priamus iam Troia stetisset.
 Inspice verba senis iusti facunda Salonis:
 Posse ac velle tuorum heroum exquire per artem.
 Frontis parva fides, gliscis salvare tyrannum,
 10 Letifero plenum precunctis crimine monstrum.
 Sed serva pacem ne sons cum sonte voceris;
 Res belli dubia est, fortuna adversa secunda.⁶⁶

lines 1-2. The first lines show a proper respect for the great king of France, a respect felt by most Burgundian chroniclers. *Religione sacra* may be the equivalent of *très chrétien*; it is taken from Vergil, *Aeneid*, bk 7, lines 607-08:

Sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)
 religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis;

lines 2-3. The figure of Sinon, the arch-traitor, no doubt represents Warwick, who is leading the French king and his people into disaster. There may also be a hidden reference to the

63 Capitals and punctuation are mine.

64 Mombello: *ad*; the ms.: *ab*.

65 Mombello considered *credisset* to be Miélot's error, but *credidisset* would not fit the metre and this probably vulgar form must have been used on purpose.

66 To the King of France. Famous king of the Franks, king of kings and of the whole world through the sacred faith, learn all perfidy through the one crime of Sinon, who through unspeakable treason managed to do by fraud what no power could; a perjured man, accepted by the foolish king and the people. If Priam had not been credulous, Troy would still be standing. Remember the eloquent words of that old, just man, Solon; find out with care what your nobles can and will do. There is little trust in appearances, you are trying to save a tyrant, a monster full of deadly

English in general and their perfidy, reminiscent of the Greeks before Troy, as the words are partly taken from *Aeneid*, bk 2, lines 65-66 (unfinished lines):

Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
Disce omnes.

lines 4-5. The lines echo *Aeneid*, bk 2, lines 195-98: Sinon subdued a people that the might of Diomedes and Achilles and a thousand ships had not been able to overcome, but I have been unable to find a closer parallel. There may also be a memory of Horace, *Letters*, 1, 2, 8, as this same letter was also used for line 7 of the poem on Warwick himself (see below).

line 6. Again, the line is reminiscent of *Aeneid*, bk 2, line 56, but there must be another source.

lines 7-8. Louis XI is advised to remember the maxims of Solon – whose name often occurs as Salon or Zalon – one of which was: ‘when thou wilt do eny thinge, folowe not aloonly thi wille bot seke counsaile, for bi counsaile thou shalt knowe the trouthe’.⁶⁷ The choice of words must owe something to Juvenal, *Satires*, 10, 273-5, where the reader is reminded of the best known advice of Solon, the warning given to Croesus never to call anyone fortunate before you know how he died:

Festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.

For line 8 also compare Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta*, 6, 9. ext. 5:

velle ac posse in aequo positum erat.

lines 9-10. Partly taken from Juvenal, *Satires*, 2, 8-9:

Frontis nulla fides; quis enim non vicus abundat
tristibus obscaenis?
(One cannot trust the outside: which part of town does not abound in bawdiness that looks respectable?)

This satire is one of those often silently omitted in ‘modern’ editions; it also contains the eminently quotable *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, frequently used of Richard III.⁶⁸ *Gliscis servare tyrannum* may be an echo of Statius, *Thebaid*, 3, 73 (*gliscis regnare superbus*), because the word *gliscere* is relatively rare, but the evidence is obviously tenuous. The *Thebaid*, in various versions and summaries, was the best known of Statius’ epics in the middle

evil above any other. Preserve peace, and you will not be judged guilty with the guilty. War is a doubtful thing; fortune gives and takes away.

67 This is the first advice, ascribed to Solon, in *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, of Guillaume de Tignonville, as found in the English translation made by Stephen Scrope for Sir John Fastolf, see *Dicts*, ed. Bühler, p. 38. A version of this text was probably known to Miélot, and this particular ‘saying’ seems to fit the context of the poem best.

68 Throughout the middle ages Juvenal’s *Satires* were known and their author regarded as a wise counsellor, Reynolds, *Texts*, pp. 200-03; Highet, *Juvenal*, pp. 197-205, 308-17.

ages, used for example, as a source for Boccaccio's *Theseida*. The author was sometimes assumed to have been secretly converted to Christianity.

lines 11-2. A commonplace; compare Vergil, *Aeneid*, bk 9, lines 282-83:

...; tantum fortuna secunda
Haud adversa cadat! ...

Charles the Bold.

The Duke of Burgundy is confidently reminded by his poet and subject of the great personal and material resources at his disposal and the outstanding abilities of the peoples he rules; victory can not elude him, only a foul smell – Warwick – stands in his way:

Ad ducem Burgundie

- 1 **Ut leo, capra, draco, mox incipe, perface, fini,**⁶⁹
 Magne ducum dux et princeps comitum comes orbis.
 Qui spacium vite extremum inter numina ponat,
 Karole, fortem posce animum, terrore carentem.
- 5 Divitie ac vires, animusque tibi, simul etas,
 Virtus Allobrogum et dura palestra Picardum,
 Belgarum probitas, atroxque potentia Flandrum,
 Opida cum villis, fortissima castra, cohortes
 Et gentes que ferre valent quoscunque labores;
- 10 Ferre cite ferrum, dare tela et scandere muros,
 Vincere cur facile est – obstat nisi virus – homones⁷⁰
 Invisos superis, terre, direque Celeno.⁷¹

lines 1-2. The lines to the duke of Burgundy start with a curious image: Charles is to ‘start, continue and finish like a lion, a goat and a serpent’. The lion is an obviously heroic and appropriately martial animal,⁷² but why should the duke behave like a goat and a serpent? The explanation is complicated and based on a play of words. The Chimaera of Greek mythology was a ‘composite’ monster that had the head of a lion, the body of a goat and its tail was a serpent. It was known in the middle ages mainly through Ovid and Isidore of Seville.⁷³

69 The letters here given in bold are touched in red in the ms. except the second -i- of *incipe*, see note 62, above.

70 Mombello, ‘Poesie’ considered *homones* an error, but this ancient form of *homines* fits the metre and its spelling is no doubt intentional.

71 To the Duke of Burgundy. Like the lion, the goat and the serpent, quickly commence, continue and bring to an end, great duke of dukes and premier count of counts on earth, Charles, pray for a strong and fearless mind, that, at the end of your days, will put you among the stars. You have the wealth, the strength, the courage and the age; you have the brave Allobroges and the battle-hardened Picardians, the doughty Belgians and the fiercely strong Flemings; you have cities, towns, strong castles, armies and people that can bear any hardship. Take up arms, attack and scale the walls. Nothing but a foul smell stands in the way and therefore it is easy to defeat those men that are hated in heaven, on earth and by cruel death itself.

72 Mombello, ‘Poesie’, p. 236, n. 2; where the lion is explained on its own, as a separate symbol; the goat and the serpent left the author puzzled.

73 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk IX, line 647; Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, bk V, line 905; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XI, 3, 36.

Though the evidence is limited to the words of Adrian de But⁷⁴ and the ballads discussed earlier, it is clear that French *chimere* or Latin *chimira* was the technical term for the Burgundian St Andrew's cross or saltire.⁷⁵ The word must be based on *chi* (Greek χ) and an addition that may have been a descriptive explanation, for example Latin *mira* (wonderful). In complete agreement with the convoluted, fantastic thinking characteristic of the heraldic devices, symbols and mottoes of his day, Miélot connected the *chimere* with the Chimaera and worked them cleverly and obscurely into his verse, managing at the same time to produce a perfect chronogram and competent hexameters, even imitating the order of the monster's constituent parts in his word order. Perhaps the *numina* (heavenly powers) in the next line refer back to the three animals which are all constellations as well. There is little doubt that all these associations were in Miélot's mind; it is a moot point whether every reader understood them. So far no other example of this conceit of the Chimaera has been found. When used at all the monster was a symbol of evil, killed by Bellerophon as another St Michael or St George, or an *exemplum* of a proud, ostentatious king like Herod, who died miserably.⁷⁶

lines 3-4, and 9. These lines lean heavily on Juvenal, *Satires*, 10, 357-9:

Fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem,
qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores, ...

Mainly by changing *munera* to *numina* the meaning has been completely altered. Juvenal advised his readers – if they wanted to ask the gods for anything – to pray for a strong mind, that would not fear death, regarding the last stage of life as a gift of nature, and strong enough to bear whatever suffering would come its way. *Fortem posce animum* was a well known phrase and came to be used as a motto.⁷⁷

lines 5-8. Similar 'lists' of the possibilities and abilities of the person addressed occur in Horace, *Letters*, 1, 3, 20 ss. and 1, 4, 6 ss., exhorting them to use their gifts. L d

line 10. Compare another exhortation to attack, Vergil, *Aeneid*, 9, 37-8:

Ferte citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros;
Hostis adest, heia! ...

lines 11-2. Celaeno, 'the dark one' is one of the Harpies; *dira Celaeno* occurs *Aeneid*, bk 3, lines 211 and 713.

74 De But-de Lettenhove, p. 492: *chimiram sive signum sancti Andreae, quod erat ducis Burgundiae*; I have not been able to find another example of the Latin word.

75 The word does not occur, for instance, in Deuchler, *Burgunderbeute*.

76 *Lexicon*, s.v. Chimäre; Thomas of Chantimpré, who invented this comparison to Herod describes the Chimaera merely as 'high in front', and 'low behind' and does not mention its animal parts, *Liber de Natura Deorum*, 4, 23.

Edward IV.

Edward IV⁷⁸ is compared to Hercules who will free his island with its sheep from the monsters that terrorise it: Warwick and his adherents. As soon as England is free it will be able to join Burgundy in its struggle with France:

To the King of England

1 Maior in Oceano mundi iacet insula vasto,
 Anglia et a Bruto cui primo Britannia nomen,
 Divitiis patrum multis dotata priorum,
 Olim serpentum atque ferorum ignara luporum,
 5 Nunc infecta illis torvisque draconibus, unde
 Lanigere sparguntur oves et dilacerantur.
 Hos arto et validis capere audet casse molosis
 Insonitum Alcides ovium custos, modo fretus
 Jasonis auxilio; gens aurea surget in arvo.
 10 Angli, discordes vestras iam expellite sordes,
 Jason et Alcides repetant ut Colcos Oetis;
 Ignescunt ire, duris dolor ossibus ardet.⁷⁹

line 1. Compare Vergil's description of Crete, *Aeneid*, bk 3, line 104:

Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto, ...

Crete was one of the lands cleared of wild animals by Hercules in the course of his labours.

See also Vergil, *Aeneid*, bk 3, line 692:

Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra

and Lucan, *Pharsalia*, bk 8, line 118:

... quod iacet insula ponto

line 2. Brutus, the legendary founder of Britain, was well known at the Burgundian court from various French versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The island of Britain was so called either *by* him or *after* him.

lines 3-6. *Dotata* is a rare form, but occurs in Dracontius (see below), *Romulea*, 9, 62-3:

... iacet dotata Lacaena
 sanguine Troiugenum, Graium dotata cruore.

Compare Vergil, *Aeneid*, bk 3, line 660:

77 E.g. Lord Say and Sele.

78 The King of England addressed in the heading is presumably Edward IV, the 'Alcides' who will cleanse the island, but it could just possibly be Henry VI, the whole text being a warning to him; comp. Mombello, 'Poesie', p. 237, n. 1.

79 To the King of England. In the vast ocean of the world lies a large island: England, also – by Brutus first – called Britannia; it is endowed with many treasures of its fathers and in the old days knew no snakes or savage wolves. Today it is infested with them and grim dragons, by which the woolly sheep are scattered and torn up. Hercules, the shepherd of the harmless sheep, ventures to catch them with his tight net and strong hounds, with Jason's help; a golden race will spring up in the land. You, English, put an end soon to your sordid strife: let Jason and Hercules go again to Aetes' Colchis; their anger is kindling, grief burns their hard bones.

Lanigeræ comitantur oves

and Dracontius, *De laudibus dei*, 2, 455.

The image of a lost Golden Age is a common one and no doubt the wording of these lines, too, is not wholly original, but so far Miélot's sources have not been identified. *Lanigeræ oves* is also used, for example, by Vergil, *Georgics*, 3, line 287; 'wool-bearing' is common in Vergil for sheep (and bees). Sheep as the symbols of Warwick's victims in England could spring easily to the mind of a Burgundian author because of the importance of English wool and cloth to the Low Countries economy. Compare also St Mark 14: 27: *dispergentur oves*.

line 7. The hunting net or snare and strong Molossian hounds are a commonplace in classical poetic hunting scenes; the source of these words has not been identified, but compare Persius, *Satires*, 5, line 170: *artos ... casses*. The hounds may be a reminder of the popularity of English hunting dogs on the continent.

line 8. Alcides, 'descendant of Alceus', usually means 'grandson of Alceus' that is Hercules, often used as a symbol of prowess; in this case the metaphor is singularly appropriate. *Insontum* is an irregular form but was used frequently by Dracontius (see below; *De laudibus dei*, 3, 126, 218, 660, and *Romulea*, 5, 31; 8,170).

line 9. Compare Vergil, *Eclogues*, 4, the famous prophecy about the Golden Age, line 9:

... toto surget gens aurea mundo, ...

The Fourth Eclogue was used by the Christian church to prove that its author was a Christian *avant la lettre* and had foretold Christ's birth forty years before it happened. It earned Vergil his position as Dante's guide through the next world. The whole weight of the Fourth Eclogue may – in Miélot's mind – have been behind these few words promising a happy future to England if Edward, with Duke Charles' help, would be successful.

line 11. 'Oetes' (= Aetes in classical Latin), King of Colchis, whom Jason had to face in his search for the Golden Fleece. It is likely that Louis XI is meant: if the English would end their civil wars, Edward and Charles would at last be free to tackle the French king and finish Charles' quest for his 'golden fleece'.

line 12. This line is identical with *Aeneid*, bk 9, line 66, where it is used to describe the mood of Aeneas' enemy Turnus, stalking around the Trojan camp to find an entrance. It is here added to convey the growing anger of Duke Charles and should perhaps be translated with reference to him only.

Warwick

This last poem was probably also written before Warwick's death, not merely antedated. Edward may already have left for England by the time it was composed. Miélot's hate of the Earl and his certainty about his ultimate ruin are strong but do not intimate that peace and stability had already been restored: there is no sense of relief or any attempt to voice Christian forgiveness or mercy, as there is in the satirical epitaphs (see below).

Ad comitem Warvici

- 1 **O comes et terra pelago confvse sereno**
Nvdvs in ignota Ricarde iacebis arena.⁸⁰
Quo moriture ruis, maioraque viribus audes?
Te calidus sanguis, te rerum inscitia vexat,
5 **Indomita cervice ferum, ast ubicumque locorum**
Proditor accedis fraternum rumpere fedus,
Seditione, dolo, scelere ac fraude insidiisque,
Fallit te incautum feritas: extrema feroces
Parce fila legunt: tenues tua vita per auras
10 **Descendet mesta ad manes, corpusque relinquet.**
Arma quibus letatus habe tua, sanguinis haustor;
Infelix cinis et manes et fabula fies.⁸¹

lines 1-2. These lines were adapted from *Aeneid*, bk 5, lines 870-71:

O nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
Nudus in ignota, Palinure, jacebis arena!

addressed to the helmsman Palinurus, who trusted too much in the quiet of the sky and the sea, was overpowered by sleep, fell overboard and was lost. Warwick is warned that he will be defeated both on land and sea and lie in an unknown, ignominious grave.

lines 3, 8-11. In *Aeneid*, bk 10, lines 811-2, 814-5, 819-20 and 827, a battle scene is described in which Aeneas is forced to fight a youth coming to his father's aid:

Quo moriture ruis, majoraque viribus audes?
Fallit te incautum pietas tua. ...
.... extremaque Lauso
Parcae fila legunt ... [the boy is killed]
... tum vita per auras
Concessit maesta ad Manes, corpusque reliquit.
[Aeneas allows him to keep his arms]
Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; ...

lines 4-6. From Horace, *Letters*, 1, 3, 33-6:

- 80 The characters here printed in bold are touched in red in the ms.
81 Undone on land and on the quiet sea, Earl Richard, you'll lie unburied on an unknown beach!
Why else but to death are you rushing?! *You, who venture on things too great for your powers. Hot blood and your ignorance troubles you, fierce and stiff-necked as you are, but wherever you come, traitor, to break up the league between brothers, through strife, deceit, by vice and fraud and snares, your fierceness leads you to folly and the savage Fates are spinning your last thread: unhappy will your life through thin air sink to hell and leave your body here.*

le

...ac vos
 seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat
 indomita cervice feros? ubicumque locorum
 vivitis, indigni fratrum rumpere foedus.

This verse letter was written to a young man of literary leanings away on campaign. His hot blood, his ignorance of the world and indomitable wildness, supposedly proper to youth, are ironically put at the great earl of Warwick's door. Horace's friendly exhortation to the young man to live in amity with one of his companions-in-arms and in letters, is used to upbraid Warwick with causing, to his own ultimate ruin, the disastrous rift between Edward and Clarence *and* the renewed conflict between Louis XI and Charles, brothers-in-law since the duke's first marriage, to Katherine of Valois. /ⁿ

line 7. Horace, *Letters*, 1, 2, 15, is almost identical:

seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira

This series of the vices that caused the downfall of Troy – and were (and are) according to the poet prevalent outside its walls as well – adequately describe the Burgundian view of Warwick shared by most poets and chroniclers: trickery and treachery were his greatest talents.

line 11. *Sanguinis haustor* may also have been inspired by the work of Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, a late fifth-century Christian poet, who, like Boethius, wrote in prison. His *De laudibus Dei*,⁸² was known throughout the middle ages and contains the phrase *sanguinis haustor* (3, 361) to describe the first Brutus, who expelled the kings of Rome and had his own sons executed for conspiring to restore the monarchy. Dracontius in his climax calls him: 'the enemy of his house, the death of his children and the drinker of (his own) blood'. This accords with the continental view of Warwick killing so many of his own countrymen. The frequent use of Dracontius by Miélot is remarkable and deserves further study.

line 12. Most of this line is taken from Persius, *Satires*, 5, 152:

... cinis et manes et fabula fies.

Persius used it in the context of the transitoriness of life: remember you are mortal, enjoy yourself; one day you will be: first ashes, then a mere ghost and finally nothing but words. And so would Warwick be, before long.

Keep, then, the arms in which you had such joy, drinker of blood; you shall be miserable dust, a wraith and nothing but a tale.

82 Vollmer, *Monumenta*, p. 361.

3. The satirical epitaphs

Two satirical epitaphs of Warwick were composed in Burgundy soon after the news of his death became known. To be understood and valued they should be seen against the background of the extensive and varied mourning literature of the period. The fact that one of the epitaphs was ascribed to the courtier and amateur author Philip of Croy is also worthy of consideration.

The epitaph is one of the forms in which words can express grief felt at a fellow mortal's death. Placed on the tomb itself its effect on the reader and mourner is immediate and profound. It is inevitable that simple, informative facts about the deceased's life and death should be elaborated into praise of his person and celebration of his deeds. From antiquity on the epitaph or death lament came to contain other set components, such as comfort for the living, warnings about the transitoriness of life, prayers for the soul of the dead, or requests for such prayers. Epitaphs could be in prose or verse, or take the form of a dialogue; they could be placed on the actual place of burial, or be wholly literary and preserved in literary collections.⁸³

At the Burgundian court poets had invented subtle and elaborate conceits, each creating his own setting and series of images, to mourn prince or lady, warrior or artist. The most famous of the dead, Philip the Good,⁸⁴ was celebrated by Chastelain in prose in his *Déclaration de tout les hauts faits et glorieuses adventures*, in verse in his *La mort du duc Philippe, mystère par manière de lamentation*, *Rhythmes sur le trespas du bon duc de Bourgogne*, and in four short pieces: two chronograms, an acrostic and an epigram;⁸⁵ Jean Molinet honoured the duke in his *Epitaphe* and his *Trosne d'honneur*.⁸⁶

Chastelain's *Déclaration* is a short description of the events of Philip's life, his political and military achievements and talents. It is not without exaggeration: *promut luy seul le roy Edouard à la couronne d'Angleterre, et à son moyen le fit seoir en royal throsne*. *La mort du duc Philippe* is a *mystère*, a dramatised exchange between the Heavens, Earth, Angels and Mankind (both male and female), each recalling in its own way the presence of the blessed *fiolle*, the vessel that contained so much that was good, and praying God to have mercy on Philip's soul. The piece itself may have been actually performed, though not at the funeral as it was composed five months after.

Molinet's *Trosne d'Honneur* – reminiscent of the 'Seat of Honour' in the *Débat des hérauts* – pictures in prose and verse the desolation of nature and all creatures at the death of

83 E.g. *Lexicon*, s.v. *Epitaph*; Cain Van D'Elden, *Suchemwirt*, pp. 31-32.

84 E.g. Martineau-Géniéys, *Thème de la Mort*, pp. 299-317, for Chastelain and Molinet on the death of Philip.

85 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 7, pp. 213-84.

86 Dupire, *Faicts*, vol. 1, pp. 36-58; Thorpe, 'Two epitaphs', only discusses the text and does not speculate.

une tres noble fleur de lys, large et espanie, and the ascent of this *fleur de noblesse* through nine heavens, each with its attendant virtue, inhabited by one of the Nine Worthies and bearing one of the nine letters of the name *Philippus*, to be finally presented to Honour by Virtue herself. Much simpler and more matter-of-fact than these fantastic pageants are the *Rhythmes sur le trespas du bon duc de Bourgongne*,⁸⁷ probably also by Chastelain. In sixty-four alexandrines a survey is given of the Duke's deeds, similar to the prose *Déclaration*. It begins:

Philippe le Hardy, frère, oncle et fils de roy,
 Engendra Jean sans Peur, dont la mort fit desroy;
 De Jehan sans Peur nous vient le vaillant *Qui qu'en hongne*,
 Philippe l'Assuré, puissant duc de Bourgongne.
 Il fut chevalereux, tant douté et léal
 Qu'on luy vint présenter le sceptre impérial.
 Orliens son prochain il geta de prison
 Et mis sus pour la foi l'ordre de la Toison.

As far as England is concerned it contains the proud lines:

A Broussave vainquy l'englois duc de Glocestre...⁸⁸

and:

Eduart, duc d'Iorc, deschassé de sa terre,
 Vint requérir son sort, dont roy fut d'Engleterre.⁸⁹

It ends:

Soixante-onze ans vesquit le chief des créatures,
 A qui bien appartient le chief des sépultures.
 Cy fine l'abrégie du prince mort sans blâme,
 Dont Dieu en son saint lieu veuille recevoir l'âme.

These lines may or may not be worthy of *le grand Georges*, they do appear to be following a specific pattern and their form and contents are as relevant here as their authorship.

The other equally straightforward poem on Philip – usually ascribed to Molinet – closely follows Chastelain's in the information it gives and the way it is arranged. Chastelain's lines mention *sépultures* and pray God to receive the duke's soul, but Molinet's work is actually written in the first person, as if the deceased himself is speaking, and purports to be a real epitaph.⁹⁰ It, too, begins with Philip's descent:

87 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 7, pp. 281-83. Also in BR 16381, ff. 208-10.

88 The battle of Brouwershaven, Zeeland, 13 Jan. 1426, in which Philip routed Humphrey of Gloucester's lieutenant Lord Fitzwalter and assured his quiet possession of the county of Zeeland.

89 This flight of Edward must be his stay at Calais after the retreat of Ludlow, October 1459 to June 1460, from which he returned eventually to take the throne.

90 The epitaph occurs in mss of Molinet's work, see Dupire, *Faictz*, vol. 1, pp. 34-35; Thorpe, 'Two epitaphs', pp. 285-86. BR 16381-90, ff. 206-207, a collection of accounts of princely funerals that also has an epitaph of Henry V of England, ff. 199-200; BN fr. 3887, f. 209, a miscellaneous collection made at the *baillage* of Dijon in the 1470s. The epitaph quoted from her was included in chronicles: fr. 88, f. 226r-v; Harl. 4424, ff. 238v-239: *lescript qui fu fait*

Jehan fut ne de Phelippe qui du roy Jehan fut filz,
 et de Jehan je, Phelippe, que mort tient en ses filz.
 Mon pere me laissa Bourguoigne, Flandre, Artois;
 de ce joyr devoie pas toutes bonnes loix ...

and so through the same events. It ends, leaving no doubt about its purpose:

Le bon Jhesus fut guide de tout mes fais et dis,
 Pries lui, qui lisies, qu'il me doint paradis.

This text survives in a large number of copies, suggesting it may have been inscribed or hung on the actual tomb, to be read and copied by the interested; it may have been published officially, sent round at the command of Duke Charles as part of his general propaganda effort.

Another example of such a composition is found in the epitaph of Artus de Longueval, a French knight, bailiff of Amiens, who died in 1496:

Artus de Longueval fut jadis chevalier,
 Du tres chrestien roy Chamberlan, Conseiller...

It follows his career, lists his possessions and ends:

Priant ses bons amis, le peuple ambianois,
 Pour luy faire prière envers le Roy des roys.⁹¹

Compare also the long epitaph on Jean de Lannoy, beginning:

Je fus jadis au monde en grant prospérité,
 d'Honneur, de biens, d'avoir a treslarge plainté,
 Car je fus serviteur du duc Philippe le Bon;...

and ending:

Plaise pour moy à Jesus requerir,
 Afin que par leur prier puisse à grace venir⁹²

In England, too, we find a closely related text: verse composed on Richard, Duke of York (died 1460):

En memoyre soit a tous cuers de noblesse
 Que ycy gist le fleur de gentillesse,
 Le puissant duc d'York, Richart ot nom,
 Prince royall, prudomme de renom ...

pour epitaffe; Du Clercq-Buchon, vol. 4, pp. 307-08: *S'ensuit les vers mis par escript autour du tombeau Philippe, grand duc de Bourgonge*; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 539-40. Van Vloten, *Geschiedzangen*, p. 93; Vienna, ANL 3391, f. 410r-v, where it is followed by another one, which claims that Philip deserves to be *au real siege des preulx et digne destre entre eulx*, f. 410v. Robert Gaguin was commissioned to translate an epitaph of Philip into Latin, but it is not known which, Gaguin, ed. Thuasne, vol. 1, p. 19 and n. 2, where a (fourth) epitaph of Philip is mentioned, surviving in BN fr. 2200, f. 25, beginning *Cy gist Phelippe le bon du de Bourgogne / Qui de bon loz le monde embesoigne*.

91 Printed Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 53-54, n. 3.

92 Printed *Mausolée*, pp. 33-36, partly de Reiffenberg, *Histoire*, pp. 207-08; it was on his tomb, borne by four men in mourning, in the church of the Peres Croisés in Lannoy, which he founded.

The lines briefly describe his career, emphasise his good government and his right to the throne, and include laudatory references to his eldest son, Edward IV, during whose reign and for whose benefit they were clearly composed.⁹³ They end:

Et priant dieu et son tres douce dame
Quen paradis permist reposer son ame.

The context in which Philip's and York's very similar epitaphs survive suggests they were made for and used during their funeral ceremonies. Jean de Wavrin and other chronicles included the text at the end of their descriptions of Duke Philip's obsequies. They gave it various very similar headings: *Sensieult lescript quy fut fait pour epitaffe du noble duc Phelippe de Bourguoigne*, which suggests that an *epitaffe* was considered an indispensable part of the trappings of death.

York's epitaph is preserved in antiquarian and heraldic miscellanies, in one case at the end of a copy of the description of his magnificent reburial at Fotheringhay in 1476. In this manuscript it is signed *Chester le H'*. At the time of the reburial Thomas Whyting was Chester Herald (1471/2-1496?). He officiated on the occasion and the report of the ceremony that survives in the same manuscript as the epitaph is also subscribed *Chestre le heraut*. It is known, however, that Whyting was fluent in French⁹⁴ and the report contains so many errors, both of fact and language, that it is more likely a Chester herald copied that text and probably the epitaph as well.⁹⁵

Unfortunately neither report of the ceremonies at these funerals give any hint of the existence of a written epitaph, or the moment it was displayed. It is possible – even though no record of such an activity survives – that composing, or commissioning, such a text and laying it on the hearse, hanging it on the tomb, or even reading it aloud during the ceremony, was a herald's duty, one of the many he performed during a chivalric funeral.⁹⁶ The making of such epitaphs – with their straightforward record of name, descent, offices, lands and military feats – as well as their display, would fit in with the herald's well-known duty of recording chivalric deeds, both as mere historiographer and as *arbiter*, judge and maker or breaker of reputations. Perhaps the Burgundian epitaphs should be seen in the tradition of the *Ehrenreden* (laudatory

93 Copies of York's epitaph survive in: BL Stowe 1047, f. 217, the commonplace book of Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald 1602-08; BL Harl. 48, f. 81v, a 16th-c. heraldic miscellany, at the end of the description of York's reburial (printed in Wright, *Political Songs*, vol. 2, pp. 256-57); London, College of Arms M 3 (Ballard's Book), f. 1v, the working book of a herald c. 1465-90, see Wagner, *Aspilogia*, vol. 1, p. 112; later copies in College of Arms I.3, f. 8, and I.11, f. 83v. The text was recently edited in context in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Reburial*.

94 Gaguin, ed. Thuasne, vol. 1, pp. 82-83, and notes.

95 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Reburial*, pp. 12-20.

speeches/texts) written by heralds in Germanic countries during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. These *Ehrenreden* are said to have developed naturally out of the death laments for the heroes of epic poetry, and they, too, were arranged around specific component parts which could vary with each author in execution, but always included a eulogy of the deceased's deeds, bravery and virtue, and concluded with a plea for God's mercy or, more often, the Virgin Mary's.⁹⁷ The most famous herald-authors of such *Ehrenreden*, Peter Suchenwirt (died 1395), an Austrian herald, and Claes Heynenzoon (died 1414), Gueldres and later Bavaria Herald, always included a professional description of the coat of arms and other heraldic trappings of their subject.⁹⁸ This feature is not found in the 'Burgundian' epitaphs discussed here, but these would in fact be placed near the actual tomb, in the immediate and colourful presence of the deceased's arms, crest and motto.

It is difficult to find evidence about the physical appearance and use of 'real' epitaphs in the right period other than in literary sources. An interesting picture that must owe something to real life is given in René of Anjou's *Livre du cuer d'amours esprits* (1457),⁹⁹ the story of a long quest in which *Coeur*, the lover, at the end of his journeys reaches the Hospital of Love, where desperate and ailing lovers are looked after. Behind the hospital itself is the cemetery of famous lovers; its entrance gate is a lofty hall hung with the full coats of arms of the noble and the great – Caesar, David, Aeneas, Troilus, Arthur – and beneath each coat are twelve lines of verse in which the dead themselves explain who they are and why they ended their lives in the Hospital. The author describes each coat in detail and quotes the lines of verse; Philip the Good's, for example, following the long description of his arms, read:

Je Phelipes de Bourgogne, tel est mon nom tenu,
 Qui en amer me suis tout mon temps maintenu
 Ou le dieu d'Amours m'a doucement soustenu,
 Mais en la fin lui est de mon fait souvenu
 Dont force m'a esté que je soye venu
 Vers lui comme son serf, lequel m'a retenu
 Et pource que je sçay, par estre combatu
 Des batailles d'Amours, que j'ay esté vaincu
 En plusuers naciõs ou me suys embatu,
 Je me suis en present au dieu d'Amours rendu
 Et viens a l'ospital aporter mon escu
 Et dessus le portal l'ay doucement pendu.

96 Maximilian's (serious) epitaph and Esquerdes' (critical) one were made by Nicaise Ladam, King of Arms to Emperor Charles V; Thorpe, 'Crèvecoeur', p. 187. For heralds and their rôle at funerals Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Reburial*; Vale, *War*, pp. 92-3.

97 Cain Van D'Elden, *Suchenwirt*, pp. 31-46.

98 *Ibid.*, *passim*; van Anrooy, *Spiegel*, *passim*.

99 Unfortunately the series of magnificent miniatures of ÖN 2597, is unfinished and provides no picture of the cemetery. Poirion, 'Tombeaux', concluded that the cemetery was inspired by René's books, p. 333, and rather superfluously says the tombs in the story are not like real ones, p. 328.

In the cemetery itself, among numberless others, are the tombs of the great poets of love, all equally rich and magnificent, and all in one way or another displaying a text. The author clearly distinguishes between an *epitaphe* and any other kind of inscription. Ovid's tomb has *ung tresgent epitaphe que un angelot tenoit*; Boccaccio's grave is *sans epitaphe nul, car il avoit vers sur la tombe escripz*; Jean Clopinel has *petitz roleaux* with his name, and the text explains that his life and burial place is written *dessus le plat de la tombe*; Petrarch, again, has an epitaph: *au chief de la tombe avoit ung epitaphe posé et bien assis sur ung pillier de jaspre verte*; Alain Chartier's 'obituary' is embroidered in gold thread on a square of blue satin, but this is not called an *epitaphe*.

Though there is obviously no unanimity about the exact meaning of the word, it appears that a 'real' epitaph at the time was a separate object¹⁰⁰ – parchment or painted tablet? – with an explanatory, usually laudatory text. It was placed or hung on the tomb – like Claudio's belated tribute to the wronged Hero¹⁰¹ – and remained like that, retaining its separate character; it is not clear whether all these texts were later executed in more enduring material. It is possible that in the case of princes and great lords heralds were supposed to provide them; they could have been placed on the grave during the solemnities, together with the helmet, sword and shield of the dead, as another 'officially' authorised, written proof of the deceased's chivalric virtues, military prowess and spotless reputation as a knight. Such texts may well have been multiplied and distributed for propaganda purposes, as in the case of Philip the Good and Richard of York, whose epitaphs survive both separately and with accounts of their funerals.¹⁰²

A cemetery with several tombs and their inscriptions was useful as a framework for the telling of stories. Chastelain in his *Temple de Bocace* used it to great effect.¹⁰³ His tombs are splendidly painted and decorated with arms and images, and have inscriptions in marble or gold; in this fine setting the dead themselves appear, too, to bewail their fate visibly and in their own *personae*. Olivier de La Marche in the *Chevalier délibéré* shows the reader a vast plain dotted with monuments, all with arms, effigies and inscriptions, and 'there were

100 Some 12th-c. tombs had a lead plaque with an inscription that was later inscribed *on* the tomb, while the plaque was put *in* the tomb, Vercauteren, 'Gislebert', p. 386.

101 Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, act 5, scene 3; Claudio reads from a scroll and then says: Hang thou here upon the tomb / Praising her when I am dumb.

102 For another example of an epitaph that may have been displayed on the actual tomb *and* circulated widely, Robbins, 'Epitaph', pp. 241-49. Its structure is different from the heraldic epitaphs; it asks for the intercession of Sts Mary and John and most stanzas end on the line: '... have mercy on him buried in this sepulture.' It is sometimes ascribed to Lydgate, it may have been the work of an amateur poet, and it was copied into two London-made mss meant for sale to the general public, *John Vale's Book*, p. 121.

103 Bliggenstorfer, *Temple*.

numberless epitaphs, of which I never knew the dead'. The author proceeds to tell the stories of the men he did 'know', close contemporaries and famous knights.

In such a framework epitaphs – and other funeral inscriptions – are an effective narrative device, but even on their own, physically divorced from their proper setting, the grave itself, they have an immediate impact on the reader. Jean Molinet's vivid commemoration of the painter and illuminator Simon Marmion is an epitaph, put up, it implies, in the chapel of St Luke in the church of Our Lady at Valenciennes where the artist was buried in 1489.¹⁰⁴ Molinet's appreciation of Marmion, with whom he collaborated artistically for the festivities of the chapter of the Golden Fleece at Valenciennes in 1473, exploits the theme of the dead artist and his 'live' art, his ability to bring people and things to life, and asks for the intercession of the saints, whom he had so often depicted, and for the mercy of *l'eternel painctre*.¹⁰⁵

From the cleverly playful, but sympathetic, to the lethally satirical is a small step and Molinet knew how to take it. He made good use of his ability to compose effective epitaphs when he wished to criticise Philippe de Crèvecoeur, Lord of Esquerdes, who after long service to Burgundy became one of the *mamelucs*, men who changed their allegiance and turned to France after the death of Charles the Bold. The Latin epitaph that Molinet wrote on him has to be read backwards to get the full blast of the poet's disapproval:

Orbis honor non improbitatis cordiger auctor,
Dignus homo non damnificandus nunc recubans est,
Francigenarum flos nitidus non labifactus, ...¹⁰⁶

The impact of the poet's criticism and disgust is the greater because of his apparent praise, his words suggesting *at the same time* what Crèvecoeur *should* have been if he had been a consistently loyal knight and subject.

104 Molinet, *Faictz*, ed. Dupire, vol. 2, pp. 824-25; Dupire, *Molinet*, p. 23.

105 Several late 15th and early 16th-c. authors used the form of the epitaph to celebrate the famous, whether real or fictional. Many of their texts are unlikely to have ever been near the tomb; even the real ones were vulnerable objects: many have disappeared even when the tombs survived. They were also obvious texts to copy and preserve among antiquarian notes.

Some examples outside the Burgundian sphere:

– King Arthur, London, College of Arms M 3 (Ballard's Book), f. i;

– Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, see n. 100, above;

– Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII, in Stow's hand in BL Harl. 540, f. 57v;

– John Colet's, *ibid.*, f. 57;

– Chaucer, by Stephano Surigone, may or may not have hung on the poet's tomb in the 1460s and 1470s, to be copied by Caxton, see Blake, 'Caxton and Chaucer', pp. 26-30.

106 Thorpe, 'Crèvecoeur', pp. 184-86:

The proud father of wickedness, not the honour of the world
A cursed man is now laid low, and not a worthy one,
Corrupt, no radiant flower of the Frankish race

The two epitaphs on Warwick, made on the last ripples of the same wave of emotion that – at its height – had inspired Miélot’s Latin ‘dedications’, have a similar double intention. Their shape is the same as that of the official heralds’ compositions: the deceased’s titles, offices and ‘chivalric’ feats are all there, but all is twisted round to scoff at the earl. Only the last lines, in which he is allowed to ask for prayers for his soul are devoid of sarcasm. The main and deadly purpose of these poems is to exclude Warwick from the knightly ‘community’ and show him to be a man who has lost his honour and his right to a place alongside the Nine Worthies, the patrons of chivalry.

The first epitaph printed below has been ascribed to Georges Chastelain; this is probably incorrect in view of style and metre, but the poet may have been less inspired than usual.¹⁰⁷ The second, in a late manuscript copy, is headed: *Epitaphe du conte de warwic angloix faite et composee en ryme par monsieur philipe de croy conte de chimay*¹⁰⁸ The name of Philip of Croy points to a close connection of the text with the ducal court. The Croys were Picardians who married into the families of Lalaing and Lannoy and belonged to the highest and most influential circles. In the 1450s their dominating position led to tension between them and Duchess Isabel and her son. The climax was the flight of most Croys to France in 1465, but they were reinstated a few years later.¹⁰⁹ Philip, Lord of Sempy and Quiévrain and since 1473 Count of Chimay, was a knight of the Golden Fleece and a companion of Charles the Bold’s youth. After his return to favour in 1468, he succeeded his father as sovereign-bailiff of Hainault and held commands in the army and other high offices. He remained loyal to Charles and his successors, was taken prisoner at Nancy and died in 1482.

Croy appears to have been the perfect courtier/soldier according to the standards of his day and class: reputedly one of the best knights of his time – *la plus roide lance de son temps et grand entrepreneur es faictz d’armes*¹¹⁰ – and a major book collector as well as author.¹¹¹ Chastelain has a remarkable picture of him: proud, ambitious, grasping, rather harsh to lesser people, spoken ill of behind his back because of his grand manner, ‘although I, his very close and intimate friend, can only say that all that befits a noble, vigorous man’.¹¹²

107 De Reiffenberg, ‘Epitaphe’, p. 86; Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, p. 400.

108 Vienna, ÖN 3391, f. 486.

109 E.g. Thielemans, ‘Croy’, introduction.

110 Scohier, *Généalogie*, p. 55.

111 Bayot, *Martin*, pp. 22-26, 52-56; Devaux, ‘Seigneur’, *passim*; who is certain that Croy was the author of the second epitaph of Warwick and does not discuss the context nor the other epitaph.

112 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, pp. 177-79; Thiry, ‘Les Croy’, pp. 1370-72. Philip’s portrait was painted by Rogier van der Weijden as part of a diptych, c. 1460; it has his arms on the back (Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux Arts), the (probable) opposite panel has the Virgin and the Child holding a magnificent gold-edged book in an elaborate binding (San Marino, Huntington Library and Art Gallery).

Several examples of Philip's literary efforts survive. There is a rather well-known letter from him in answer to one from Chastelain, in which he gives a graphic description of life in the Burgundian camp during the siege of Neuss in 1474/5.¹¹³ It is full of deliberately vivid images and studied antitheses:

The thunder of the three bombards and the smoke by which we are cured is no musical instrument and no comfit of fruit. ... Imagine that our tents, frozen and covered with snow, are stews of Germany, the feathers in our beds down from Holland and the mud in our camp-street, reaching up to our knees, the market place of Valenciennes. ... We have a flying duke, more often on the move than a swallow: one moment he is in the quarter of the Italians, the next in that of the English. He goes to the Hollanders, Hainaulters and Picardians. ... Some are singing and playing the flute ..., some are weeping and remember with regret their dead ~~parents~~ and their own failures.

relativ

Chastelain's letter is grandiloquent, celebrating the martial efforts of the Duke and his army, comparing them to the Romans and Hannibal; Croy's answer is realistic, humorous and lively; both are clever in their different ways and both were apparently made public. Can these letters be compared their earlier compositions on Warwick's fall. Are they both instances of friendly literary rivalry? Part of games played in courtly circles?

Philip of Croy also wrote some verses on his own name and coat of arms¹¹⁴ and he is said to have been the narrator of three of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*,¹¹⁵ the cycle of amorous, bawdy and entertaining stories, imitating the *Decameron* and set in contemporary France, Burgundy and England. The duke himself and many of his intimates and members of his household are introduced as speakers, among them Waleran de Wavrin, the nephew of the chronicler, Jean de Wavrin, and Antoine de La Sale, the novelist.¹¹⁶ Philip of Croy's stories are indistinguishable in character from the others. One is set in Hainault; another near Calais at the time of the negotiations about the ransom of Charles of Orleans in 1439 and contains remarks about the habits of the English; the third in Picardy. All focus on deceived husbands and *faire la besogne*. It is unlikely that Croy actually composed or even narrated them, but in including

113 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 8, pp. 266-68; *Karel de Stoute*, pp. 136-37; Small, *Chastelain*, p. 136. The letters were known to e.g. Haynin who included them in his memoirs, Haynin-Brouwers, vol. 2, pp. 266-68. For their use by historians, Devaux, *Molinet*, pp 158-59, 167-68.

114 Included by Haynin in the autograph of his memoirs, BR II 2545, f. 220; printed Bayot, 'Notice', item 47:

O Barbara Santa
Prens, s'il te plait, de ton party
Croy, Craon, Flandres, Renty,
Et me donnes confession,
Quy chy te rens armes et non.
Philippe de Croy
Conte de Chymay.

115 Ed. Champion, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

116 Doutrepont, *Litt.*, pp. 333-44; *Nouvelles*, ed. Sweetser; *Nouvelles*, ed. Champion.

him the author may have been giving a realistic picture of the social-literary activity at the ducal court, of which the epitaphs and letters by Croy and Chastelain also appear to be part.

More interesting is the linking of Croy's name to a work of an entirely different nature, a *Miroir de Mort*. In a collection of religious texts¹¹⁷ that has been described a *un véritable livre de prières, comme un livre d'Heures*¹¹⁸ there is one section headed *Le Miroir de mort, fait messire Phelippe de Croy, conte de Chimay* (f. 105v). The book has two impressive miniatures remaining and includes the *Vigiles* of Pierre de Nesson, a depressing verse paraphrase of the Nine Lessons of Job,¹¹⁹ and the *Pas* or *Complainte de la Mort* by Pierre Michault.¹²⁰ The ascription to Croy is remarkable for this text is usually thought to have been composed by Chastelain himself and printed among his work.¹²¹ It is possible that Croy was capable of producing such a poem and it may have been his friendship with Chastelain that made him try his hand at various *genres*, all in the accepted forms and competent enough to cause confusion about their authorship.¹²²

Whoever composed the two epitaphs on Warwick, they were made soon after his death: both were copied by Jean de Haynin in his memoirs;¹²³ he *inserted* them half-way through his copy of Margaret of York's letter about the battle of Barnet; for lack of space, he says:

pourtant que je nay point eut espase en che dit livre avant ces ij epitafls desusdits de permettre en escrit la coppie des lettres envoiies de par madame la ducesse de bourgogne a madame la grande sa belle mere je les permetray en che endroit enensieuvant

At the end of the letter he copied the list of those killed and taken prisoner at Barnet and the marginal remark:

item i appert par les epitafls que les nouvelles furte vraies

Did he take them seriously? Did he know who had written them and believed the authors to be in a position to know the facts? It was not unusual for chroniclers in the Low Countries and Liège to insert epitaphs in their historical accounts,¹²⁴ presumably as the equivalent of modern *pièces justificatives*; such texts were actually independent entities and could be newly made or

117 BN fr. 15216.

118 Champion, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 214.

119 *Dictionnaire*, s.n.

120 *Ibid.*, s.n.

121 Usually *Le Miroir de Mort*, but called *Le Pas de la Mort* by Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 6, pp. 49-65. The new edition by van Hemelryck does not mention the ascription to Philippe de Croy. Another ms., Carpentras, BM 410, has an ascription of the text to 'Thomas Gerson Chanter de Tours 1463'.

122 Compare other literary activities of Chastelain in relation to his friends – Jean Robertet and Jean, Seigneur de Montferrant, see Chavannes-Mazel, 'Ladies'.

123 Brussels, BR II 2545, ff. 205-206v; above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 4.

quite ancient by the time the historian was writing. In Haynin's work the close association of the epitaphs of Warwick with the letter about his defeat at Barnet suggests they were written and circulating even before the news of the victory at Tewkesbury became known on the continent; they certainly make no mention of another battle and the end of the house of Lancaster. The fact that they were made so quickly again argues for their having been *en vogue* for a while, and that several people, even those that did not normally write such things, turned their hand to poetry in their enthusiasm over Warwick's fall.

The epitaphs certainly enjoyed some popularity. They were copied in the original by Haynin, in translation by the Chronicle of Flanders¹²⁵ and survive in several manuscripts, either on their own in literary collections or in combination with other written reports about events in England.¹²⁶

The text: editorial procedure.

Haynin's autograph of both epitaphs has provided the text printed below. His version is the most complete and the earliest surviving, but his spelling differs from all others. No copies of the texts are identical and a 'definitive' edition is impossible. The orthography of Haynin has been followed throughout, but i and j, u and v, capitals and punctuation have been modernised; the few abbreviations have been silently extended. All (spelling) variants that do not influence the meaning of the text or tell us nothing about the copyist's understanding of the poems have been left unmentioned.

124 Thiry, 'Inédit', p. 40, n. (i), including the example of 41 epitaphs in a single chronicle.

125 Above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 7; below app. A.

126 Apart from Haynin's memoirs and the Chronicle of Flanders, which included both, the sources for the epitaphs are:

the 'first' epitaph:

Ghent, UL 236, ff. 14v-15v.

Besançon, BM 1168, ff. 10v-11v.

Brussels, BR II 7254-63, ff. 29-32, where it is followed by letter from Charles the Bold to the French, promising to avenge the death of the Duke of Guyenne, Louis XI's brother, who died in 1472; this was apparently another of Charles' manifestoes (Kendall, *Louis XI*, pp. 247-48 and 430, n. 3).

the 'second' epitaph:

Vienna, ÖN 3391, f. 486r-v.

Antwerp, Museum Plantijn-Moretus, 185, ff. 42v-43.

The 'first' epitaph was printed by de Reiffenberg, 'Epitaph', pp. 83-6; Le Roux, *Chants*, pp. 164-66; edited from the Ghent and Besançon mss by Gransden, *Writing II*, pp. 485-87, and, slightly modernised, by Giles, *Révolte*, pp. 48-50. The 'second' was printed by Bayot, 'Notice', p. 128, from the ms. of Haynin; printed and edited by Devaux, 'Seigneur', pp. 30-31, from the Vienna copy. Both epitaphs were omitted by both editors of Haynin (by Brouwers even though he assumed Haynin had composed them) and also in the 18th-century ms. copy made by

The text: the first epitaph ¹²⁷

- 1 Escrit est chy desoubz de plume en lieu de graffe
 Du conte de Warvic le dollant epitaflé
- 3 Jou, Richart de Noeuville, fuy conte de Warvic
 Et deune autre conte noumee Salebric.
- 5 Je fus Grant Chambrelent du pais dEngleterre,
 De Calles Cappitaine et de mainte autre terre.
 Contre droit conquestay les V Pors pour ma part,
 Et si endeboutay le bon Roy Eduart.
 Après lequel despit et par outre cuidance
- 10 Je mis dissension entre le Roy de Franse
 Et le bon justichier Charle, Duc de Bourgogne.
 Lors fis dun droit ung tort sans enprendre vergogne:
 Les Francois acointay mes anchiens ennemis
 Tant que par biau sanblant il furte mes amis.
- 15 Entre eux communicay et menay si grant bruit
 Que le Roy Eduart fuigitif sen dervit.
 Le franc duc de Bourgogne, ou gist toute proesse,
 Hemiblement le rechut pour lonneur de noblesse;
 Son tresor luy ouvrit, ses gens luy presenta,
- 20 Par quoi entre grant bruit sur la mer remonta.
 Pendant che temps je fus ames armes campestre
 Tresbien acompagnie du noble Duc dEssestre
 Et mon frere et amy marquis de Montagu,
 Du conte dAnsenfort qui est plain de vertu,
- 25 Et main autre segneurs dine de los et pris.
 Javoie adont voe a Dieu de paradis
 Et au roy des Fransois quavant lAsension
 Engleterre seroit en ma sugession.¹²⁸

G. Gérard (The Hague, KB Gérard B 57, f. 797), which has the marginal note: *a inscrit ici les épitaphes de Warwick*. For the Antwerp copy, Denucé, *Musaeum*, pp. pp. 143-44.

127 Brussels, BR II 2545, ff. 205-206.

128 Instead of lines 26-34, BR 7255 reads (capitals and punctuation mine):

Nous aviesmes voe a Dieu de paradis
 le Roy de Franche et moy, comme deux estourdis,
 que tantost aprez Pasques ou alAssienson
 Engleterre seroit mise en ma subiession,
 dont jestoie enchassie, fuiant comme ung regnart.
 Se ainsy fist advenut que nous aviemes promis
 le bon Duc de Bougoingne estoit du tout demis:
 nous luy euissiemez oste Hainnaut, Flandres et Artois,
 et ducez et contez encores plus de trois,
 et se euist repris le Roy Orchiez, Lille et Douway,
 par le mauvais ennort des meutins de Tournay.

The Chronicle of Flanders gives a verbatim translation of these lines (app. B) and has *nota* in the margin opposite 'the rebels of Tournai'. *ennort* is translated *crysschene* ('shrieking'); the Bruges chronicler apparently had no sympathy with the people of the French enclave of Tournai, who had written poems and performed plays to ridicule Duke Charles. In one of the ballads written against Tournai (Le Roux, *Chants*, p. 189, stanza 8 its people are reminded of the events of 1471 thus:

Tournay, Tournay, tu fus habille,
 Aval la ville,
 De faire feux pour l'aliance
 Des Englès qui par voie soubtille,
 Très inutile,

30 Sensi fut avenu le roy de Franse et moy
 Aviemes entre pris de livrer grant anoy
 Au duc des Bourghegnons, qui est emible et courtois:
 On luy devoit tolr Picardie et Artois,
 Et le desposseser dOrchies, Lille et Douay
 Par le consentement des meutins de Tournay.
 35 La riviere de Some estoit ja par devisse
 Sujette a la couronne et contre droit remise.
 Or est [tout?] retourne, car Edouard le preu
 Me revient assalir, plus ravissant quen leu.
 Sy grant assaut me fist et si bien si porta,
 40 Que ma terre et la sienne acop reconquesta.
 En ung chastaiau mou fort me cuida asegier,
 Atendre ne losay, come fol veus widier,
 Adont fus assalis de lanches et de tret,
 Leun de mes gens sen fuit, et lautre se retreat.¹²⁹
 45 La fus si fort constraint et de telle vertu,
 Quen fuiant fu pris et par terre abatu.
 Tant de plaies recus sur le corps et le chief
 Que, volsisse ou non, morus a grant meschief.
 Adont je ma pensay que maprodition
 50 Et mon maudi pechie, plain de detracion,
 En si me punisoit, car onques en ma vie
 Anul bien ne pensay, se non a triecherie;
 Par quoy, le jour de Pasques, ou Dieu resuscita,
 Par armes Edouart mochist et conquesta
 55 [Avec le duc dExcestre et mon frere marquis
 Et pluseurs chevaliers qui ne sont point cy mis]¹³⁰
 Tresmecanement morus ama confusion,
 Sans de nul prestre avoir quelque absolusion,
 Droit en lan quinze cens vinteneuf mains en nombre.
 60 Non obstant priies Dieu que Satan ne mencombe
 Et me doinst par sa grasse obtenir le roiaime
 La ou je tiens et crois destre en cors et en ame.

Amen

The text: commentary on the first epitaph

lines 1-2. All versions have this same heading, except the Flemish translation (see below). The latter reads: ‘Here follow two epitaphs to ridicule the Earl of Warwick, standing over his grave’; the author appears to have taken the texts ‘seriously’, assuming they were really over

S’alierent au Roy de France,
 Dont retournée est la vaillance;
 Car la pesance
 En porroit estre de vo part.
 Waruic est mys en oubliance,
 En grant puissane,
 Nous avons le roy Edouwart.
 129 Instead of line 44, BR 7255 reads:
 Vollentiers jeiusse fait Sonner le retrait
 Mais je neuch pas loysir Comme je raconte
 Vollentiers ou en vis Me convint rendre compte
 The Flemish translation closely follows these lines, app. B.

Warwick's tomb. The French title implies that epitaphs existed both on paper/parchment (*de plume*) and in stone (*de graffe*).

lines 4-5. *conte*, most manuscripts have *contree*, but *conte* is presumably correct. The author was well informed: he knew about Warwick being Chamberlain, Captain of Calais and Warden of the Cinque Ports – this office presented great problems to scribes¹³¹ – and he may have known about the earldom of Salisbury.

line 6. BR 7255 has *de calles et capitaine*, the sixteenth-century copyist apparently no longer understood the title.

line 7. Haynin after *droit* inserted *et raison*, using a very common combination of words, and then deleted the last two.

line 8. *et si endeboutay*, BR 7255 has *contre droit encachay*.

line 9. *outrecuidanse*, Warwick's pride (*ou(l)trecuidance*, Flemish *overdaed*, *verwaendhede*) was stressed by most authors, both historians and poets.

line 11. *justichier*, calling Duke Charles the 'good judge' was the best way to flatter him; *justice* was a point of honour with him and his reputation as a just lord was particularly dear to him.¹³²

line 14. *tant que par biau sanblant*, the Ghent and Besançon mss. have *tant que par beau parler*; BR 7255 and Le Roux have *et par mon art fis tant qu'*; the Chronicle of Flanders translated the latter (see below). 'Make right wrong', use 'fair talk' or 'fair semblance' 'without shame', all this was only to be expected from a man as treacherous as Warwick. Basin and the author of the Chronicle of Flanders repeatedly stress that this was his reputation.

lines 15-6. *fuigitif sen dervit*, the Ghent and Besançon mss have *par armes sen fuit*; Le Roux: *en a este seduyt*; BR 7255: *en apres sen dervit*. 'I made treaties with them and made so much trouble, that King Edward fled in despair / fled in arms / was deceived by it'. It is not clear which is the best version.

line 17. The Flemish translator must have used a copy reading *promesse*, he wrote 'in spite of his promise' (see below).

line 18. *hemiblement* = *humblement*, used of an action that accords with the rules of chivalry and courtesy.

line 19. *ses gens*, Le Roux has *son or*.

line 20. *entre grant bruit*, Le Roux has *en grant arroy*.

130 Lines 55-56 are missing in Haynin's copy, but all other French texts and the Flemish translation have them.

131 Compare the Flemish translation, app. B, below.

132 E.g. Paravicini, *Karl*, pp. 27-29.

line 24. *dAnsenfort*, the Ghent and Besançon mss. have *doccenfort*; Le Roux and the Chronicle of Flanders: *suffort*; BR 7255: *dexinfort*.

line 25. *Et maint autre seigneurs dine de los et pris*, BR 7255 has *et aultres en grant hic. hic* should probably be *hie* ('a force', 'a large number'), translated into Flemish *macht* ('force'); the original of BR 7255 had only half a line here and *hie* rhymed with *montagit*.

line 30. Instead of *livrer* Haynin first wrote *porter* and deleted it.

line 31. *emible*, Ghent: *grant*; Besançon: *gent*; Le Roux: *frans*.

line 32. *on luy devoit tolir picardie*, Le Roux: *Nous euisseismes hosté et Flandres*.

line 33. *dorchies*, Ghent and Besançon: *darras*.

line 35. *estoit ja par devise*, BR 7255: *devoit estre conquise*, translated by the Chronicle of Flanders.

line 36. *sujette a la couronne*, BR 7255: *Et tantost regaignie*, translated by the Chronicle of Flanders. *et contre droit remise*, BR 7255: *Aynsi quon se devise*, translated by the Chronicle of Flanders.

line 38. *assalir*, Le Roux: *assegier*.

line 41. *me cuida*, Ghent, Besançon and BR 7255: *il me vo(u)lt*; Le Roux: *il me vint*, translated by the Chronicle of Flanders.

line 42. *atendre ne losay*, Le Roux: *je ne pos souffrir*; BR 7255: *je ne le peux souffrir*, translated by the Chronicle of Flanders.

line 43. *tret*, BR 7255: *dart trait*.

line 45. *constraint*, Le Roux and BR 7255: *coi(c)tiez/t*.

line 49. *je ma pensay*, all other mss: *consideray. proditsion*, Ghent: *perdition*; BR 7255: *production*.

line 50. *plain de detracsion*, Le Roux: *de destruction*.

line 52. *se non*, Le Roux: *forques*.

line 53. After the first *ou* Haynin wrote *Que* then deleted it.

line 57. *tresmecanement*, all other mss: *honteusement*.

line 59. *droit en*, BR 7255: *ce fut. quinze cens*, Ghent, Besançon and BR 7255: *xv c*; Le Roux: *vxe* [sic]. *vinteneuf*, all other mss: *xxix*.

line 60. *non obstant priies Dieu*, Le Roux and BR 7255: *Priez donc Jhesus-Crist*, translated by the Chronicle of Flanders.

The text: the second epitaph ¹³³

- 1 ije epitaflē¹³⁴
- 2 Je, Richart de Neuville, et de Warvic conte,
Palais, bours, chatiaus, ville firte de moy grant conte.
Le pais dEngleterre obeit a mon ploy,
- 5 Et en Franse la terre me fis frere du roy:
Je li fus frere darne et le mien volu estre,
Proumetant cors et ame du Duc Charle desmettre,
Luy oster seignourie, puissance et renoumee.
Mes materre denvie na pas longe duree.
- 10 En mon propre pais je sambloie empereur:
Deu rois i furte mis par ma forse et hauteur.
Monsieur le Roi Henry, quy me fit chevallier,
Trente ans luy obeis, puis le pris prisonier,
Prive dabit real, liie, la teste nuie,
- 15 Fu mene a cheval a Londres, en sa mue.
Je fis roy mon germain, Edouart le Qatrimē,
Mes danuit a demain je commis vers luy crieme.
Lenchassay par puissance; en Zelande prit port
Ou trova recouvrance et la faveur et port
- 20 De son frere et amy, le grant Duc de Bourgongne,
Che qui mest anemi, en pira ma besongne.
Deus fylles mariay a contraire party,
Leune au frere baillay, lautre au fis de Henry.
Jai eut tou jours Callais en fuite et en conquete,
- 25 [Et ny eult beau ne laie qui ne doubtast ma queste].¹³⁵
Du sanc real Englois jay ochi mainte vie,
Plus de soisante et trois fis morir par envie.
Jai plus greve la terre que james autre gist
Et cuidoie quen gerre home ne me deffist;
- 30 Esleve en orgeuil et en gouvernement,
Come tost se clost leuil jai prist definement.
Après avoir remis le Roi Henry en estre,
Abandone damis, aveque le duc dExestre,
En fuiant mort recus, et ausi fit mon frere,
- 35 Et fumes monstre nus a Sain Pol par mistere.
Edouart, mon vainqueur, par lequel je suis issy,
Priiez aucreateur que de moy ait mersy;
Et vous tous, orgilleux, mires vous en ma fasse:
Ne me metes des Preux, mes de cheus de Bocasse!

The text: commentary on the second epitaph

lines 7-9. This reference to a plot of Warwick and Louis to take Charles' *cors et ame* is probably to the belief held at the Burgundian court that the French king was behind Baudouin

133 BR II 2545, f. 206r-v, Haynin's copy, the earliest surviving. Devaux, 'Seigneur', took Antwerp, Museum Plantijn-Moretus 185, another 16th-c. copy, as his base text; Denucé, *Musaeum*, pp. 143-44.

134 ÖN 3391, f. 486, and Plantijn-Moretus 185, f. 42v, read (capitals and punctuation are mine): Epitaphle du conte de Warwic, Angloix, faite et composee en ryme par monsieur Philippe de Croy, Conte de Chimay.

135 Line 24 was omitted by Haynin and is here added from Vienna 3391; the omission clearly was a scribal error, caused by the similarity of *-queste*.

of Lille's attempt to poison his half-brother, Duke Charles, late in November 1470. The news was widely published and known to several chroniclers.¹³⁶

line 12-6. Did Henry VI actually knight Warwick? The image is probably only used to emphasise the chivalric loyalty that Warwick *should* have felt towards the old king whom he served for so long. The phrase 'thirty years' merely means 'many years', particularly of periods in a man's lifetime. The scene of Henry's miserable progress through London occurs in the work of many historians: the king bound, poorly dressed, bare headed, led to his 'cage' (*mue comp.* 'mews') in the Tower.

lines 22-3. Warwick's marrying off his daughters to members of 'contrary parties' seems to have shocked everyone; it is always mentioned.

line 24. Calais had indeed been at Warwick's disposal when he was on the losing (*en fuite*) and when on the winning side (*en conqueste*).

line 25. This line was omitted by Haynin and is here added from ÖN 3391. Because of this omission (in his exemplar?) the ending of the next line troubled him: expecting a rhyming word he wrote *teste* after *mainte* and then deleted the first.

line 27. Though the Chronicle of Flanders also stresses the slaughter made by Warwick among 'lords and princes' and 'common people' it is not clear how the author of the epitaph calculated this incredible number of members of the royal family killed. Comines says about eighty came to a violent end but he means: of both parties and including Bosworth.

lines 28-31. These lines were omitted in ÖN 3391, but may be found in Plantijn-Moretus 185 and, in some disorder, in the Chronicle of Flanders and appear to have belonged to the original.

line 35. *par mistere*, either 'on show', as in Devaux, 'Seigneur', p. 32, or perhaps 'on the pavement in front of the church', i.e. within the sacred precinct.

lines 38-9. 'All you proud ones, take warning from me (mirror yourselves in my face), do not number me among the Worthies but among the characters in Bocaccio'. These two lines are full of well known images that effectively summarise the literary possibilities of Warwick's life. He was so obviously useful as an *exemplum* and was exploited as such not only in these epitaphs but in most songs and poems and prose comments on his life. His crime was pride (*oultreuidance, overdaed*), traditionally one of the causes of a man's fall, as it had been of angels. The imperative *mires* (from *mirer*) written here shows one of the many uses to which the popular term *speculum* and its derivatives was put in the later middle ages. It could mean not only the reflection of oneself, or the image of what one should be like, it was also the picture of what should be avoided, closely related in people's minds to the concept of the

136 Vaughan, *Charles*, pp. 238-40.

instability of fortune and the realisation of the relativity of status and success. To use someone's face as a mirror was one of the possible images.¹³⁷

The reference to the Nine Worthies is revealing. The well known three triads of heroes, ancient, Jewish and Christian, were part of the 'mythology' of chivalry;¹³⁸ they may be called its patron saints. They were knights *per se*: to be like them was to be a perfect knight, and the highest praise one could bestow was to call a man the 'Tenth Worthy'. This was an honour conferred on fictional as well as real life heroes,¹³⁹ but it could not be given until after death, during life one could only become a *fils des preux*.¹⁴⁰ To be unlike the Worthies excluded a man from the order of knighthood, and so was Warwick excluded, by his own recommendation.

The Nine Worthies were frequently depicted: in the *Débat des hérauts*, Prudence refers to the *maintes peintures et tappiceries*,¹⁴¹ and in a song by Alain Chartier, of circa 1450, it is the *image* of Jason that is excluded from their *table* (panel painting) because of the perjury he used in obtaining the Golden Fleece::

Pour ce n'est point mise à la table
Des preux l'image de Jason,
Qui, pour emporter la toison
De Colchos, se vult parjurer.¹⁴²

The reference to Boccaccio has yet another meaning. Not only is Warwick made to say of himself that he is unworthy of the order of knighthood, he should moreover be regarded as one of the hapless characters in Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*,¹⁴³ the collection of lives of famous men who fell from their high places through pride or folly. About another infamous figure, the depraved and worthless Louis I of Savoy, Chastelain wrote:

Et me doute si Jehan de Bocace eust vescu encore, il luy eust ordonné place, je ne sçay où, en un anlet, là ou il eust été bien propre avecques les autres.¹⁴⁴

Louis of Savoy, and presumably Warwick, were not even allowed to be major figures in Boccaccio's pageant of ill-fated men, they would only find a place in a little corner, 'with the likes of them'.

137 E.g. Bradley, 'Backgrounds'.

138 Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 121-24; van Anrooij, *Helden*, *passim*.

139 Höltgen, 'Worthies', pp. 289-90; Luce, 'Du Guesclin, dixième preux', in his *France*.

140 La Curne, *Mémoires*, p. 169, n. 72 of pt 2.

141 General introduction, above. For their iconography, Wyss, 'Helden'.

142 Le Roux, *Recueil*, p. 333.

143 Well known at the Burgundian court in Laurent de Premierfait's French translation, and at the English court from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.

144 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, p. 40.

4. The later ballads

The 'Commentary on the Epitaph'¹⁴⁵

The author of these lines – to whose identity there is no clue – was extremely knowledgeable about English events. Apart from one of the epitaphs he must have had several written sources to hand and was very much *au courant* with various rumours. The information he gives and his choice of words point to a knowledge Epitaph 1; he may have known the other as well but he mentions only one. He wrote after the battle of Tewkesbury, of which he knew the date (4 May), and before the sudden disgrace and execution of the Bastard of Fauconberg in September 1471.

The text is meant to be recited rather than posted up: the author invites 'great and small' to 'listen' to him (stanza 1) and the tight and competent rhyme scheme (ABABBCCC) throughout and the lively metre make the story easy to follow. The ballad's tone is triumphant and it provides all the facts about a bad business happily ended. Stanzas 2 to 4 repeat some of the information contained in Epitaph 1, actually mentioning it as evidence: *L'epitaphe du dessus dit*. It is impossible to say where the author found this text, but one has to conclude that it was very widely known indeed. The number of facts included suggest this song was perhaps officially commissioned to spread the news among a wider range of people than the favoured few who had access to the news received and the 'comments' composed at the ducal court. It is likely that professional entertainers, *chanteurs ambulants*, in the French and Burgundian camps¹⁴⁶ and town criers in Picardy and Flanders recited verse like this among people who had been preparing for and living in fear of an invasion by Warwick and the French for several months? In the summer of the same year the scribe of the bailiff of Dijon, Pierre Prevost, recorded that news from Duke Charles was broadcast *a voix de crie et son de trompe*.¹⁴⁷ One can imagine the ballad on Warwick's downfall and Edward's triumph being declaimed after the sound of trumpets and loud-voiced announcements had gathered people together. To make them more accessible and easier to remember the events had been given the form almost of an epic, including comparisons to the heroes of romance, chivalric feats and lists of the slain. The heraldic symbols of chivalry are again used: the lion, the leopard and *le bon sang de luppert*.

Stanzas 2 to 5 summarise Epitaph 1, adding a few counties to the list of Charles' possessions that Warwick would have plundered, and other sources were used throughout. The author assumed that the duke of Exeter had been killed, though it became known later that he

145 My title; the text is only known from Le Roux, *Chants*, pp. 167-71, where it is headed *Chancon*.

146 Haynin presumably found his poems posted up in Charles' camp. During the recent Balkan War cassettes with victorious songs, abuse of the enemy and sorrowful texts about lost friends and relatives were sold by all sides in the conflict, *NRC-Handelsblad*, 5 March 1993.

147 BN fr. 3887, f. 118v.

had not. This error as well as the names of the five captured bishops (York, Winchester, Lincoln, St Davids and Chichester) derive from the official list of casualties and prisoners; this also included Henry VI, implying that he was taken prisoner during the battle.⁴⁸ The fact that the bodies of Warwick and his brother were exhibited at St Paul's occurs in the second epitaph, but may have been widely known – it was (and is) the kind of scene that appeals to people everywhere; that the bodies lay there for three days is mentioned nowhere else.

The date of Tewkesbury (stanza 6) must have become known together with the list of casualties of that battle. The names in the list (stanza 8) have been rearranged to fit rhyme and metre; they are spelled as oddly as in any other continental copy of the list, but they are essentially correct.¹⁴⁹ Edward is honoured in a way worthy of a romance: his courage was as great as that of the wild boar, an animal noted for its fierceness when protecting its own, and he was as proud as Roland himself. These comparisons are neither original nor revealing but it may be noted that in the next poem – see below (stanza 2) – Warwick is expressly denied resemblance to Roland; he only pretended he was as great (*tant avoit de vantises*).

The scene of Edward of Lancaster's death is dramatic (stanza 7). Though it has been given the form of a verbal confrontation between the protagonists – instead of describing their actions – it exactly matches at least one other strictly contemporary source.¹⁵⁰ Whatever the truth of the matter the rumour was clearly very early and appears to have 'arrived' with the news of the battle itself. The poet is remarkably pro-Edward IV and critical rather of the impudent prince than of his killers.

Stanzas 8 to 9 'romanticise' the information found in the official list of casualties, down to the detail that some were taken but *non jugies*. It is not clear how the poet reached the number of six noblemen and six knights executed (the list does always have about a dozen names, however, varying slightly with each copy). The capture of Margaret of Anjou, Anne Neville and 'the duchess of Devonshire' is repeated in almost all sources.

The story of Fauconberg's reinstatement (stanza 11 and 12) is worth considering. The only other surviving source sharing the same information is Stow in his *Annales*: '... king Edward not only pardoned him, but made him knight, and vice admirall'.¹⁵¹ Warkworth also mentions the role of Earl Rivers' (the *Scallez* of the poem) in obtaining Fauconberg's pardon

148 Visser-Fuchs, 'Riddle', *passim*.

149 Wheeler, 'Battle', *passim*; Visser-Fuchs, 'Warwick est Mort', pp. 200-08.

150 The Monstrelet-continuator (Harl. 4424, f. 276v; fr. 88, f. 259v; *Histoire de Charles*, p. 290) includes this version of Edward of Lancaster's death, implying, however, that it was a rumour by saying: *Aucuns dient...* It is also found in one of the interpolations, written about 1510, of Jean de Roye's *Chronique scandaleuse*; it was taken over by Hall, Holinshed and Shakespeare; Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 195-97, 215-16.

151 Stow, *Annales*, p. 425.

but implies treachery.¹⁵² It is likely that there is some truth in Stow's statement and that he had a source that does not survive. Wavrin's version of Fauconberg's end suggests he was involved in some treacherous activity at sea; this may have had innocent and legitimate beginnings.¹⁵³

The text ends on a prayer for the welfare of Edward and Charles and their subjects.

The 'Commentary on the Epitaph': the text.

1

Jhesus soit à mon commenchie.
Entendez moy, grans et petys,
Plaist vous oyr preudchier¹⁵⁴
Comment Wervic et ses amys
Ont esté puis ung pau concquis
Et mis à mort.
Le coeur qu'à mal faire s'amort¹⁵⁵
Son meffait en la fin le mort.

2

L'epitaphe du dessus dit
Nous donne cler entendement
Comment son alianche fist
Au Roy Franchoix soubtillement,
Cuidant pillier soudainement
Flandres et Artoys,
Brabant, Bourgongne et Boullenois,
Haynau, Holande et Namurois.

3

Mais Dieux y a tenu le main:
Car le puissant Roy Edouwart
Au jour de Pasques très haultain
Y desploya son estendart,
O luy le bon sang de luppard,
En bel arroy
Corriga le horrible desroy
De Wervic et de son vieux Roy.

4

Car en bataille sur les champs
Fut le conte Wervic ochy,
Et son frere y fina son temps,
De Montagu estoit marquis;
Le Roy Henry
Fut prys au jour que je vous dy,
Et chincq evesques avec luy.

5

A Londres la citté de pris,
Fut le corps de Wervic portez,
En l'eglise Saint Pol assis,
Sur hault siege, ja n'en doubttez,
Là fut trois jours durant monstrez

152 Warkworth, *Chronicle*, p. 20.

153 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 675; Britnell, 'Fauconberg'.

154 *preudchier* – preach, speak.

155 *s'amort* = applied himself.

A tous venans,
Par quoy ne fust nulz ygnorans
Sa mort profitable aux mechans.

6

Ensuivant quatrieme de may,
Réut bataille de là la mer
Où le Roy Edouwart pour vray
Se volt en armes amonstrer.
A coeur plus hardy que ung sanglier,
Fier que ung Rolland,
Là fut il l'orgoeul abatant
De ceulx qui lui furent nuisant.

7

Le prince de Galles fut prys
Et amenez par devant luy.
Edouwart le Roy bien aprys
Luy dist tout hault: Prince, entens my,
Me congnois tu Roy, or le dy?

Cieulx dist que non:

Blaphemez lui dist à foison,
S'en ot la mort pour guerredon.

8

De Vicesre¹⁵⁶ y morut ce jour
Le conte et sire Emond Auldain,¹⁵⁷
Pheldin,¹⁵⁸ Gervas¹⁵⁹ en cel estour,
Furent mis à leur jour derrain
Et Vuiteghen¹⁶⁰ n'y dura grain,
Hervy¹⁶¹ et Vaulx,¹⁶²
Wenloc¹⁶³ avec maint barons haulx,
Dieu leur pardoinst tous leurs deffaux!

9

Sombresecq¹⁶⁴ y fut decollez,
Pour son meffait quie estoit grant,
Et six chevaliers redoubtez,
Et nobles hommes bien autant.
Il y eubt, pour vous dire avant,
Des coeurs courchies,
Prisonniers pris et non jugies:
Mais en prison furent laissies.

10

Marguerite Royne y estoit,
Et Anne fille de Wervic,
Femme au prince de Galles droit,
La dame de Wicestre¹⁶⁵ o luy;
XXI chevaliers aussi,
Contes et duc,

-
- 156 John Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.
157 Sir Edmund Hampden.
158 Sir William Fielding.
159 Sir Gervaise Clifton.
160 Sir Robert Wittingham.
161 Sir Nicholas Hervey.
162 Sir William Vaux.
163 John, Lord Wenlock.
164 Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.
165 Perhaps John Courtenay's mother.

Avoit ou ceulx nommés dessus
Et XIII nobles escus.

11

Quant Folquenbergh le gallant
Oyt ces haulx fais recorder,
Et que Roy estoit Edouart,
Il descendi jus de la mer.
Don de merchy alla rouver¹⁶⁶

Au noble Roy;
Scallez en pria, je croy,
Tant qu'Edouart en fist l'octroy.

12

Là le fist le Roy chevalier,
Et de la mer son admiral.
Prions Jhesus de coeur entier
Qui doint ung regne especial
Au lieppart, et pooir Royal,

Et au lion,
Tant soubz eulx vuyon.
Aians en Dieu conclusion.

'Warwick est mort'¹⁶⁷

The last French text discussed here stands on its own; it suggests no particular knowledge except the 'vital' one that Warwick was dead. This song is very much directed against the earl himself and was no doubt composed very soon after Barnet, probably in the ducal army itself. Its form and simplicity indicate that it was meant to be sung, not said. Most stanzas contain a dramatic antithesis to show the change in Warwick's fortune. He pretended to be a hero, but was actually a child; he allied himself to one king and crowned another, but his own reign has ended; he sought to rule all England, but ended up with seven feet of earth. Proverbs and colloquial sayings help to express the passionate sense of satisfaction and relief of the balladmaker and all who joined in.

'Warwick est mort': text.

1

Entre vous, Franchois,¹⁶⁸
Jettés pleurs et larmes:
Wervic vostre choix
Est vaincus par armes
Du Roy Eduwart
Preu, vaillant et fort.
Plourés temprex tart¹⁶⁹

166 *rouver* – implore.

167 Le Roux, *Chants*, pp. 171-74, where it has no heading; the present heading is mine.

168 Kendall, *Warwick*, p. 323, translates these first four lines:

Frenchmen, one to another
Rain tears and drip alarms [sic]
Warwick, your sworn brother
Is crushed by force of arms.

Sa dollante mort.
 Wui! Hui! Hui! et Ho! Ho! Ho!
 Il est mort Wervic,
 Wui! Hui! Hui! et Ho! Ho! Ho!
 Et en terre enclos.

2

C'estoit ung Rollant,
 Tant avoit de vantises,
 Mais n'estoit qu'enfant,
 Quant aux entreprises.
 Il a pau gaigniet
 D'honneur et de bruit.
 Il en est payet
 De sanglente nuyt.

3

Par son grant engien,
 A prins alianche
 Au grant terrien
 Puissant Roy de Franche,
 Pour encontre droit
 Couronner Henry;
 Mais Dieu loez soit,
 Son rengne est feny.

4

Il cuidoit regner
 Sur toute Engleterre;
 Mais ne poeult finer¹⁷⁰
 Que sept piés de terre,
 Et par mort est mys
 En l'aitre¹⁷¹ ou as camps.
 Hellas! Le quietis¹⁷²
 Cache les fouans.

5

Il avoit emprins
 De faire vergongne,
 Et de tenir prins
 Le duc de Bourgongne;
 Mais trop pesant fais
 Prist sans advocat,
 Car on n'a jamais
 Sans mouffle ung tel cat.

6

Très souventes fois
 Il faisoit son compte
 De Flandres et d'Artois
 Estre duc et Conte;
 Mais le povre sot
 Avoit trop cours doys;
 En terre est enclos
 Pour escaillier noys.¹⁷³

7

169 *temprex tart* – early and late.

170 *finer* = achieve.

171 *l'aitre* – (part of) church or square in front of a church (Lat. *atrium*).

172 *quietis* = presumably *quietus*, death.

173 *pour escaillier noys* = ???

Il faisoit son compte;
 Mais il s'abusoit,
 C'estoit sans son hoste
 Que son compte faisoit,
 Tant juste au revers;
 Dont on a véu
 Son volloir pervers.

8

Dieu ottroit sa paix
 En cestui provinse,
 Et en tous ses faix
 Garde nostre prince;
 Et de Dieu prier
 Ne soions lassés
 Que repos donner
 Voeulle aux trespasés.
 Wui! Hui! Hui! Et Ho! Ho! Ho!
 Il est mort Wervic,
 Wui! Hui! Hui! Et Ho! Ho! Ho!
 Et en terre enclos.

The Ghent song.

Finally there survives one Flemish text that expresses the same joy and relief, in this instance again of the ordinary 'man in the street', not the court; many such songs must have been made in Flemish, but so far this is the only one recovered. The Ghent song is reminiscent of the reception of the letter that Edward sent to the magistrates of Bruges, reporting his victories, perhaps proving the truth of the news by including lists of those killed at Barnet and Tewkesbury and thanking the men of the town for their hospitality: the messenger who brought the letter to Bruges was rewarded and bonfires were lit to celebrate. The Ghent song reflects the great joy of the populace, which was not recorded in Bruges; it also mentions the 'games and bonfires' that followed when the good news had reached the town, in this instance through a messenger of Duke Charles.

The song survives in a small early to mid sixteenth-century manuscript preserved in municipal archives of Bruges.¹⁷⁴ It contains a collection of French and Flemish religious and secular songs or poems, almost all written in one hand, probably not the owner's, Kateline Winckelmans, but a scribe's, who worked professionally, 1540-50. The scribe was not very expert in Flemish and many lines are corrupt and incomprehensible. The little book was made for private use and meditation, and probably belonged to a female community, but nothing else is known about its provenance. In view of the contents of the song its own particular origin is clear, what is remarkable is that it was included at all: it is the only one of a purely secular nature. Perhaps the scribe's lack of Flemish was to blame for his curious choice. To the most

recent modern editor the meaning and context of the song were a mystery, but when considered together with the other 'Warwick' texts there can be little doubt about the origin, date and *raison d'être* of this little poem, and some of the most enigmatic words – *Wart* (Edward), *Verwenych* (Warwick) – become quite clear and at the same time revealing.

The meaning of the first stanza is self evident: freely translated it reads: 'Rejoyce, be glad, all who love our prince and his brave lady, as well as the English king, for he has made peace and quiet in England'. The second stanza is very corrupt and its intention has to be guessed at: 'We could not be better pleased, we have just learned that King Edward, with whom we in the town of Ghent also suffered, [?]'. These two stanzas merely bring the news and reminds the Ghentenars of past dangers and miseries.

The third stanza is confused but it appears to mean: 'The king of beasts did not want to delay, he was sent by God; he defeated his [enemy] Warwick and drove out Warwick's men by force of arms'. Why 'the king of beasts' when Edward is usually called the 'leopard' and Charles is the 'lion'? It may be simply a mistake. *Verwenych* must mean 'Warwick' in the present context. Fourth stanza: 'With this happy tiding our noble prince sent his messenger to Ghent; the news brought comfort: games were held and fires were lit, as many people know.' Fifth stanza: 'All lands rejoyce, for you can go and ride, on the sea and to the coast: the king is so mighty, our prince so powerful, he is afraid of nothing.' Sixth stanza, freely translated: 'The king of France thought that you were down, and we long appeared to be, but our prince is very noble, he hopes you will be loyal; God, may he undertake what is best.' The third line of this stanza is unintelligible, but may mean something close to what is here translated; the last two lines are also unclear: *bekeere* usually means 'convert' in the sense of 'become a Christian', but also 'behave onself' or 'behave in a certain way'. Here it could either mean 'be good Christians' or 'be good men [to the duke?]'. Perhaps *angaen* is the same as *empredre* and the poet is referring to Charles' motto *Je l'ay emprins*, hoping that the duke may be wise in his undertakings.

With the seventh stanza we come to the conclusion of the song: ' Let us all praise Jhesus of Nazareth with our hearts and minds; that he may give our country peace and general prosperity [?], that is what I pray for to the queen [of heaven].' And: 'He who made this little song had very little aptitude, but he was encouraged to do it, everyone look upon it as favourably as possible, for we learn by doing; his name was Simon.' The exact meaning of these lines is not clear, but the above translation must come very near.

174 Brugge, Stadsarchief 29, described, Braekman, 'Liederen'. I am grateful to Jan Willem Verkaik for bringing this poem to my attention.

The Ghent song: the text.¹⁷⁵

1

Verhuecht ghi, blide van zynnen,
 Die onsen princen bemynnen,
En sinder vrouwe wailant,
 Den Inghelsche conync mede,
 Want hy heeft paijs en vrede
 Ghewonnen in Ingghelant.

2

Hoe mach men mer bemynnen
 Den prince Wart beet u synnen,
 Soet ons es cort bekent.

Met hem waerren wi in liden,

.....¹⁷⁶

Binnender stede van Ghent.

3

Die coninc van der dieren,
 En heeft niet willen vieren,
 Des Gode die hem in sant,
 Sijn Verwenych heeft hi versclegghen,
 Sijn volc heeft hy verdreven,
 Ende alle ghewapender hant.

4

Met desen blider maren,
 Soo sant ons prince erbaer,
 Sijn bode al binen Ghent.
 Solaes dedi meren,
 Te batementen ende te vieren,
 Tes menich mensche bekent.

5

Alle landen wilt verbliden,
 Want ghi meuch gaen en riden
 Te water ende toter zee.
 Dien conync es so machtich,
 Ons prince so crachtich:
 Hij en achter niet up een syre.

6

Den coninc van Vrankerike,
 Dinc dat ghi lacht in selike,
 Alsoe ons lanc heeft gestaen.
 Ons prynce es vol heere,
 Hij hoopt ghi sult bekeere,
 God laet hy tbest angaen.

7

Laet ons int ghemene,
 Jhesus van nazarene
 Loven met herten ende met zinne,
 Dat hij ons pays verleene,
 En meerynghe int ghemene,
 Dat biddic der coneghynne.

8

Die dit liedekin dichte,

175 Ff. 8r-9r. Unless otherwise indicated in the notes the printed text here follows Braekman, 'Liederen', pp. 122-24, but abbreviations (which Braekman put in square brackets or italics) have been silently extended.

176 The rhyme scheme shows there is a line missing here.

Zeere sober was syn ghesichte,
Maer jonste dinc hem doen
Elc wilt ten beste keeren,
Al doenden mach men leeren,
Sinen namen es Simoen.

Part I. Conclusion

The reputation of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in the Burgundian Low Countries from c.1450 to 1471.

There is a similarity of purpose among most Burgundian authors who reported the events of 1470/71 and Warwick's role in them, and as result there are recurring elements in their accounts. Almost all of them set out to record in their own way their intense hatred, or at least disapproval, of the man who threatened their country and their duke. Warwick's background and early career – if mentioned at all – are merely discussed in so far as they explain his great power or foreshadow his later reputation. The way in which the Monstrelet-continuator, the 'Chronicle of Flanders' and de But describe his acquisition of his title through marriage is full of innuendo. Only de But is aware, in his usual confused but tantalising way, of the complications of Warwick's rise through his new family connections; de But also uses the earl's marriage to explain his joining the Yorkist side. The earl's being the cause of so many deaths among the nobility of England fascinated people. It was mentioned by the 'Chronicle of Flanders' and Jan Allertsz., and by de But in the guise of an ominous prophecy. The second satirical epitaph says more than sixty-three members of the royal house were killed and Comines claimed sixty to eighty people of noble and royal blood perished in the civil wars.¹⁷⁷ It appears to be the one instance in which Warwick conformed to the (French) continental image of the English: they had a tendency to kill their kings.

Apart from Wavrin, who inserted Warwick's own 'apology' describing his national and international activities in the 1450's, only Chastelain refers to the earl's important diplomatic role in Edward IV's service, including his magnificence, chivalric virtues and desire for peace. Only Jan Allertsz. and the 'Chronicle of Kattendijke' were aware of Warwick's earlier invasion of England in the Yorkist cause, but his position as leader of the Yorkist party, as 'kingmaker', king of England in all but name, and Edward's mentor, which was known much further afield than the Low Countries, is a dominant feature in almost all reports. Warwick's position is described most eloquently by Chastelain and very dismissively of Edward by Comines.

The reasons for Warwick's great treason are presented with slightly different emphasis: it is either his natural duplicity or his hurt pride that motivated him; either his ambition to have the crown of England in his family, or his chagrin over Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville – or both, as in the Monstrelet-continuator and de But, where Warwick makes Edward king hoping that he will marry his daughter. Basin presents Duke Charles'

177 *Memoirs*, bk 1, ch. 7, and bk 3, ch. 4.

marrying Margaret of York as a rejection by Edward and Charles of Warwick's diplomatic efforts and a reason for intense hatred. De But depicts Warwick as the people's champion, opposing both Edward's reprehensible marriage and his evil financial schemes: his excessive taxation and his devaluation of the coinage – the latter was generally disapproved of on the continent. The earl's objections to the Woodvilles and their advancement are referred to by the Monstrelet-continuator. The 'Chronicle of Flanders' mentions the friendship between Edward and Charles of Burgundy and the enmity Warwick felt towards the duke, 'in spite of the fact that they had met and spoken to each other', which for Comines, typically, is the very reason for their irrational dislike of each other.

Warwick's cowardice, his tendency to keep himself out of harm's way, is mentioned by the Monstrelet-continuator, Chastelain, the 'Chronicle of Flanders' and the author of the first satirical epitaph; only Comines implies it was no more than good sense on the earl's part. It must have been generally known how 'careful' Warwick was, a very reprehensible thing in a knight and soldier, but a natural characteristic of a devious man, and the image of the earl as a 'subtle' man, who could not be trusted, a very symbol of changeability and instability, is shared by all but the most factual of chroniclers. This was inevitable: he changed loyalties twice, callously married his daughters off into opposing factions and also successfully used and abused the credulity and instability of the common people. His public histrionics, claiming he had a pardon from the pope and that he was turning Lancastrian as a penitence, even the changing of their livery badges by the fickle people of Calais, all are part of his *soubtilite*. La Marche is unique in explaining how Warwick maintained his popularity not only by flattery and playing on chauvinist sentiments, but also by carefully exploiting the financial priorities of wealthy Londoners.

Warwick's alliance with Louis XI and his role in their partnership is the main issue to most Burgundian commentators. To some authors, such as Basin, Louis is an even more treacherous figure than Warwick, but not, of course, to those who still felt some loyalty towards France, such as Miélot and Chastelain – however much Louis' behaviour shocked them. Even Wavrin had to relinquish any approval of the earl as soon as he became a traitor to his king and eventually threatened Wavrin's own overlord. To Dutch/Flemish writers Warwick's piracy was the first reason for their hatred, for that touched them most directly. Some authors give shape to their own disapproval by describing the righteous motives for hatred of other protagonists, such as Margaret of Anjou and Charles the Bold. The Monstrelet-continuator, Chastelain and Basin mention Warwick's past treatment of Queen Margaret, deposing her husband and calling her son a bastard. Chastelain describes Charles' natural anger against a man so treacherous; only Comines implies there was personal hatred as well.

What is unusual about the poems discussed here is that so many survive, written by people of such different backgrounds and all essentially concerned with one man and his influence on the course of events. The simpler ones, the ballads broadcast during Charles the Bold's campaign, fall into the same category as, for example, the occasional verse written by the English, to ridicule the Flemings after the siege of Calais in 1436:

... amonges Englishshmen were many rymes made of the Flemynge ...¹⁷⁸

or, later, by supporters of Lancaster and York attacking each other. In the latter Warwick was, of course, frequently mentioned.¹⁷⁹ He was celebrated in heraldic and chivalric metaphors: 'ragged staff' and 'bear', 'lodestar of knighthood', 'flower of manhood', and 'shield of our defense', who 'did his diligence ... for the right of England'. Only in a text written after Barnet was it said that he 'loved division' and 'caused all this. Sorrow and care ... many a day'.¹⁸⁰ Some of these poems, English as well as Burgundian, were posted up, like the texts Comines found on the doors of his lodgings and his room; others apparently circulated, such as to the ones that Haynin copied into his memoirs without mentioning how he found them, perhaps because finding such bills was a common occurrence. Some verses, like the English ones written after Barnet or the informative 'Commentary on the Epitaph', may have had government support. It is likely that *originally* these texts were produced spontaneously, but they may have been very welcome to those in power once they had been composed.

The compositions made at the ducal court breathe the same spirit as the popular ones, but their greater 'literariness' partly hides their authors' motives. They probably pleased Duke Charles, but, again, there is no indication that he asked for them to be made. The verse by Jean Miélot, and those possibly by Chastelain and Philip of Croy are reminiscent in their cleverness of the products of the contemporary *pays d'escole de rhetorique*, the later 'chambers of rhetoric', where writing poetry was a social game, a convivial activity, in which people of quite different social status vied with each other in composing the best and neatest verse on a single theme or subject, often including a set refrain. The subject could be very up-to-date. In 1488, for example, only a day after the news that the King of France had subjected Brittany, the *chief* of the *puy* of Tournay, amidst the general festivities, bonfires, dancing and music making, set an appropriate *refrain principal* for his associates to try their skills on: *Dieu nous doint paix ou guerre qui le*

178 Robbins, *Historical*, no. 29.

179 *Ibid.*, nos. 84, 87-91, 93.

180 *Ibid.*, no. 94.

vaille. The winning poem survives.¹⁸¹ Miélot's Latin verses are of the same caliber but have no counterpart and no rivals; perhaps no one had the same facility in Latin, and in any case he made them into a perfect little 'cycle' himself. The satirical epitaphs, like the ballads, were written when the news was fresh in the mind, by men to whom it had become natural to express their thoughts in a polished way and to do so in friendly rivalry.

The ballad makers, Picardians and Flemings, were motivated by a straightforward dislike of the French and people from other regions; their feelings were unashamedly chauvinist and small-scale nationalist. The court poets' attitude was only a little more sophisticated: at heart they may have felt equally chauvinist, but on paper they had to view Warwick as a creator of discord between princes who were naturally at one. They had to explain his conduct by showing that he was 'unchivalric', unworthy to be a knight, and a sinner in the tradition of the great sinners of the bible and history. Though he was a nobleman and courtier like themselves, the poets had to overlook the heroic years, which Wavrin remembered, except to stress how far he had fallen. The English earl had become a 'foul smell' and had to be eliminated. In his crimes he dragged several worthier men with him; his end was tragic and a lesson to all.

Amazingly none of the authors very obviously drag general continental prejudices about the English into their judgment on Warwick, apart from implying that the English are always rather prone to kill their royalty.¹⁸² It would have been convenient for any of them to damn him further by saying that he was untrustworthy and proud¹⁸³ because the English always are,¹⁸⁴ that he followed his ambitions because he believed in prophecies,¹⁸⁵ or that he created an international crisis because the English are always starting wars but do not know how to end them.¹⁸⁶ They could even have claimed that he had a tail – an enraged Antwerp official could still vent his anger on a troublesome Englishman by calling him *anglais coué* in 1457.¹⁸⁷ This restraint seems to indicate that on the whole these standard ideas about the English were French rather than continental; the people of the Low Countries were too close to their neighbours overseas, too aware of the importance of English trade to their own well-being, and probably knew too many Englishmen personally to slip easily into such clichés. The exceptions seem to have been those members of the ducal entourage, represented in the sources

181 *Ritmes*, pp. 91-92. In 1477 they had written on the death of Charles the Bold on the refrain: *Bien commenchier et mieulx conclure*.

182 E.g. Lewis, 'Two pieces', b. 'The English kill their kings'.

183 E.g. Rickard, *Britain*, pp. 179-84.

184 E.g. *Débat*, general introduction, above.

185 E.g. *Richard III Books*, p. 188.

186 E.g. *Débat*.

187 Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, p. 277, and generally e.g. Enklaar, 'Engelsman'.

used here by Chastelain and perhaps Miélot, to whom even in 1470 France was still very important as the 'motherland', where the roots of their culture and their rulers lay. The fragile balance they maintained in their feelings about 'Burgundy' and France under normal circumstances were seriously upset by Warwick's violent eruption on the political scene.

The closeness of the Low Countries to England is also evident from the fact that so many and various sources of information were available to people, whether ballad-mongers, court poets, town clerks or memorialists: Warwick's 'apology' is unique and unusual among these, but there were many others: letters, probably in French and Latin, actual documents, such as the treaty between Louis and Edward of Lancaster, casualty lists and orally transmitted accounts of the gruesome details of Warwick's acts of piracy. Even under normal circumstances reports and rumours of what happened overseas were numerous and spread rapidly,¹⁸⁸ but Warwick's rise and fall were momentous and threatening enough to double or treble the stream of information. A generation later the 'Warwick years' were still remembered, as is testified by a spine-chilling story in the work of Reinier Snoy, a younger contemporary and admirer of Cornelius Aurelius. Early in the sixteenth century he, too, wrote a chronicle and he too described the quarrel of Edward and Warwick and Edward's exile. He ended the episode with the following local legend:¹⁸⁹

People say that when [King] Edward was staying here [in Holland, the Earl of] Warwick asserted with conviction – even took an oath on it – that he himself would come to The Hague, alive or dead. And so it happened, for at the very time he fought and died some farmers near The Hague saw armies fighting across the great arch of the sky and heard a sound like the roar of battle.

The existence of such a story and its survival again prove how mesmerized people were by Warwick's treason and his fall, and by the international crisis he created.

188 Compare Caspar Weinreich's Danzig chronicle, Visser-Fuchs, 'English events'.

189 Snoy, *De rebus*, p. 160.

Part I. Appendix A.

Warwick in Dutch/Flemish sources.

This appendix is concerned with sources in the Dutch/Flemish language. In all texts given below capitals and punctuation are mine; *uu*, *vv*, *u* and *v* have been modernised and double *ii* or *y* printed as *ij*. Letters obviously omitted have been added in square brackets. Other editorial details are given for each section separately. Words underlined in the ms. have been underlined here.

1. Jan Veldener's *Fasciculus temporum*, Utrecht 1480/1 (Pt I, ch. 1, sect. 5).

[f.231v] Int jaer ons heren Miiij^c ende lxx so is uut Enghelant verdreven die greeff van Werwijck ende is ghecomen bi den coninck van Vrancrijck. Item, hoe hij weder in Enghelant tot Dortmuynen ghecomen is ende heeft Coninck Eduwaert mit verraet weder verdreven, ende hoe Coninck Eduwaert gheweken is uut Enghelant ende quam in Hollant te Tessel etc. soecket in die cronijcke van Brabant CC ende xl blat ende ij^c ende xlj blat.

On f. 240v, in the Brabant chronicle the above text is partly repeated and the story continued:

Ende is geworden een rover op die Vlaemsche, Hollantsche, Zeelansche schepen, ende hier om so is weder vijantscap op gheresen tusschen den coninc van Vrancrijck ende Hertoech Kaerl van Borgoengen. Mer als Hertoech Kaerl heeft vernomen dat die greeff van Werwijck mit groter macht wt Vrancrijck woude reijssen in Enghelant om Eduwaert den coninc daer uut te verdriven soe heeft hij den heer vander Veer mit veel schepen op die zee [f. 241] ghehouden om dat te benemen. Mer Rusaert, Greve van Werwijck die is nochtant tot Dortmuiden in Engeland ghecomen ende heeft den coninc mit verraet verdreven. Eduwaert als hi sach dat hi verraden was so is hij gheweken uut Enghelant ende is ghecomen aen in Tessel. Die stede houwer van Hollant als hi dat verhoerde so heeft hi hem mit groter eeren ghehaelt inden Haech omtrent Sinte Dyonisius dach ende lach al inden Haech to Kermisse toe. Ende als Kermisse was ghecomen soe is die coninck van Enghelant tot Hertoch Kaerl ende Margeriet sijn suster ghetoghen om hulp te crighen om Enghelant weder om in te nemen, twelcke alsoe gheschiede, want Eduwaert is mit macht in die Vasten daer nae over ghetoghen in Enghelant ende heeft omtrent Paesschen alle sijn vijanden verslaghen ende hi is weder gheworden gheweldich coninck van Enghelant.

2. The *Kattendijke Kroniek* (Pt I, ch. 1, sect. 6).

[f. 533] Int iaer Ons Heeren M CCCC ende lx quam die grave van Werwijck omtrent Hamton ende toech neder veel heren die Coninc Heinric regieren hadden.

[f. 533v] Int iaer Ons Heren M CCCC ende lxi was weder een opstal in Engeland, te weten Coninc Heijnric ende die coninginne sijn wijf mit horen hulperen andie een zijde ende die hartoech van Iorck ende die grave van Werwijck andie ander sijde mit horen hulperen. Ende Coninc heijnric mit sijnen vrienden hadde die nederlage ende wrt verdreven wt Enghelant ende toech in Scotland. Ende die hartoch van Iorck wort tot London ontfangen voer coninck van Engeland. Ende in desen strijt bleven doot so men seide over xl M man.

Item tiaer daer te voren, int iaer van lx, was een opstal in Enghelant so datter gest[r]eden wort omtrent Sinte Albouts, daer Coninc Heinric ende die hartoge van Sommerset mit horen hulperen doe overhant behielden iegen den hartoghe van Iorck ende den grave van Warwick, daer veel volcx bleef an beiden zijden; mar daer wort onthoef die hartoge van Iorcks vader mit veel heer dat nu gaerlichen ghewroecken wort, als voerseid is.

[f. 543] Int iaer Ons Heeren M CCCC ende lxx quam die gr[a]ve van Warwijck mit groter menichte van ruterer iegen Coninc Eduwaert, die mede een grote menichte van volck hadde. So dat die Grave van Werwijck mit sijn volck most wijcken, ende reijsde wt Engeland in Vrancrijck ende is ghecomen bijden coninc van Vrancrijck, want to Caleijs hadde hij gaerne gheweest, mer men wouts daer niet ontfanghen. Aldus is hij gheworden een rover op die Vlaemsche, Hollantsche ende Zeeusche sceepen, want hij nam alle [f. 543v] die scepen die in hin wege op der zee quamen, daer veel scepen tot waren wt Hollant ende wt Zeeland mit goeden gheladen. Ende hierom so is wederom vijantscap op gheresen tusschen den coninc van Vrancrijck ende Hartoech Karel van Bourgoengen. Mer als Hartoech Karel heeft vernomen dat die graef van Werwijck mit groter macht wy Vrancrijck woude zeijlen in Engeland om Eduwaert den coninck daer wt te verdriven so heeft hij den heer vander Veer ammijrael op der zee van Hartoech Karels wegen [ghemaect]. Daer hij lange lach mit sijnen ruterer om te verwachten den grave van Werwijck die men seide dat in Engeland comen soude, als hij dede. Mer Rusaer, Graef van Warwijck, die is nochtans tot Dortmuiden in Enghelant ghecomen, ende heeft Coninc Eduwaert mit

verraet verdreven. Ende heeft Coninc Heijnric weder omme coninc ghemaect in selver iaer voerseit. Coninc Eduwaert, als hij sach dat hij verraden was so is hij gheweken wt Enghelant ende is ghecomen in Tessel. Die stadhouder van Hollant als hij dat verhoerde so heeft hij hem mit groter eeren onthaelt inden Haeye omtrent Sinte Dijonius dach, ende lach al inden Hage [f. 544] tot Haechkermis toe. Als Kermis was ghecomen so is die coninc van Engelant tot Hartoech Karel ende Margriet, zijn suster, ghetoghen om hulp te krijgen om in Engelant weder om in te comen of in te nemen. Twelc also gheschiede want Coninc Eduwaert is mit macht in die vasten daer nae in Engelant ghecomen, als gij na wel horen selt.

[f. 545] Int iaer Ons Heren M CCCC ende lxxi reijdsde Coninc Eduwaert mitten hertoech van Glouster, sijnen broeder, op den derden in Maert wwt Zeelant na Engelant ende quamen tot Gladsmeer ende streden op den Paesch dach al daer tijegen quam die grave van Werwijck mit sijnre hulpen, ende Coninc Eduwaert mit sijnen hulperen wan den strijt. Daer worden verslegen omtrent iiiii^m personen, ende die biscop van Iorck wort gevangen, die een broeder [f. 545v] was van den grave van Werwijck. Ende Coninc Heynric die tot London ghevangen lach wort wter vangenisse gedaen, ende naden strijt wort hij weder ghevangen ende op den Toren gheleijt tot London, daer nae dat hij onlange leefde. God die wil hem ghenadich wesen.

Int selve iaer quam die Coninc Heijnrix wijf was seer cort daer nae wt Vrancrijk in Enghelant mit horen zoen, prins van Waels. Mit hoer quamen die hartoech van Excester, die hartoech van Sommersset, die grave van Pembroeck, die grave van Denster, die grave van Oexenvoirt, mit veel volcx ende lande inden westcontrey in Engelant. Ende Coninc Eduwaert bezate hem daer teghens te comen so dat sij streden mit malcanderen op den iiiiden dach in Meye int voerseite iaer, ende Coninc Eduwaert wan den strijt.

Int selve iaer over mits [f. 546] twiedracht die die grave van Warwijck ghemaect heeft tusschen Lodewijck, den Coninc van Vrancrijk, ende Hartoech Karel so is Hartoech Karel ghetoghen mit groter macht van volck voer Amijens om dat in te winnen. ...

3. The Cronijcke van Vlaenderen (Pt I, ch. 1, sect. 7).

The text printed here is from Brussels, BR 13073-74 (V1¹), ff. 237 264-247 274, arbitrarily chosen as base text as all manuscripts¹ appear to be of equal value. Variants are given from one other manuscript of the same text: Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek 437 (V1²), ff. 336/341-339v/344v, as well as from the printed edition of Willem Vorsterman, Antwerp 1531 (A), f. 149v-152v. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 435 and Douai, Bibliothèque municipale 1110 have not been used; the variations between the manuscripts are too trivial to be given *in extenso*. Minor variations of spelling are not given; capitals have been modernised; *ii* and *y* are given as *ij*; *vv* as *w*. Words that are underlined in the manuscript have been underlined here.

[f. 237/264] Hier naer volcht de² overdaet vanden grave van Werwijc.³

[f. 237v/264v] In dit zelve jaer .M.CCCC.lxix. doe was groote moeyte in Inghelant, ende dat om eenen graven van Werwijc, gheheeten Ritsaerd Nevelinc,⁴ Heere van Salsbrij. Ende es te wetene dat dese Ritsaerd tgraefscip van Werwijc behuwede an zijn wijf. De welke grave zoo vele⁵ beroerten ghemaect hadde dat bij hem vele heeren ende princhen⁶ voortijds onthooft waren ende vele ghemeens volcx gheslegen⁷ zonder nommere.⁸ ¶Item, dese voorseijde Werwijc stac dood den hertoghe van Sommerset inde presencie vanden Coninc Heiric, die den zelve Werwijc gaf den staet vanden ridderscepe. Ende dese voorseide⁹ Werwijc was zoo wentellachtich dat hij bij zijnder onghetrauwicheit¹⁰ den coninc Heinric van Lancaestre of steldt¹¹ van zijnder coninlicker croone van Ingheland, ende hiltene ghevanghen inden Thor te Lonnen. Ende hij trac uppe Eduwaerd van Iorc ende maectene coninc van Ingheland, zeggende

1 See also the notes to pt I, ch. 1, sect. 7.

2 *de*, A: *een*

3 In A this heading is followed by a woodcut of 'Warwick killing the duke of Somerset in the presence of Henry VI'. This woodcut was taken from *Theuerdanck*, see above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 7.

4 *Nevelinc*, A: *Nyewelinc*.

5 A inserts *moeyten ende*.

6 A inserts *hier*

7 *ghesleghe*, V1²: *versleghe*.

8 *nommere*, V1²: *nombre*; A: *ghetal*.

9 *voorseijde*, A: *Grave van*.

10 *onghetrauwicheit*, V1²: *ontrauwighe: t*.

11 *steldt*, V1²: *stelde*.

dat de croone van rechter gheboorte hem toe behoorde. Aldus¹² regneirde de Coninc Eduwaerd .i.¹³ sticke¹⁴ tijds in Ingheland. ¶Item, dese Werwyc gaf zijne doctre in huwelicke te wive¹⁵ den loerd de Clarencen, des Conincx Eduwaerds broeder. ¶Werwyc¹⁶ die wiste wel dat de Coninc Eduwaerd vriend was vanden Hertoghe Kaerlen van Bourgoenge, ende de zelve¹⁷ Werwyc was contrarije den Hertoghe Kaerlen; nochtan hadde hij jeghen hem ghesproken mondelinghe bij Buenen in Pijcaerdijen. Maer hij was zoo vul valscheden dat hij beghe te peinsene hoe dat hij den Coninc Edywaerd of stellen mochte ende verdriven huter croone van Inghelandt. ¶Maer¹⁸ maken zijnder dochter man coninc,¹⁹ den loerd de Clarence. Ende hiertoe dede hij²⁰ zijn beste, bijden welken groote beroerte²¹ up rees ende sware bloetsturinghe.²² ¶Item, om deser zaken wille zoo worden²³ alle de hedele²⁴ van Ingheland vergadert, ende daer wort²⁵ een paerlement ghehouden te Westmunstre buten Lonnen, ende daer sprac de Coninc Eduwaerd.²⁶ Heere grave van Werwyc, ic hoore²⁷ dat ghij eenen nieuwen coninc maken wilt ende mij verlaten. Nochtan hebt ghij selve tot mi gheseid dat ic recht hoijr bin²⁸ ende dat de croone van rechts weghe mi toe behoord, het welke ic kenne, ende weet dat dat²⁹ warachtich es, ende³⁰ ne meene niet daer of te sceedene, maer wilt ghij ommer³¹ eenen nieuwen³² coninc maken zoo verbeijdt tote der tijd³³ dat ic dood bin. ¶Item de grave van Werwyc dede zoo vele datter [f. 238/265] datter vele volcx te strijde quam jeghen den Coninc Eduwaerd, ende Coninc Eduwaerd bleef altoes inde eere, maer Werwyc hilt hem zelve huter scote altoes ende ne quam zelve ten strijde niet.³⁴ ¶Item daer naer trac deze³⁵ Werwyc bijden Coninc Reijnier in³⁶ Vranckerijcke, ende zeijde hoe dat zijnder dochter zone,³⁷ Coninc Heinricx zone, met³⁸ rechten behoorde coninc van Ingheland te wesene ende versochte, om dat te vulbrengene, hulpe ende succoers anden voorsijde Coninc Reijnier.³⁹ ¶Maer de Coninc Reijnier die⁴⁰ zeijde hij was in⁴¹ zijn persoon te houde ende te verre ghepasseirt,⁴² dat hij hem daer mede niet moeijen⁴³ wilde. ¶Om twelke de vorseide Werwyc zoo vele moeijten in Ingheland maecte,⁴⁴ wentelende als nu an deene zijde ende dan an

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- 12 A inserts *so*.
 13 .i., VI²: *een*.
 14 *sticke*, A: *wijle*.
 15 A omits *te wive*.
 16 *Werwyc*, A: *Lodewijc* (!).
 17 *zelve*, A: *voors*.
 18 *Maer*, A: *omme te*.
 19 A adds *van Inghelandt*.
 20 A inserts *al*.
 21 *beroerte*, A: *twist*.
 22 A adds *in Inghelandt*.
 23 *zoo worden*, A: *waren*.
 24 *hedele*, A: *staten*.
 25 *wort*, A: *was*.
 26 A inserts *den*.
 27 *hoore*, A: *verstae*.
 28 A inserts *van den conincrijcke*.
 29 *dat dat*, A: *wel dat*.
 30 A inserts *ick*.
 31 A omits *ommer*.
 32 *nieuwen*, A: *anderen*.
 33 *tote der tijd*, A: *emmer alsoe langhe tot*
 34 *hilt hem zelve huter scote altoes ende ne quam zelve ten stryde niet*, A: *hilt hem altyt huter schote ende bleef bi synder subtylheynt altyt huijt den stryden*.
 35 *trac deze*, A: *sandt*.
 36 *in*, A: *van*.
 37 *zynder dochter zone*, A: *sijn dochters man*.
 38 A inserts *alle*.
 39 *om dat te vulbrengene, hulpe ende succoers anden voorsijde Coninc Reijnier*, A: *aen den Coninc Reijnier van Vranckerijcke assistencie om daer oe te commene*.
 40 A inserts *verantwoorde ende*.
 41 *was in*, A: *aengaende*.
 42 A inserts *soe*.
 43 VI² and A insert *en*.
 44 *maecte*, A: *dede*.

een ander zijde,⁴⁵ alzoo dat hij vermaerd wort voor een quaed veradre. Ende hij wort ghebannen huter croone van Ingheland up zijn lijf.⁴⁶ Ende alle zijn goed⁴⁷ was⁴⁸ gheleijd sConincx Eduwaerds tafle.

¶Item, de vorseide Werwijc trac ter zee met machtighen scepen,⁴⁹ ende hij voerde zijn wijf mede ende vele ander vrouwen, ende hij quam voor Caleijs, wanende daer ontfanghen zijn,⁵⁰ maer die van Caleijs zonden om raed anden Hertoghe Karel van Bourgoenge. ¶De welke gaf andwoorde dat die van Caleijs niemant in laten⁵¹ zouden dan die goed ende getrauwe ware den Coninc Eduwaerd van Ingheland. Aldus was Werwijcke ontzeid de stede van Caleijs, ende dit was inde Vastene int vorseide jaer.⁵²

¶Item, dese grave van Werwijc, zeere gram ende ontstelt zijnde verzaemde bij hem vele quaeds gheselscaps van zee roovers⁵³ huut Ingheland, zoo verre⁵⁴ dat⁵⁵ in April, omtrent den Paeschavend int jaer .xiiij^e.lxx. de vorseide Werwijc quam met crachte⁵⁶ upde zee,⁵⁷ ende hij bevacht de vlote⁵⁸ van Rutseele, als Vlaminghen, Hollanders ende Zeelanders. Ende hij nam hem leden wel .xl. scepen met grooter vechtinghe ende met swarer bloedsturinghe an beeden zijden. ¶Item, de Hertoghe Karel zand boden anden grave van Werwijc, dat hij de scepen van zinen lande zoude ontslaen ende tgoed restoreren met vrientscepen.⁵⁹ ¶Maer de vorseide grave⁶⁰ van Werwijc ne wasser in gheender maniere⁶¹ toe gheneghen, maer sprac,⁶² hij zoude noch nemen al dat hij ghecreijghen mochte.⁶³ Als waer hij de vorseide⁶⁴ Hertoghe Kaerle groote ghereessecepe maecte om den vorseide Werwijc [f. 238v/265v] te verwinnene.

¶Item,⁶⁵ cort⁶⁶ daer naer ontrent de xxvij^e dach in April int jaer .lxx.⁶⁷ zoo quam de vorseide Werwijc ter zee voor Ampton in Ingheland met al zijne scepen, ende de Coninc Eduwaerd wort dies gheware ende hij⁶⁸ zand an Werwijc wat hij begheerde ende wat hij daer dede. Ende Werwijc gaf andwoorde dat hij daer commen was om te besien wat vrienden dat hij daer vinden zoude. Doe was hem ghezeijd dat hij strijken⁶⁹ zoude voor zijnen gherechten heere ende coninc, maer hij ne wilde niet obegieren, maer bleef dien nacht rijdende up zine ankeren. ¶Des ander daechs quam met gooter voorsienichede mijn loerd⁷⁰ Scales ende hij bevacht den zelve Werwijc met grooter foortse, vele van Werwijcx volke verslaende. Ende hadde dat groote scip gheenaemt de Triniteijt moghen an commen,⁷¹ Werwijc die zouder claerlicken⁷² ghebleven hebben, maer hij ontscapeirde⁷³ in een clien bootkin te Cortoij waerd. ¶Ende mijn loerd de Scaeles creech weder vanden zelve Werwijc vele scepen van

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- 45 een ander zijde, A: dandere.
 46 A omits up zijn lijf.
 47 A inserts dat hij hadde.
 48 A inserts gheconfijsquiert ende.
 49 met machtighen scepen, A: ende stelde hem uppe met vele schepen.
 50 zijn, V1²: te zijne.
 51 V1² and A insert en.
 52 int vorseide jaer, A: int iaer van M CCCCC.ende. lxix.
 53 A inserts ende allerhande quade bouwen.
 54 A omits verre.
 55 A inserts hi quam.
 56 crachte, V1²: machte; den Paeschavend int jaer .xiiijc.lxx. de vorseide Werwijc quam met crachte, A: paesschen
 57 A inserts met vele schepen.
 58 A inserts commende.
 59 In A this last sentence reads Ende men sprac om bestant te makene met hem.
 60 de vorseide grave, A: heere van.
 61 in gheender maniere, A: niet.
 62 sprac, A: seijde dat.
 63 mochte, V12: conste.
 64 A omits vorseide.
 65 A skips five paragraphs, but returns to them later.
 66 cort, V1², A: corts.
 67 Int jaer.lxx., A .anno. M iij^e ende lxx.
 68 A omits hj.
 69 strijken, A: gaen.
 70 V1² inserts van; A: descales.
 71 moghen an commen, A: aenghecommen.
 72 claerlicken, A: sonder twijfele.
 73 ontscapeirde, A: ontquam.

Vlaminghen, Hollanders ende Zeelanders,⁷⁴ de welke scepen de vorseide Coninc Eduaert vriendelic ontslouch end hij liet elc trecken daert hem gheliefde.⁷⁵

[Follows a paragraph about Edward receiving the Golden Fleece at Westmister, on St Simon's and St Jude's day (28 Oct.) 1469, from the hand of the lord of Créquy.]

¶Item, een Oosterlinc, gheheeten⁷⁶ Hans Voetkin, die vacht met zijnen scepen jeghen Werwijcx volc in desen zelven tijd, ende hij wan Werwijcx af een deel van zijnen scepen ende verdranc Werwijcx⁷⁷ volc.

[Follows a paragraph containing an example of Charles the Bold's justice of 9 May 1470.]

¶Bet voord de Hertoghe Karel zine scepen mannende met hedele mannen ende andre, liggende ter Veere ende tArnemude,⁷⁸ doe laghen vele Amstelredammers gheladen inde Baije ende ne dursten niet thusewaerd commen om de vreesse vanden grave⁷⁹ van Werwijcx, maer up hopen dat Hertoghe Karels scepen ter zee wesen zouden, zoo zeijlden zij⁸⁰ huter Baije. Werwijcx volc wort dit gheware ende zij quamen met .xviij. scepen van oorloghen up den [f. 239/266] Hollanders ende zij⁸¹ namen hem .xiiij. scepen of. Ende alle die hem ter weerre stelden die wierpen zij over boort ende zij sloughen vele lieden dood ende creple,⁸² nemende alle de scepen metten goede. Ende stelden dander Hollanders an land tusschen Caleijs ende Buene. Ende dit was omtrent⁸³ den .xxix^{en}. dach in Meije anno .lxx.

¶Ende binnen twee of drie daghen daer naer namen de vorseide Werwijcx lieden upde zee noch .vij. of .viij. scepen ende zij verdroncken al tvolc.⁸⁴

¶Item, een man vander Veerre quam huter Somme thusewaerd zeijlende ende hij wort drie scepen van oorloghen gheware die neerstelicken naer hem quamen, ende de Zeelander ontvloot al dat hij mochte. Ten hende de oorloghers⁸⁵ toochden teeken van pajse als niet te mesdoene, doe bleef de Zeelander houdende ende hij sprac jeghen hemleden. Zij vraechden wanen tscip was; hij zijede huut Zeeland. Zij vraechden waer zijn prinche was; hij zijede hij waende in Holland of in Zeeland.⁸⁶ Zij zeijden: wij zullen hu niet mesdoen, maer wij bevelen hu uwen prinche te zegghene dat hij zeere ghegroet es van den grave van Werwijcx, verwonderende waer hij zoo langhe beijden⁸⁷ mach, ende zecht hem als hij komt, men zallene blijdelic⁸⁸ ontfanghen also men zulke vrienden tontfanghen pleicht. Ende daer mede lieten zij den scipper⁸⁹ zeijllen, dies beloofde hij dese bodscepe te doene. ¶Ende de loerd de Clarence, Coninc⁹⁰ Eduwaerds broeder van Inghelant, die es een van Werwijcx capiteinen, want hij heift ghetraut Werwijcx doctre ende hij lach te Diepen. ¶Ende Fauconberch was ooc een van zinen capiteinen, ende die lach te Chierenburch, ende Werwijcx tOnfleur. Ende dese vorseide bij ghebuerten hute⁹¹ stelen al dat Hertoghe Karel toe behoorde.⁹²

74 A omits *ende Zeelanders*.

75 *de welke scepen de vorseide Coninc Eduaert vriendelic ontslouch end hij liet elc trecken daert hem gheliefde*, A: *die die selve Weerwijcxghenomen hadde ende die Coninc Edewaert ontslouch die vorseijde scepen vriendelic ende lietse varen elc daert hem lieden gheliefde*.

76 *gheheeten*, A: *ghenaemt*.

77 *Werwijcx*, A: *vele van sijnen*.

78 *tArnemude*, A: *Termude*.

79 A omits *vanden grave*.

80 *zij*, A: *die vorseijde Hollanders*.

81 *zij*, A: *die Hollanders* [sic].

82 *creple*, A: *quetseden*.

83 A omits *omtrent*.

84 A adds *datter in was*.

85 *oorloghers*, A: *dese scepen van orloghe*.

86 *zij vraechden wanen tscip was; hij zijede huut Zeeland. Zij vraechden waer zijn prinche was; hij zijede hij waende in Holland of in Zeeland*, A: *segghende dat hi was huut Zeelant*.

87 *beyden*, A: *blijven*.

88 *blydelic*, A: *vriendelic*.

89 A inserts *wech*.

90 *Coninc*, V12: *des conincx*.

91 V12 inserts *rooven ende*.

92 A om ts this paragraph.

[Follow two paragraphs with examples of Charles the Bold's justice, at Middelburg on 4 June 1470.]⁹³

[f. 239v/266v] ¶Item, upden .vij^{m94}. in Wedemaent [June] doe zejldden hertoghe Karels scepen ten⁹⁵ zee waerd in, vromelic voorzien van allen zaken; daer dupper amirael of was mijn heere Heinric van Borssele, Heere vander Veere. Ende tghetal vanden groote scepen was omtrent .xxiiij. zonder de andre cleene scepen.⁹⁶

¶Item de grave van Werwijc was doe te Ruwaen in Normandijen, ende hij zand zine ambassade anden coninc van Vranckerijke om bijstand ende succoers contrarije den Coninc Eduwaerd van Ingheland. ¶Maer de conincstable van Vranckerijke gheseijt⁹⁷ mijn heere van Saint Pol, die verstond claerlicken de valshede van Werwijcke, want Werwijc dede zegghen dat hij Coninc Heinricx zone coninc maken zoude van Ingheland. Hier in waren al⁹⁸ de Vransche heeren contrarije ende ontrident⁹⁹ den coninc van Vranckerijke, ende toochden ende zeijden hoe¹⁰⁰ dat de voorseide grave van Werwijc oijt contrarije gheweist hadde der croone van Vranckerijke, ende vul van quaden opinien, den eenen coninc makende, den andren verlatende etc. ¶Ende voord zo zeijde de conincstable van Vranckerijke hoe¹⁰¹ dat zijn scoon neve, hertoghe van Bourgoenge, vooren hadde den vorseide Werwijc te ghecrijghene wat hem dat costen zoude. Ende om alle moeijte te scuvene liet hem de coninc van Vranckerijke¹⁰² beraden ende hij¹⁰³ dede verbieden dat niemant Werwijcx gheroofde goed coopen¹⁰⁴ zoude, noch ooc herberghen up eene¹⁰⁵ groote boeten. Om¹⁰⁶ twelke de¹⁰⁷ grave van Werwijc was ghesien weenende rijden huter stede van Ruwaen.¹⁰⁸

[Follow two chapters on Charles the Bold: an *aide* asked by him on 16 June 1470, how he came from Zeeland to Bruges via Antwerp at noon on 22 June, and his arrest of French merchants in retaliation for the arrest of Flemish ones in France.]

[f. 240/267] ¶Item Hertoghe Karels¹⁰⁹ scepen aldus ter zee zijnde, also vooren gheseijd es, soo ghevielt datzij zejldden¹¹⁰ anden cost¹¹¹ van Normandijen, ende zij¹¹² warden gheware dat de¹¹³ grave van Werwijc ter zee quam met alle zine scepen om te zeijllene in noord Ingheland,¹¹⁴ daer hij¹¹⁵ vele vrienden hadde. ¶Maer de heere vander Veerre, metten andren capiteijnen, die¹¹⁶ pijnden dat te beletten ende zij jaechden¹¹⁷ Werwijc ende al zijn volc¹¹⁸ an land in Normandijen, ende dInghelschen ruumden haer selfs

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- 93 In A the next paragraph is preceded by a chapter heading: *Hoe dije hertoghe Kaerle van Bourgoengien sercours ded den coninc Edewaerd van Inghelant, wel met .xxiiij. groote schepen besondere die cleene schepen omme jegerhn den grave van Werwijck te vechtene*, and a woodcut; see above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 7, n. 234, and fig. .
- 94 vij^{en} A: .vij.sten.
- 95 ten, VI²: ter, A:huijte ter.
- 96 A adds *die daer ooc waren*.
- 97 gheseijt, A: te wetene.
- 98 A omits *al*.
- 99 ontrident, A: r'eden [sic].
- 100 A omits *hoe*.
- 101 A omits *hoe*.
- 102 A omits *van Vranckerijcke*.
- 103 A omits *hij*.
- 104 VI² inserts *ende* but deletes the last *de*; A inserts *en*.
- 105 A omits *eene*.
- 106 A omits *Om*.
- 107 A inserts *wreede*.
- 108 A adds *up dijen selven tydt*.
- 109 A inserts *van Bourgoengien*.
- 110 *zejldden*, A: *waren*.
- 111 A inserts *ende lande*.
- 112 A omits *zij*.
- 113 A inserts *wrede*.
- 114 *noord Ingheland*, A: *Noorddommerlandt*.
- 115 A inserts *seer*.
- 116 A omits *die*.
- 117 A inserts *den Grave van*.
- 118 A inserts *weder*

scepen ende staken¹¹⁹ tvier¹²⁰ in ¶Ende Hertoghe Karels¹²¹ volc volchden¹²² scaerpelic¹²³ achter ende ghinghen te lande den Inghelschen bevechten ende daer bleef¹²⁴ volc verslegghen an beeden zijden, maer meest van¹²⁵ Werwijcx lieden. Ende dit was¹²⁶ upden dach van Onzer Vrouwen Visitacie,¹²⁷ den tweesten dach in Hoijmaend [2 August] anno lxx.

[Follows a paragraph on the doings of Duke Charles at St Omer¹²⁸ and a procession in Bruges to pray for peace.]

¶Item corts daer¹²⁹ desen tijd zo rees een groot stoorem inde zee, alzo dat de heere vander Veere, amirael voorseijd, hem pijnde huter zee te ruimene met zine scepen om svreezelicx wind wille.¹³⁰ ¶Ende de *grave van Werwijc* met zijnder grooter cloucheit, hij aventuerde de zee te passerene met al zinen scepen, ende met gheluckeghen winde hij zejilde¹³¹ in Ingheland. Ende hij ende de zinen ghinghen daer an land, daer hij hem staerc maecte om te vechtene jeghen¹³² hem allen die hem leed [ghedaen]¹³³ hadden, ende rechte voord¹³⁴ groot hoop van volke quam hem te baten.

¶Als de Coninc Eduwaerd vernam dat Werwijc int land commen was, doe zoo ghinc hij hem ghereed maken om Werwijcke te bevechtene. ¶Doe was daer een verradre gheheeten *de heere van Montaghu*,¹³⁵ die zejide: 'Heer coninc, blijf in dit casteel, wij zullen Werwijc varinc¹³⁶ ghecreghen hebben, ende in uwen handen leveren'. ¶Maer hadde de coninc Eduwaert in dat slot ghetrocken,¹³⁷ de verraders die zouden hem daer ghevanghen hebben of ghedood.

¶Niet min de verraders dat niet vul[f. 240v/267v]brengghen connende¹³⁸ trocken rechte voord ghwapenderhand an Werwijcx zijde, contrarije den coninc Eduwaerde.

¶De Coninc Eduwaerd dit merckende wort¹³⁹ zeere bevreest, want¹⁴⁰ al tvolc dat vouchde hem onder¹⁴¹ Werwijcke, dies vand hij hem alleene. Ende hij vloot heimelicke met eenighe van zinen hedelen¹⁴² tAmpton inde havene, daer doe drie¹⁴³ coopvaerders tallen ghelucke laghen. Ende hij zejide over dach ende over nacht toter tijd¹⁴⁴ dat hij quam in Holland in Den Brijel.¹⁴⁵ Ende van danen trac hij¹⁴⁶ in Den Haghe, daer hij een langhe pooze hem zelve rustede¹⁴⁷ midsgaders hem allen die met hem ghevlucht waren huut Inghelandt.

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- 119 A inserts *selve*.
 120 A inserts *daer*.
 121 A inserts *van Bourgoengien*.
 122 A inserts *so*.
 123 A inserts *aen van*.
 124 A inserts *veil*.
 125 *van*, A: *des Graven van*.
 126 *was*, A: *ghebuerde*.
 127 *Onzer Vrouwen Visitacie*, A: *visitacie van Marie*.
 128 Charles arrived in St Omer on 5 July and left on 25 July, Vander Linden, *Itinéraires*, p. 25.
 129 *daer*, V1²: *naer*.
 130 *svreezelicx wind wille*, A: *den swaren wint diere doe up rees*.
 131 A inserts *over*.
 132 A omits *jeghen*.
 133 Omitted in V1 and V1², added from A.
 134 *rechte voord*, A: *terstont*.
 135 *gheheeten de heere van Montaghu*, A: *een groot heere*.
 136 *varinc*, A: *wel gheringhe*.
 137 *ghetrocken*, A: *ghebleven*.
 138 *dat niet vulbrengghen connende*, A: *siende dat si dat niet vulbringhen en consten*.
 139 *wort*, A: *was*.
 140 A inserts *meest*.
 141 *onder*, A: *met*.
 142 *van zinen hedelen*, A: *leenen volcke*.
 143 *drie*, A: *eeneghe*.
 144 *toter tyd*, A: *tot dat*.
 145 *in Holland in Den Brijel*, A: *ten Brijele in Zeelant*.
 146 A inserts *in Holland*.
 147 A omits the rest of this sentence.

[The next two and a half columns on ff. 240v-267v-241/268, tell the detailed story of some treacherous servants of Edward who flee via Bruges to Calais and Warwick. This is not immediately relevant to Warwick himself and I have summarised the story elsewhere.¹⁴⁸]

[f. 241/268]¶Als de grave van Werwijc aldus den Coninc Eduwaerd verdreven hadde al tmeeste¹⁴⁹ volc van Ingheland was metten grave van Werwijc toe, ende twas al 'Weerwijc' dat men riep, al Ingheland duere; ende te Caleijs dies¹⁵⁰ ghelijke. ¶Ende tvolc dat daer¹⁵¹ te vooren de roose ghedreghen hadde, doe trocken de roose van haren journeijen ende zij stelden den stoc¹⁵² an, dat was Werwijcx devijse.¹⁵³ Ende aldies ghelijcx dede men te Caleijs, ende dat¹⁵⁴ volc wentelde an Werwijcx zijde.

¶Doe ghinc de grave van Werwijc inden Thor te Lonnen, ende hij haelde dar hute den Coninc Heinric van Lancaestre, die daer omtrent vive jaren hadde ghevanghen gheleghen. Ende hij dedene cleeden in coninlicken abijte, ende hij steldene chierlicken te peerde, ende Werwijc ghijnc bij hem te voet, roupende: 'Dit es hu gherechte coninc, ende gheen andre!'. ¶Niet jegehenstaende dat de vorseijde Werwijc midsgaders der stede van Lonnen den vorseijde Coninc Heinric verdreven, uut jaecht ende of ghestelt hadden int jaer .M.CCCC.ende.lx. ende Eduwaerd, den Hertoghe van Jorck, coninc ghestelt in Heinricx stede. ¶Ende¹⁵⁵ nu int jaer .M.CCCC.ende.lxx. inde maend van Octobre, es weder deze veranderinghe gheschiet, zoo dat de Coninc Eduwaerd nauwelic¹⁵⁶ .x. jaer gheregheirt ne hadde.

Jan Allertsz. (Pt I, ch. 1, sect. 8).

[p. 44; f. 265v] Van Eduwaert, coninc van Ingelant, daer mijnen genadigen heere van Bourgoengen die suster off hadde tot eenen wijve.

Item. Het is gebuert in Ingelant int jaer M III^C ende tsestich dat een grave in Ingelant, gehieten die grave van Wervic, upstont mit groter menichte van volke, die hij vergaderde tot Calis bij toedoen van hartooch Philippus van Bourgoengen, ende quam over van Calis tot Santwijc. Ende veel van den Ingelsen vielen hem bij ende creech zooveel volcx bijeen, dat hij coninc Heinric strijt leverde; ende somtijts wan hij die strijt ende somtijts verloes hij weder, ende vochten veel zwaerrer strien jegens malcander also dat int eynde Warvic te boven ghinc. Ende dede veel groeter heeren onthoofden ende vinc coninc Heinric ende leyden up groete sloten ende na upten Tuer voer Lonnen [p. 45] ende dede wel bewaeren. Ende zij makeden Eduwaert coninc, een hertoegenzoon van Joric, ende die verjagede den hartoghe van Exester, den hartooch van Sommerset ende meer ander heren, die in mijns heeren lande quamen van Bourgoengen ende worden van den heere van Bourgoengen onthouden. Ende dese coninc Eduwaert, gecroent wesende, regierde van tjaer tsestich tot int jaer LXX. Het gebuerde dat int jaer LXX dese grave van Warvic uut Ingelant verdreven wart om sonderlinge saken wille, want tgemeen volc van Ingelant beminden hem. Ende het gebuerde int jaer LXIX, datter een grote menichte van volke upstont int Noortcontrey van Ingelant ende voerden in hoir bannieren eenen ploech ende groete hoege schuenen, ende streden jegens coninc Eduwaert omdat hij sijn munte gelicht hadde ende omdat hij sijn ge[p. 46]meente scattede. Ende als Warvic aldus verdreven was, zo ruymde hij Ingelant ende quam bij den coninc van Vranckerijc ende oick bij coninc Heinricx zoon ende bij coninc Heinricx wijf, dochter van den coninc van Cecilie, daer sconinx moeder van Vranckerijc oick een dochter off is. Ende creech geleide van den coninc van Vranckerijc, want hij hadde gaerne in Calis geweest maer het wart hem toegesloten ende gehouden tot mijns heeren behoef van Bourgoengen, Karel, ende dieselve Karel, hartoghe van Bougoengen, hadde teenen wijve die suster [f. 266] van den coninc Eduwaert. Ende dede daerom mijn heere van der Vere mit meer heren, riddersen, ende knechten mit hulken, galeyen ende veel scepen vol gewapens volcx vaeren doer die hoofden voer die Cheyen voer Honichfloor ende die cust lanx. Ende Warvic lach mit sijnen scepe voer Cheynhoofde. Ende mijn heere ven der Vere mit sijnen volke barnden een deel van Warvic scepen ende Warvic weeck te Vranckerijcwaert in bij den coninc van Vranckerijc, ende was daer bij hem ende in sijnen lande van Vranckerijc eenen zomer lang. Ende mijn heer van der Veere lach alle den zomer int jaer [M III^C]LXX alsoe upt water mit sijnen scepen [p. 47] om Warvic te keeren, dat hij in Ingelant

148 Visser-Fuchs, 'Lion', pp. 96-97.

149 *tmeeste*, A: *tmeeste deel*.

150 *dies*, A: *mede der*.

151 A omits *daer*.

152 A inserts *daer*.

153 *devijse*, A: *cleedijnghe*.

154 *dat*, A: *al*.

155 A omits *Ende*.

156 *nauwelic*, A: *nauwe*.

niet comen en soude, off hem te wachten ende te vangen. Maer die grave van Warvic makedet ymmer also mitten coninc van Vranckerijc ende mitten jonge coninc Heinrix zoon, die acht jaer mit sijn moeder verdreven hadde geweest van Warvic, want Warvic coninc Heinric, vader van den voirseiden jonge voertijts gevangen hadde, also voirscreven staet.

Ende ymmers makede hijt also mitten coninc van Vranckerijc, dat hij scepinge ende volc creech van den coninc ven Vranckerijc, daermede dat hij wederovervoer in Ingelant. Men seide dat die jonge Heinricx zoon ende sijn moeder mede overvoeren. Ende als dese grave van Warvic aldus over quam in Ingelant zo riep dat gemeen volc al 'Warvic'. Ende hij versamende een grote menichte van volke ende quam tot coninc Eduwaerts toe. Coninc Eduwaert, dit vernemende, vergaerde oick veel volcx ende quam mit sijnen volke na Warvic toe. Ende onder all hadde den coninc bij hem een brueder van desen Warvic ende was bij den coninc een groot capitein ende hadde veel volcx onder hem. Ende als den coninc meynde jegens Waervic toe te gaen om hem te bevechten, zoe streec Warvix brueder van den coninc over tot Warvic sijnen brueder mit alle sijnen volke, ende ander heeren ghingen oick over tot Warvic mit hoeren volke alsoe dat coninc Eduwaert int laetste ommesaech ende vant hemselves alleen mit een cleyn menichte van volke. Ende alle paden waren beset om hem te vangen off doot te slaen, alsoe dat den coninc, overmits tlijf te behouden, vloet ende reet eenen wech die men niet gewone en was te rijden mitten luerd Scaels ende andere die hij bij hem [f. 266v] hadde; ende en mochte in Lonnen niet comen, maer hij reet tot Lynnen ende daer vant hij eenen hulc van Bergen upten Zoem ende ander scepen die daer lagen, ende slogen hoer paerden voer thoeft ende ghingen tscepe. Ende quamen geseilt [p. 48] voer tMaerdsdiep ende deden hoeren upslach in Tesselt in Holland, ende quamen tot Egmonde, van Egmonde tot haerlem, tot Noortwijck, daer sliep hij een nacht; tot Leyden, ende sdaechs na sinte Victorsdach int jaer [M III^C] LXX quam den coninc van Ingelant mit sinen volke also in den hage. Ende mijn genadige heere van Bourgoengen was up die tijt tot Hesdijn, die men up die tijt heastige boden van deser tidingen sende. Ende die van Calis staken vlus uut die wapen van Warvic. Ende die coninc was in den Hage tot sdaechs voer sinte Thomaesdach toe ende toech doe mit mijn heere van de Gruythuse, stedehouder van Hollant, toe Brugge ende omtrent Hesdijn bij mijnene genadigen heere, ende was daer ende daeromtrent in Zeellant, in Middelburch, een wijl tijts. Ende vergaderde sijn volc in Middelburch ende sijn scepen in de Wieleinge ende int Zwin tot een groot getal, ende voer over na die Noortcontrey, daer sijn vrienden waeren mit veel paerden die hij doen scepen ende omtrent mit III^M man, alsoe men seide. Ende ghinc tseile upten sonnendach als men in der vasten sang *Reminiscere*, dat was upten Xen dach van Maerte, int jaer [M III^C] LXXI, ende quam in Ingelant an de noortcust an ende vergaderde doen also veel volcx dat hij upten Paesdach int jaer LXXI voirs. smargens tot VII uren X off XII mijlen van Lonnen een grote strijt vacht jegens Warvic. Ende daer wart Warvic verslegen mit een groet heer, dat sijn broeder was, ende was gehieten Montegu, ende zij warden vlus tot Lonnen doot gebrocht ende worden alsoe doot geleit in Sinte Pouwels kerc van hoir middel upwaerts al bloet, dat se een yegelyc sien mochte. Ende daer bleef veel volcx doot in den strijt.

Part I. Appendix B.

The Flemish/Dutch translation of the two epitaphs on Warwick in the *Cronijcke van Vlaenderen*.

As in Appendix A the text printed here is from Brussels, BR 13073-74 (V1¹), ff. 247v/274v-248v/275v, arbitrarily chosen as base text as all manuscripts appear to be of equal value. Variants are given from two other manuscripts of the same text: Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek 437 (V1²), ff. 345-346 and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 435 (V1), ff. 278-280, as well as the printed edition of Willem Vorsterman, Antwerp 1531 (A), f. clxviijr-v. Douai, BM 1110 has again not been used. Minor variations of spelling are not given; capitals have been modernised; *ii* and *y* are given as *ij*; *vv* as *w*. Words that are underlined in the manuscript have been underlined here. In all manuscripts consulted and in the printed version the text is written continuously as prose; it has here been divided into lines more or less corresponding to the French verse, taking into account as far as possible the punctuation of the manuscript. It is useful to compare the translations to the French texts, as the translator frequently had major problems understanding the original.

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 13073-74 (V1¹), ff. 247v/274v-248v/275v.¹⁵⁷

Hier¹⁵⁸ volghen twee Epijtafijen te cleender werdicheid vanden grave van Werwijc staende boven⁵⁹ zinen grave.¹⁶⁰

Ic¹⁶¹ was Ritchaerd vander Nieuwer stede, grave¹⁶² van Warewijk,
Pallaysen, buerghen ende steden maecten met mij groote besicheid.
Het land¹⁶³ van Ingheland obegierde¹⁶⁴ mij te mijnen ghenoughe,¹⁶⁵
Ende int land van Vranckerijke maectic mi broeder vanden coninc.
Ic was zijn broeder in wapenen ende hij wilde de mine wezen,
Belovende¹⁶⁶ lijf ende ziele vanden¹⁶⁷ hertoghe Karel of te stellene,
Hem ofnemende¹⁶⁸ zijne eerlichede, macht ende zine¹⁶⁹ vermaerthede,
Maer de materije van der nijdicheid ne heift niet langhe gheduert.¹⁷⁰
In mijn eijghin land zoo scenic keyserlic wesende,
Twee coninghen waren ghestelt bij mijnder cracht¹⁷¹ ende hoochede:
Mijn heere de .coninc. Heinric, die mij rudder maecte,
.xxx. jaer¹⁷² obegierdickene,¹⁷³ daer naer nam icken ghevanghen;
Ofghestelt van zinen conincken¹⁷⁴ abijte, ghebonden ende metten blooten hoofde
Was¹⁷⁵ ghevoerd te peerde¹⁷⁶ te Lonnen in zine beroerlichede.
Ic¹⁷⁷ maecte .coninc. miinen rechtsweere Eduwaerd de Vierde,

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- 157 This is the translation of the 'second' French epitaph.
158 *hier*: V1², V1³ and A. *hier naer*.
159 *boven*, V1³: *buten* corrected to *boven*.
160 *boven zinen grave*, A: *buten synder gracie*; V1³: *buten zijner gratien* corrected between the lines to *boven zijner grave*.
161 Preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.
162 *stede, grave*, V1³, A: *stede ende grave*.
163 *het land*, A: *inlant*
164 *obegierde*, A *ende het obegierde*.
165 A: *ghenoughte*.
166 *belovende*, A: *om met mi*.
167 *vanden*, A: *om den*.
168 *ofnemende*, A: *nemene*.
169 *zine*, A: *om*.
170 *gheduert*, A: adds *in mijn cracht*.
171 *cracht*, A: *macht*.
172 'Thirty' years presumably means 'many' years and need not be taken literally.
173 V1³ inserts *ende*.
174 *conincken*, V1³: *conuncx*.
175 *was*, A: *om*.
176 *te peerde*, A: *om*.
177 *Ic*, A: *ende ic*. *Ic* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1.

Mer vanden avende tote den nuchtende ic leijde hem crijmen an.¹⁷⁸
 Ghejaecht bij mijnder moghenteijt in Holland ende daer gheavent,
 Daer hij succoers vand met¹⁷⁹ jonsten ende met grooten draghene
 Van zinen broeder ende vriend¹⁸⁰ den grooten hertoghe¹⁸¹ van Bourgonge
 Die mijn viand is;¹⁸² dies veraerghende alle mijn dinghen.
 Twee¹⁸³ dochtren huwedic in contrarije partie,
 Deen anden broeder ghehocht ende dander an Heinrix zone.
 Ic hebbe altijds Caleys ghehad in volghinghe ende in conqueste
 Daer ne was noch scoone noch¹⁸⁴ leelic zej vreesden alle mijn questije.
 Vanden Inghelschen coninlicken bloede hebbicker vele tleven ghenomen.
 Meer¹⁸⁵ dan .lxiiij. hebbicker ghedaen dooden bij nijdicheden.
 Ic hebbe meer quaeds ghedaen in mijn land dan noit gheen ander dede,
 Ende ic waende dat met oorloghe gheen man mijn mochte te meuten bringhen.
 Daer¹⁸⁶ naer had ic weder ghestelt den .coninc. Heinric in zijn wesen
 Gheabandonneirt met vrienden metten hertoghe van .Excestre.
 Gheresen in overmoede ende in gouvernemente,
 Ende ghlijc alst ooghe¹⁸⁷ gheringhe sluit, alzo hebbic mijn hende ghenomen.
 Al¹⁸⁸ vliende hebbic de dood ontfanghen ende zoo dede ooc mijn broeder.
 Ende waren ghetoocht ende ghestelt tsente Pauwels inde kercke.
 Eduwaerd,¹⁸⁹ mijn verwindre, bij wien dat [ic]¹⁹⁰ hier bin
 Bid onzen Scepper dat hij mij ghenade doe;
 Ende ghij alle hoveerdeghe speghelt hu in mijn aensichte
 Ende ne stelt mij gheen van den besten wantals van dien ic weder roupt.¹⁹¹

Dander Epitafije¹⁹²

Ic¹⁹³ Ritsaerd vander Nieuwerstede was grave van Werwijc
 Ende van eene¹⁹⁴ andre contreije ghenaemt Salsbrij
 Ic was camerlinc vanden lande¹⁹⁵ van Ingheland,
 Capittein van Caleys ende van menighen andren landen
 Der voorseide stede conquesteirdic twijfde deel¹⁹⁶ an mij.
 Jeghen¹⁹⁷ recht verjaechdic die goede coninc Eduwaerd
 Om hem spijt te doene bij mijnder verwaenthede.¹⁹⁸
 Ic¹⁹⁹ maecte ghescil tusschen den .coninc. van Frankerijke

178 *crijmen an*, A: adds *ende hebbene*.

179 *met*, A: *bi*.

180 *vriend*, A: *grooten vrient*.

181 *hertoghe*, A: *hertoghe kaerle*.

182 *mijn viand is*, A: *mijn speciael viandt was*.

183 *Twee* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.

184 V1², V1³ insert *so*.

185 *Meer* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.

186 *Daer* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.

187 *ooghe*, V1²: *dooghe*.

188 *Al* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.

189 *Eduwaerd* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.

190 V1³ inserts *ic*.

191 The translator read *vocasse* instead of *bocasse*, but made the best of it: Do not include me among the Worthies, for I say that is (all) impossible. I am grateful to Jan Willen Verkaik for his help.

192 This is the translation of the 'first' French epitaph.

193 *Ic* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1.

194 *eene*, V1³, A: *meer*.

195 *lande*, A: *coninc*.

196 These words are the garbled remnants of the Cinque Ports: *v pors* → *v pars* → *twijfde deel* ('the fifth part').

197 *Jeghen* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.

198 V1³ omits this line.

199 *Ic* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1.

Ende den goeden justicier Karel hertoghe van Bourgoenge
 Doe maectic van rechte onrecht²⁰⁰ zonder eenighe bescaemthede
 Ic²⁰¹ maecte ghemeenscap metten Fransoijzen onze verhouderde vianden
 Ende bij mijnder conste²⁰² dedic alzoo vele dat zij mijn vrienden worden
 Ende ic hadde gheselscip²⁰³ met hem leden ende ic²⁰⁴ zoo groter eerliche
 Als dat de .coninc. Eduwaerd hier naer moeste vertrecken.²⁰⁵
 De²⁰⁶ hertoghe van Bourgoenge niet jeghenstaende hare belofte
 Hij²⁰⁷ heiftene odmoedelicken ontfanghen
 Hij opende²⁰⁸ sijn tresoor,²⁰⁹ hij presenteerde hem sijn volc
 Bijden welken hij hem wederstelde met groter eere ter zee
 Dien tijd gheduerende ic was in mijner wapene²¹⁰
 Zeere wel beselsceipt vanden hedlen hertoghe van Excestre
 Ende van minen broedre, Heere van Montaghu²¹¹
 Vanden grave van Suffort ende van andre²¹² met groter macht.
 Wij²¹³ hadden ghevuweirt²¹⁴ an gode vanden paradijze²¹⁵
 De .coninc. van Vranckerike ende icke als twee rechte dullaerds,²¹⁶
 Dat corts naer Paesschen of²¹⁷ Assencioens dach
 Inghelandt zoude ghestelt zijn²¹⁸ in subjexijen
 Buten²¹⁹ welken ic²²⁰ verjaecht was als .i. vluchtich vos
 Om dat ic was contrarije den goeden²²¹ coninc Eduwaerd²²²
 Had²²³ alsoo ghecomen alzoo²²⁴ wijt an²²⁵ ghenomen hadden
 De goede hertoghe van Bourgoenge zoude van als of ghestelt hebben ghesijn²²⁶
 Wij hadden hem of ghetrocken Henegauwe Vlaendren ende Artoijs.
 Ende ander hertochscepen ende graefscepen²²⁷ meer dan drie.
 Ende de coninc zoude ghenomen hebben .Orchies.²²⁸ Rijssele ende Duwaij.
 Bijden quaden crijsschene der muetmakers van Dornicke.²²⁹
 De²³⁰ riviere vander Somme zouden wij hebben gheconquesteirt

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- 200 *van rechte onrecht, A: van onrecht recht ende van recht onrecht.*
 201 *Ic is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.*
 202 *conste, A: scalcheyt.*
 203 *gheselscip, A: ghemeenschap groot.*
 204 *V1³ adds a word between the lines with a caret mark, perhaps met. A has after ic: domineirde also met groter heerliche.*
 205 *A adds tot and runs on the sentence.*
 206 *De is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.*
 207 *A omits Hij.*
 208 *A here adds: hem.*
 209 *V1³, A insert ende.*
 210 *wapene, A: wapeninghe.*
 211 *V1³ inserts ende.*
 212 *andre, A: meer andere heren.*
 213 *Wij is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.*
 214 *ghevuweirt, A: gheschict.*
 215 *A omits an gode vanden paradijze.*
 216 *twee rechte dullaerds, A: tweewten rechten weghe sijnde.*
 217 *A here adds ommer eer.*
 218 *V1³ adds these last three words between the lines with a caret mark.*
 219 *buten, V1³, V1²: huten; A: huyten..*
 220 *ic, V1³: hij.*
 221 *A omits goeden.*
 222 *This line does not occur in the French text.*
 223 *Had is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹. A has ende haddet.*
 224 *alzoo, V1³: alzet.*
 225 *an, A: voren.*
 226 *ghesijn, A: gheweist.*
 227 *V1³ omits these last two words.*
 228 *A omits Ende ander Orchies.*
 229 *.Nota. written in the left or right margin opposite these words in every ms. A omits van Dornicke and has instead Ende dye coninck van Vranckerijcke soude ghehadt hebben Rijssele, Duway ende Orchiers.*

Ende cortelic²³¹ weder ghewonnen alsoo wijt verziert²³² hadden.
 Naer het es al ommghekeert,²³³ want Eduwaerd de goede
 Die quam mij weder bespringhen scaerper²³⁴ dan eenich wulf.
 Hij dede mij zoo groot assaut ende hij drouch hem zoo wel eerlic²³⁵
 Dat hij zijn land ende tmijne cortelic gheconquesteirt hadde.²³⁶
 In²³⁷ een zeere²³⁸ staerc casteel quam hij mij belegghen
 Icken²³⁹ mochts niet langher verdraghen maer huut ghaen als een dwaes.²⁴⁰
 Daer²⁴¹ wordic weder²⁴² bespronghen met glaiven ende met ghescotte
 Gaerne haddic tvertrecken ghedaen trompen
 Maer icken hadde gheene moete, want alsoo ic vertelle
 Gherne of niet gherne ic moeste rekeninghe gheven.
 Daer²⁴³ wordic zoozeere bevanghen ende van zulker foortse
 Dat²⁴⁴ al vliende wordic²⁴⁵ ghevanghen ende ter eerden ghesleghen²⁴⁶
 Zoo²⁴⁷ vele wonden ontfanghen int lichame ende int hooft
 Weder ic wilde of ne wilde ic staerf te miscchieve.
 Doe²⁴⁸ overpeinsdic mijne valsche wercken²⁴⁹
 Ende mijne vermaledijde zonden, vul van achterclappe
 Die²⁵⁰ mij alsoo punierden, want noyt bi²⁵¹ minen levne
 Ne peinsdic the gheender duechde maer loose smeekene.²⁵²
 Bijden welken²⁵³ upden Paesschen dach als God verrees
 Bijder wapeninghe²⁵⁴ van Eduwaerd was ic te nieuten²⁵⁵ ghebrocht
 Midsgaders den hertoghen van Excestre ende mijn broeder²⁵⁶ de markijs.
 Ende andre dijversche rudders die hier niet ghestelt ne zijn²⁵⁷
 Bescaemdelic²⁵⁸ ghestorven²⁵⁹ te mijnder confusije
 Zonder van eeneghen priester te hebben absolucie.²⁶⁰
 Dit²⁶¹ was int jaer .xv^c. xxix. minus int tellen.

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- 230 *De* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.
 231 *cortelic*, V1³, A: *ooc cortelic*.
 232 *verziert*, V1²: *verzaert*; V1³: *versiert*; A: *gheavyseirt*.
 233 *ommghekeert*, A: *anders verkeert*.
 234 *scaerper*, V1³: *scaper*.
 235 *wel eerlic*, V1³: *wel ende eerlic*; A: *vromelic ende heerlick*.
 236 *hadde*, A: *heeft*.
 237 *In* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.
 238 V1³ omits *zeere*.
 239 *Icken*, A: *So dat icken*.
 240 *maer ... dwaes*, A: *maer moeste vlien als een dwaes*.
 241 *Daer* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.
 242 A omits *weder*.
 243 *Daer* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.
 244 A here adds *ic*.
 245 A omits *wordic*.
 246 V1³ here repeats *van zulker fortse* and inserts *ende*.
 247 *Zoo*, A: *ende hebbe*.
 248 *Doe* is preceded by a paragraph mark in V1¹.
 249 *wercken*, V1³: *trecken*.
 250 *die* inserted between the lines with a caret mark.
 251 *bi*, A: *binnen*.
 252 *smeekene*, V1²: *smeekerye*; V1³: *smeeckeryghe*. In A this line reads *en haddic eenich ghepeijnster duecht maer altoos met loose smeekerye, elcken die ic mochte te verabuseirene ende te bedriegen(??!)*.
 253 A here adds *ick*.
 254 A here inserts *ende cloucheyt vanden ninc*.
 255 *neuten*, A: *nieten*.
 256 A here inserts *ende*.
 257 *niet ghestelt ne zijn*, V1³: *ghnoimdt ne zi n*; A: *ghenoemt en syn*.
 258 *Bescaemdelic*, A: *Ende ben beschaemdelic*.
 259 A here inserts *daer*.
 260 In A this line reads *sonder biechte ofte absolucie*.
 261 *Dit* is preceded by a one-line space and a paragraph mark in V1¹.

Bid Gode Ihesus Christus dat Sathan mij niet becommeren moete
 Ende gheve mij bij zijnder gracie wech te zijnen conincrijke
 Daer icken gheloove te zine²⁶² in ziele ende in lichame.

Een incarnacioen
 Eduwaert victorieus . die verwan
 Werrewijc te paessche . als vliende man
 .m.cccc.lxxj.²⁶³

262 *zine*: VI³: *ziene*.

263 This chronogram follows the epitaphs in VI¹, VI², VI³ (where the relevant letters have dots below them), and in A. The letters here printed in bold make 3 *c*'s, 2 *l*'s, 13 *v*'s and 6 *r*'s, i.e. 1471.

PART II

**The work and anglophilia
of Jean de Wavrin (1400-c.1475).**

PART II:**THE WORK AND ANGLOPHILIA OF JEAN DE WAVRIN (1400-c.1475).****Introduction.**

Because he wrote a history of England *Jean, Bastard de Wavrin, Seigneur du Forestel* – as he signed himself – may be assumed to have been an anglophile and can be expected to have held opinions on England and Anglo-Burgundian relations. The main events of his life can be sufficiently reconstructed, but it is especially fortunate that his intellectual and literary interests are unusually well documented: he was a collector of books and closely, though mysteriously, connected with the composing of several romances in prose; his name has been linked to an unusual illustrator's workshop; *and* he decided to write a history of England, which in its turn gave its name to an illustrator. His life will be briefly discussed, and his friends and relations as far as they may have been relevant to his work and his anglophilia; his books and those of people near to him need to be looked at to see what they tell us, if anything, about their owner and what they contain about England; the so-called 'Wavrin Master' needs to be introduced and the 'historical novels' produced in his workshop. Wavrin's *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes histoires de la Grant Bretagne a present nomme Engleterre* (Collection of Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain now called England) is potentially the most important source about Wavrin's attitude, but it is also worthy of consideration on its own account. A preliminary study is therefore attempted of the book's composition, sources and individuality by looking at it as a whole and at a number of specific sections in detail. Finally the surviving manuscripts of the *Recueil*, their illumination and their owners will be studied, with particular consideration of the volumes owned by Edward IV.

Part II. Chapter 1.

Jean de Wavrin's life, his relatives and acquaintances.

1. Wavrin's life.

In 1473 or 74¹ Jean Du Chesne, of Lille, finished his translation and redaction of a moralised version of Caesar's *Commentaries*. In book 1, ch. 43, he discussed the racial and national characteristics of the French and the British and explained how the love of freedom of the French and the bravery of the British had made them resist Caesar's armies successfully for a long time. The British, though they, too, were eventually defeated, had shown bravery ever since; the author continues:

as is proved in the truthful history that gives an accurate account of these events and of everything else from the first arrival [of the Britons] and their settlement [on their island] until the present day. These events have been collected and elegantly written up and recently continued in six beautiful volumes by the researches and great industry of an old, wise and well known knight and great traveller called Jean de Wavrin, lord of Forestel, [a man] of honourable fame and gentle disposition.²

This presents a first insight into the book-loving, book-producing milieu of the Burgundian ducal court at that time and perhaps even the mutual appreciation of its members. Jean Du Chesne's connections through his work as translator and as scribe make him a trustworthy witness to the activities of Wavrin and his circle: he worked for Duke Charles, Margaret of York, Anthony of Burgundy, Louis de Gruuthuse, and perhaps Edward IV or other English patrons.³ He knew who was doing what on the literary scene in the 1470s and, like Wavrin, he lived at Lille. Lille was a favourite residence of Duke Philip, one of the most peaceful and prosperous towns of the duke's dominions and an important centre of book production at the time, home to several several well known bookbinders' and illuminators' workshops patronised by affluent local families and ducal courtiers.⁴

Du Chesne's description of Wavrin's *work* will be discussed later,⁵ but his words also provide a convenient introduction to the *person* of Jean de Wavrin.⁶ Wavrin was indeed 'old' by 1473 74: he had been born in 1399 or 1400. We have to accept Du Chesne's comment that

1 The mss differ as to the date they give in their colophon.

2 My translation; quoted Bossuat, 'Traductions', p. 273, from BN fr. 38, f. 90v; compare BL Royal 16 G viij, f. 83, Egerton 1065, f. 71; Bodl.L Douce 208, f. 69.

3 App. G, below.

4 Trenard, *Histoire*, pp. 219-34; de Winter, 'Manuscrits', pp. 233-56; Colin, 'Lille'.

5 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1.

6 Life and family: Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. xiii-xxxvi; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. xvii-xxvii; Goethals, *Histoire*, pp. 48-50; de Ternas and Fremaux, *Histoire*, pp. 19-24; Brassart, 'Généalogie', pp. 57-67; *Biographie nationale*, vol. 27, pp. 129-32; Naber, 'Wavrin', pp. 281-93; Horgan, thesis, pp. xi-xix; Zingel, *Frankreich*, pp. 70-71; Jacob, *Minorité*; Gaucher, *Biographie*, pp. 22-26.

he was 'wise', but 'well known' and 'of honourable fame' he is likely to have been for several reasons: his connections, his military career and his literary work. The fact that he was an illegitimate son hardly affected his social status, as his father belonged to one of the most esteemed families of Picardy.⁷ He served the dukes not only as a soldier, but also as chamberlain, counsellor and ambassador. In 1437, when he was legitimated by Philip the Good, the duke had him described thus: *povre homme, bien moriginé* (brought up), *de bonne vie et conversacion*, who had a *grant volenté de bien faire et de demourer soubz nous* and who had given the duke *bons et agreables services ... de longtemps ... en plusieurs ... voyages, armées, et autrement fait chacun jour*.⁸ His travels in the course of his military career had taken him through France, to the northern Low Countries, England, Eastern Europe and, it has been claimed on very slender evidence, to Greece and the Holy Land. As far as Wavrin's character and lifestyle, his 'disposition' and *conversacion*, are concerned, these can only be guessed at, but about his intellectual life relatively much is known because of his surviving books and his own work.

Wavrin was born in late 1399 or 1400: in one surviving copy of the *Recueil* he himself says he was fifteen at the time of the battle of Agincourt, which he witnessed from the French side.⁹ Many Flemings and Picardians took part and many died, including Wavrin's father, Robert, and the latter's only legitimate son, another Robert.¹⁰ Apart from mentioning them in the long list of people killed, Wavrin's only reference to his father is in his introduction to the *Recueil*. Robert de Wavrin had been hereditary seneschal of Flanders and chamberlain and counsellor to both the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. The property and interests of the family were centred on Lille and inherited in 1415 by Waleran, the son of Wavrin's legitimate elder half-sister.

In the summer of 1417, during the Burgundian campaign against the Armagnac government of France, Wavrin was a squire in the army of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, but he does not mention this fact himself. We know nothing about his subsequent activities until 1423, when in July he took part in the battle of Cravant and the campaign of the earl of Suffolk in the Macon region; in August 1424 he fought at Verneuil. By 1427 he had joined Philip the Good's expedition against Jacqueline of Bavaria, Countess of Holland and Zeeland. He was also an eyewitness to one of the 'crusades' against the Hussites, which ended in disaster for the so-called crusaders. Though his account of it was inserted under 1420 and is usually taken to refer to the campaign of that year, internal evidence shows that Wavrin is

7 Or Northern France or Walloon Flanders, Gil, 'Mécénat', p. 69.

8 Quoted Brassart, 'Généalogie', pp. 61-62.

9 His account, below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4.

actually describing the events of 1427, the (last-but-one) ‘crusade’, in which Cardinal Henry Beaufort took part.¹¹ In 1429 he fought under Sir John Fastolf at Le Patay, and he probably continued in the Anglo-Burgundian army right until the Duke Philip made peace with the French king at Arras in 1435.

After Arras the last military action Wavrin took part in was the disastrous – for Duke Philip – siege of Calais in 1436, and for the next thirty years information about his life as a civilian comes not from his own work but mainly from the documents unearthed by his first biographer, Mlle Dupont, and others. These show that he was legitimated by Philip the Good in 1437 (and by Charles VII of France in 1447), and between 1437 and 1441 he married Margu rite Hangouart, daughter of Jean, one of the foremost citizens of Lille and member of an important family of drapers, and widow of Guillaume de Tenremonde, member of an equally influential and affluent family of bankers of the same town. Wavrin thus gained a comfortable position among the notables of Lille and enough wealth to become a knight by 1442; by this date he was also *seigneur de Fontaines et de Forestel*. He took part in the urban politics of Lille between 1455 and 1469, became chamberlain to the duke and in 1463 was one of the ambassadors sent to Pope Pius II to discuss crusading matters. In 1467 he was one of the most prominent members of the retinue of Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, on his visit to London to joust with Anthony Woodville, the queen’s brother.¹² In 1469 he paid a visit to the earl of Warwick at Calais¹³ and the last we hear of him is the translator of Caesar’s *Commentaries* praising his historical work.

10 *Recueil* vol. 5, bk 1, ch. 14; family tree, below, app. C.

11 Zingel, *Frankreich*, was already aware of this, pp. 70, 88. Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

12 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1; app. E.

13 Above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1.

Part II. Chapter 1.

2. Wavrin's relatives and acquaintances.

By the time Wavrin started working on the *Recueil*, in 1445 or 1455,¹⁴ he was related in some way to many authors, book collectors or otherwise 'bookish' members of the Burgundian nobility and prominent Lille families: Gauvain Quiéret, Jean de Créquy; the de Lannoy brothers, Hugues and Guillebert, and their cousin Jean; Jacques de Lalaing; Jean de Croy and his son, Philippe; Jacques Du Clercq and Hubert le Prevost.¹⁵ It was because of his connection with the Croy family that Wavrin's books eventually passed into the library of Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low Countries (1480-1530).¹⁶

To his nephew Waleran, Wavrin dedicated his *Recueil*. Waleran was also one of the storytellers in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, the Burgundian version of Boccaccio's *Hundred Tales*, where he is made to set his stories at Arras and Lillers, the latter a *bonne petite ville en la conté d'Artois* of which Waleran was lord.¹⁷ Nothing is known about Wavrin's relationship with Gauvain Quiéret, the son of Waleran's sister, Bonne, and Jacques, Lord of Heuchin.¹⁸ Gauvain, *ung vaillant chevalier Pycard tres aventureux* (6, 2, 33), was the author of several pieces, but only the *Triologue*, an imaginary conversation between *France*, *Prouesse* and *Bonne Renommée* set after the death of Charles VII of France and imitating Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif*, survives.¹⁹

Jean V, Lord of Créquy and Canaples (c. 1400-1474),²⁰ was the brother of Jeanne de Créquy, the widow of Wavrin's half-brother who died at Agincourt, and an active book-collector and patron.²¹ The well known scribe and book producer, David Aubert, in his vast collection of Charlemagne material said of him: 'he enjoys seeing, studying and possessing books and chronicles on all subjects. He has commissioned many texts and manuscripts',²² and Chastelain described him as a man who *sçais et vaux par nature et par livre*.²³ Créquy was one of those patrons who encouraged Vasco de Lucena to take up and finish after three years his translation of Curtius' *Life of Alexander* which became immensely popular; he, too, was one of

14 Date uncertain, below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1.

15 App. C, below.

16 Debae, *Bibliothèque and Librije*.

17 Also below, pt II, ch. 3, sects 1 and 4.

18 Goethals, *Histoire*, p. 50; *Dictionnaire*, s.n.; de Belleval, *Gauvain*, *passim*; Quiéret took part in Waleran's expedition, *ibid.*, pp. 32-38; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 32, 38, 39, 48, 70.

19 In one ms., Arsenal 4655; he owned Arras, BM 267, Raoul Le Fèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troyes*, followed by *l'Abriegié de Troyes*; Aesbach, *Recueil*, p. 25; Jung, *Légende*, p. 596.

20 De Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 23.

21 Gil, 'Mécénat'.

22 BR 9066-68, quoted Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 418.

the storytellers in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*,²⁴ and he was not only one of those intimates of Duke Philip who mediated in their master's acquisition of books, but also probably second only to the duke himself as a patron of book production and especially the writing of prose romances. His wife, Louise de La Tour d'Auvergne, was a book collector in her own right; she is known to have owned and commissioned several manuscripts. For her sister, Gabriele, Countess of Montpensier, the most extensive and interesting inventory of books for a fifteenth-century female owner survives.²⁵

Wavrin was also related by marriage to the de Lannoy brothers, Hugues, Lord of Santes, and Guillebert, Lord of Willerval, and their cousin, Jean III, Lord of Lannoy. Hugues and Guillebert were mentioned by Wavrin as his informants on the battle of Agincourt, at which they were both present;²⁶ both were great travellers and both – like Jean – were authors themselves. Hugues (1384-1456) wrote several detailed memoranda to Duke Philip, advising him on policy in military, diplomatic and financial matters.²⁷ He – rather than his brother, Guillebert – also composed a treatise on knighthood, the *Enseignement de la vraie noblesse*.²⁸ Hugues' widow, Margu rite de Boncourt, in her will called Wavrin's wife *ma cousine*²⁹ and left her a *godet d'argent   piet* (a standing cup of silver), and to Wavrin himself a *tasse   piet d'argent, armoir  de mes armes au moillon* (a standing cup of silver decorated with my arms in the centre).³⁰

Guillebert de Lannoy (1386-1462)³¹ as a young man, when squire to the famous knight Jean de Werchin, Seneschal of Hainault, exchanged a series of ballads with his master on the subject of love and loyalty.³² He is well known for the accounts he wrote of his many travels through Europe and to the Far East, and also for the *Enseignements paternels*,³³ a short letter on social behaviour which was probably written by him, and though ostensibly meant for his son, reached a much wider audience.³⁴ He is usually regarded as the author of the *Instruction d'un jeune prince*, a treatise on the correct conduct of princes, composed with a fictional historical setting: the court of Norway in the thirteenth century. The *Instruction* was written

23 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 7, p. 52.

24 Gallet-Guerne, *Luc ne*, p. 12; Champion, *Nouvelles*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

25 De Boislisle, 'Inventaire', pp. 269-309.

26 *Recueil*, 5, 1, 14.

27 De Lannoy, *Hugues*; Vaughan, 'Hue', pp. 335-45; De Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 7.

28 My arguments will be set out in a future article.

29 Her first husband's niece, Marguerite de Tenremonde, married G rard de Lannoy, a collateral relative of the lords of Lannoy, *Eur. Stammtafeln*, table 13.

30 De Lannoy, *Hugues*, pp. 281-95.

31 On Guillebert, e.g. De Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 12.

32 Piaget, 'Ballades'; Willard, 'Werchin'.

33 Printed Potvin, *Oeuvres*, pp. 447-72.

under a pseudonym and reputedly based on a German manuscript, *escript en mauvaise lettre et effacie*, found in a crack in the wall of a church in Sweden.³⁵ Like Wavrin Guillebert de Lannoy had an illuminator called after him by art historians.³⁶

Jean, Lord of Lannoy (1410-1493),³⁷ whose father died at Agincourt, was the organiser of the Feast of the Pheasant at Lille in 1454. Chastelain called him *homme agu et de subtil engin cler voiant*. He was frequently a member of the joint French-Burgundian embassies to England, both before and after the accession of Edward IV, who valued him highly. He was well acquainted with Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, whom he met several times.³⁸ In 1465 he fell from grace, first in Burgundy – sharing in the fall of his Croy uncles – and shortly after in France. He was received back into Charles the Bold's favour in 1468. A few months before he went into exile he had started on a long letter of advice for his recently born only son, fearing he would not live to teach the boy personally. In it he recommended, for example, the reading of Martin le Franc's *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu* and mentions his leaving this book to his son together with several others.³⁹ Jean de Lannoy wrote some short poems⁴⁰ on his own motto, *Oubli vaincra*, and he, too, was one of the storytellers in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.⁴¹

The widow of Wavrin's half brother, Jeanne de Créquy – sister to Jean de Créquy mentioned earlier – married Guillaume de Lalaing. Their elder son, Jacques, became the subject of the famous, real-life chivalric romance the *Livre des Faits du bon chevalier messire Jacques de Lalaing*.⁴² This relates at length the martial exploits of young Jacques, his battles, tournaments and *pas* all over Western Europe, which followed each other in quick succession until he was killed by a cannon ball at Ghent in 1453.⁴³

Philippe, the son of Jean de Wavrin's nephew, Waleran – to whom Jean's books eventually passed – married into the Croy family. For his father-in-law, Jean de Croy, Lord of Chimay (c. 1403-1473), the prose romance *Olivier de Castile* was composed; one of its two surviving manuscripts was illustrated by the Wavrin Master⁴⁴ and bears Jean de Wavrin's arms. Jean de Croy is known to have assisted Duke Philip in the acquisition of manuscripts,

34 Copies belonged to Charles the Bold and Margaret of York (Paris, Arsenal 5104, Dogaer, *Painting*, pp. 84-86), and Louis de Gruuthuse (BN fr. 1216).

35 Van Leeuwen, *Denkbeelden*; Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, pp. 314-17.

36 The illuminator of Philip the Good's copy, BR 10976, Dogaer, *Painting*, pp. 68-69.

37 De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean*; De Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 50, and 'Jan', pp. 55-84.

38 Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, pp. 394, 396, 399-413.

39 Printed de Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean*, pp. 119-210, esp. 188; Hexter, 'Education', pp. 13-17.

40 Printed de Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean*, pp. 211-14.

41 Ed. Champion, pp. xxx-xxxii.

42 Printed Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 8, pp. 2-259; Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, pp. 99-102.

43 Below, pt II, ch. 2, sect. 1.

44 Below, app. D, VI.

and a number of texts were produced for him, among others by Jean Du Chesne, the scribe who mentioned Wavrin's historical work.⁴⁵

The literary activities⁴⁶ of Jean's son, Philippe, are enigmatic. One of the satirical epitaphs on Warwick has been ascribed to him, as well as a *Pas de la Mort* usually thought to be Chastelain's. There is also his skilled, literary letter to Chastelain describing daily life in the Burgundian camp during the siege of Neuss, and some lines on his own name and coat of arms. Like Waleran de Wavrin, Jean de Lannoy and Jean de Créquy, Philippe de Croy was one of the storytellers in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Philippe's son, Charles, obtained the possessions and titles of the last lord of Wavrin. The Croy library later contained at least one interesting variant version of Wavrin's *Recueil*.⁴⁷

The activities of a relative of Wavrin's wife, Hubert le Prevost, of Lille, afford an interesting picture of how a text came to be made, copied and known to a patron. In 1459 Hubert undertook a journey round various religious houses to collect material about his patron saint, St Hubert. He had it written up in a Latin *vita*. Later he commissioned the scribe and printer Colard Mansion to translate it into French and make two manuscript copies: a *de luxe* one for the library of St Hubert Abbey in the Ardennes, and a small, simple one for his own use; both are now lost. In 1462 or 63 le Prevost had occasion to read from his book in the presence of Philip the Good, who was so pleased with it that he had David Aubert make a copy worthy of the ducal library.⁴⁸ It was illuminated by Loyset Liédet, Aubert improved the text and the work was finished in a few months.⁴⁹ About 1470 a fourth copy was made, this time for the book collector Louis de Gruuthuse.⁵⁰

Not strictly related but almost certainly known to Wavrin was the chronicler Jacques Du Clercq, *escuyer, seigneur de Beauvoir en Ternois*.⁵¹ Jacques' father lived at Lille and married a Hangouart widow as his second wife. Jacques's memoirs covered the years 1448 to 1467; the relationship of his work to Wavrin's *Recueil* and other contemporary chronicles is a matter for argument, but it is likely that Wavrin shared sources with Du Clercq.⁵² Little is known about the latter's personal life.

45 On Jean de Croy, de Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 22, and *NBW*, vol. 14 (1992), cols 132-37.

46 Above, pt I, ch. 2, sect. 3.

47 BN fr. 20358; above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1; below, pt II, ch. 4, sect. 1; app. F.

48 Philip's preference for St Hubert is well attested; it is unlikely that the text was read to him by accident.

49 The duke's copy is now The Hague, KB 76 F 10. Straub, *Aubert*, pp. 67-68.

50 De Rooij, *Vie*, for this paragraph; no other mss survive and perhaps none were made; the text was printed from the copy of St Hubert Abbey c. 1500.

51 Du Clercq, *Préface*.

52 For comparison of some of their text, above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1.

There is one man who is not known to have been even distantly related to Wavrin, but who is named by him as a source of information. This connection may give some indication of the nature of Wavrin's historical interest: it was suggested long ago that Wavrin was one of the officers at arms present at the battle of Agincourt.⁵³ His reference to Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, later Toison d'or King of Arms, appears to support this idea. Le Fèvre was also present at Agincourt, but on the English side and in his own historical work made similar mention of Wavrin.⁵⁴ If Wavrin had been a pursuivant, or even merely a servant of an officer at arms, he would have been more aware than most people of the heralds' duty of recording events and it would help to explain his interest in written reports generally. On the other hand it is known that Chastelain also used Le Fèvre and that most historians relied frequently on heralds' reports and it is unlikely that Wavrin, with his social background, ever held such a menial position; no doubt he had accompanied his father and brother to France as a page and watched the battle because he was too young to fight.

At some date, while Wavrin was still working on his *Recueil* and before 1468 when Toison d'or died, the two men compared notes. Wavrin wrote:

lequel gentilhomme dont je parle, ... estoit pour le tempz de la journee dAzincourt en leage de .xix. ans, et de la compaignie dudit roy dAngleterre en toutes les besongnes de ce temps, et moy acteur de ceste presente euvre, estant lors en leage de .xv. ans, estoie en larmee des Francois. Si nous sommes acointies et trouvez depuis ce temps ensamble ledit Thoison dor et moy, et convenu de ces presentes matieres en passant temps (5, 1, 7).⁵⁵

Even this pleasant description of a social and literary interlude does not give any clear indication of the exact relationship of their texts.

His known connection with Le Fèvre apart, some of this linking of Wavrin to his 'bookish' contemporaries, particularly when they are merely relatives and rather distant at that, may seem invidious: it is too easy to 'create' medieval literary circles and there is a risk of over-estimating the importance and relevance of such connections. To some extent, however, the picture suggested by the closeness and literary activities of these people must be realistic: there was a network of acquaintances, who were related, who liked the same genre of texts, who collected books and commissioned them, who procured them for others, who were actively involved in the making of books, and even composed or reworked texts for themselves or at

53 Suggested by Dupont, vol. 1, p. xxi, not taken up by Hardy, vol. 1, pp. xxii-iv, who thought Wavrin had been old enough to fight. Naber, 'Wavrin', p. 286.

54 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

55 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, p. 189; KB 133 A 7^m, f. 11v.

request. They probably influenced each other, and there is evidence that some of them were in friendly, literary competition.⁵⁶

In these bookish activities an important role was played by Duke Philip, with his enthusiastic patronage and his undoubted interest in collecting as many books as possible, particularly if they contained elements that helped to justify and establish in people's minds his claim to various lordships and his link with their history.⁵⁷ The duke's preferences left a clear mark on the taste of his courtiers.⁵⁸

56 E.g. Philippe de Croy and Chastelain perhaps composing satirical epitaphs on Warwick, above pt I, ch. 2, sect. 3; Guillebert de Lannoy and Jean de Werchin writing a series of ballads, see above. Compare also the exchanges between the French chronicler, Jean Castel the younger, and Chastelain (ed. Lettenhove, vol. 6, pp. 142-45), and between Chastelain, Jean Robertet, secretary to the duke of Bourbon, and the Burgundian courtier Jean de Montferrand (e.g. Chavannes-Mazel, 'Ladies', pp. 139-55).

57 E.g. Lacaze, 'Rôle'.

58 *Richard III's Books*, ch. 9.

Part II. Chapter 1.

3. Anglophilia.

During his service in the Anglo-Burgundian armies Wavrin lived and fought with scores of Englishmen. Many of them he must have appreciated as companions in arms, some of them he came to admire particularly, such as John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury and perhaps Sir John Fastolf.

In the *Recueil* Bedford is almost always referred to as (*monseigneur*) *le regent (de France)*.⁵⁹ He is 'a prince of very great virtue' (5, 3, 28) and his magnificence and prowess are described with pleasure in Wavrin's account of the battle of Verneuil. It is clearly to Bedford's honour and a point in his favour that he married Duke Philip's sister⁶⁰ and the two dukes are often mentioned in conjunction and sometimes praised together. For example, at the wedding of Jean de La Tremoille and Jacqueline d'Amboise in 1424 *jousterent mesmes les dis deux ducz de Bourguoigne et de Bethfort moult vaillamment comme bons chevaliers quilz estoient* (5, 3, 21).⁶¹ Bedford seems to have been permanently engaged in keeping his brother, the duke of Gloucester, from attacking Duke Philip.

Salisbury, in whose *compaignie* Wavrin served at Verneuil, is a man of *grant sens, vaillance et preudhommie* (5, 3, 10). *Le preu conte* (5, 3, 28) is hardly mentioned without being further described as *homme tres renomme, subtil et expert en armes* (5, 3, 27),⁶² *expert homme de guerre* (5, 3, 49), *sage et ymaginatif, vaillant et hardy, entreprenant en armes* (5, 3, 51), *tres expert chevalier en armes* (5, 4, 4). His role at Verneuil is described as crucial (5, 3, 29) and he is one of the few people in the *Recueil* who is given a proper obituary. Salisbury is highly praised by Monstrelet⁶³ and Le Fèvre,⁶⁴ but Wavrin's eulogy is much longer and appears to summarise his ideals of nobility and virtue, albeit in traditional phrases:

Il estoit bon prince et deulz tous [his troops] estoit cremeuz et amez, et aussi il fut en son tempz tenu parmy France et Angleterre le plus expert, subtil et heureuz en armes de tous les capittaines, ne que passé deux cens ans paravant on eust oy parler: avec ce estoient en lui toutes les vertus appartenans a bon chevalier; doulz, humble et courtois estoit, grant aumosnier et large du sien; piteux et misericord estoit auz humbles, mais auz orgueilleux fier comme lyon ou tygre; bien amoit les vaillans

59 Monstrelet usually omits *regent* and even has *le duc de Bedford, quy se disoit regent*, and *qui se nommoit regent de France*, Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), pp. 552, 577, 585.

60 The duchess is often *madame la duchesse*, just as Bedford is often *monseigneur*, which he never is in Monstrelet.

61 Monstrelet only mentions the bare fact, *ibid.*, p. 563.

62 These phrases are also in Monstrelet, *ibid.*, p. 555, comp. p. 592.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 595.

64 Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 2, p. 141.

hommes et virtueulz de corage, ne rien detenoit du service daultroi, ains guerre donnoit chascun selon lendroit de sa valleur (5, 4, 5)⁶⁵

Wavrin's 'defence' of Sir John Fastolf, who was deprived for a while of his garter because of his suspected cowardice at the battle of Le Patay in 1429, is well known, but it has been pointed out before that Wavrin's account of the defeat and its preliminaries may be coloured by his own close involvement and is perhaps no sign of admiration for the man himself.⁶⁶

On the whole the picture that emerges is that Wavrin believed in the theoretical and especially the practical precepts of military chivalry, and was able to appreciate any man who, in his view, followed those precepts competently, whatever his background or his country of origin. What he admired was a good soldier and commander, whether French, English or Burgundian. A similar 'fairness' is noticeable in Jean de Wavrin's description of English military effectiveness during the aftermath of the siege of Calais, and in his nephew Waleran's attitude to his adversaries, the Turks.⁶⁷

There are signs of a preoccupation with England among Wavrin's friends and relatives.⁶⁸ It came to the fore when peace was made between France and Burgundy at Arras in 1435 and the Anglo-Burgundian alliance concluded at Troyes in 1420 came to an end. This peace divided the counsellors of Philip of Burgundy into two parties. Wavrin himself, in the *Recueil* (5, 5, 32),⁶⁹ mentions these problems and lists some of the anglophile nobles who *ne furent point appelez* to the councils which made the decision to wage war on the English and besiege Calais in 1436. Prominent among them were the Luxembourg: Jean, Count of Guise and Ligny, councillor to Henry VI, who remained pro-English all his life and refused to take the oath of allegiance to Charles VII and was forced into a more or less neutral position until his death in 1441,⁷⁰ and his cousin, Jean, Bastard of St Pol, Lord of Hautbourdin, the *moult beau chevalier, sage vaillant, et redoubté en armes, homme expérimenté de François et d'Anglois*, celebrated by Olivier de La Marche, famous jousting master and master of the French household of Henry VI, later counsellor of Philip the Good and intimate of Duchess Isabella. At the chapter of the Golden Fleece of 1435 he asked what he was to do about his possession of Montmorency,

65 Compare the description of Jacques de Lalaing in the *Faits*, Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 8, p. 252: *Fut chevalier doux, humble, amiable et courtois, large aumosnier et pitoyable.*

66 Burne, *Agincourt*, pp. 267-68; compare Collins, 'Fastolf'.

67 Iorga, *Voyageurs*, p. 14; for Calais and Waleran, below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

68 Haegeman, *Anglofilie*, ch. 7; Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, pp. 49-107, incl. the aftermath of Arras; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 98-107; Small, 'Aspects'.

69 The information is not unique to Wavrin, *pace* Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 171, compare Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 725, but the *Recueil* is more detailed. Wavrin was probably not a counsellor of Duke Philip as early 1436.

70 De Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 13.

which he held from Henry VI.⁷¹ There were also the eminent Roland d'Uutkerke, Lord of Heestert, member of the local aristocracy of the Bruges region, one of the first knights of the Golden Fleece and an expert 'on the delicate relations with the crown of England',⁷² Raoul (or Jean) d'Ailly, *Vidame* of Amiens, a member of the entourage of Duchess Isabel, and Jean de Melun, Lord of Antoing, whose wife had a high position at the court of the duchess and who, like Wavrin, ended his military career after Calais.⁷³

Hugues, and very probably Guillebert, de Lannoy were among Wavrin's relations who opposed the breaking of the alliance with England. So was Jean de Roubaix, the father-in-law of Waleran de Wavrin, Jean's nephew, and Philippe de Saveuses, whose squire Wavrin had been in 1417. The motives of these anglophiles are also relevant to Wavrin. It is known that some members of the nobility living in regions near England and particularly Flanders were aware of the commercial advantages of good relations with the English and they knew very well that the people of Flanders would suffer and protest if their trade with England met with any difficulties. When Hugues de Lannoy wrote his treatise⁷⁴ on future policy for Duke Philip after Arras in 1436 he was very clear about the consequences of any disruption of the Anglo-Flemish trade:

Il est grant apparance que quant les Flamens se verront sans marchandise et sans continuation de draperie et eulx en guerre par mer et par terre, que ils ne veullent, sans votre congie et licence, traitties avecq les Engles, vos adversaries, qui pourroient estre a votre tres-grant deshonneur et dommage.

The Flemish delegates visiting the duke at Brussels at that time told him that they wished their county would remain neutral and 'at peace with the two crowns, considering that it is a land of merchants'.⁷⁵

Some of Philip's counsellors opposing the new peace felt a personal enmity towards Charles VII of France and many – such as Wavrin himself – had actively served the king of England, in the field or as ambassador. Some noblemen were genuinely concerned that Duke Philip was breaking his oath of allegiance to the king of England whom he had recognised as king of France and who was therefore his natural overlord for some of his lands. Both personal loyalty to English friends and concern over Duke Philip's unchivalric behaviour in forsaking them may have troubled a man like Wavrin, who in his *Recueil* often praised men who had been particularly true to their word throughout their lives.

71 *Ibid.*, no. 33, whence the La Marche quotation; Thie emans, *Bourgogne*, p. 80n.

72 De Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 4; Boone, 'Famille', pp. 237-38.

73 De Smedt, *Chevaliers*, no. 28.

74 Fr. 1278, ff. 34-39; printed Kervyn de Lettenhove, 'Programme', and Potvin, 'Hue'; also de Lannoy, *Hugues*, pp. 144-48; Vaughan, 'Hue' and *Philip the Good*, pp. 102-07.

75 Quoted Thielemans, *Bourgogne*, p. 72 and n.

Wavrin was not yet forty at the time, but the congress of Arras and its immediate consequence, the Burgundian siege of Calais, were the prelude to his change from a military to a civilian life.⁷⁶ Soon after Arras Guillebert de Lannoy went on a pilgrimage to Compostella and retired from public life. Some years later, it is said, he composed his *Instruction d'un jeune prince* to show the duke that in spite of their disagreement he was still loyal and prepared to advise and serve.⁷⁷ Except in the case of the siege of Calais – of which he disapproved, mainly for military reasons – Wavrin's own views are not easy to extricate from his *Recueil*. Almost the whole section on Arras and its aftermath is so close to the text of Monstrelet and Le Fèvre that it is likely to be based on someone else's report and no individuality can be distilled from it at first sight.⁷⁸ The moment of Wavrin's retirement from military life is significant, however, and considering his early career and his later decision to write a history of England, it is likely that his view of events were similar to those of his Lannoy acquaintances. The *Recueil* itself is the main proof of Wavrin's interest in England and the very act of composing it may have been his way of honouring his former companions in arms and laying the ghost of the Burgundian 'betrayal' of England by the treaty of Arras.

76 Naber, 'Wavrin', p. 289; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. xxviii.

77 Van Leeuwen, *Denkbeelden*, pp. xx-xxviii.

78 *Recueil*, 5, 5, 19-20; Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 2, pp. 305-73; Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), pp. 696-715; closer comparison of their texts is needed; it is typical of modern historians' treatment of Wavrin that Contamin's 'Historiographie d'Arras', does not mention him.

Part II. Chapter 2.

Wavrin's books.

Introduction.

Before attempting to assess Wavrin's historical work, his method and his personal contribution to the text that survives under his name, it is necessary to look at what is known about his other literary interests. The evidence of his extant books puts him among the foremost literary patrons and book collectors at the Burgundian court,¹ but because book collections of men of the same class in the fifteenth century tend to show great similarity,² some of the books that can be associated with him and with those friends and relatives mentioned earlier will also be considered.

At least fifteen surviving manuscripts containing twenty-four texts can be ascribed to Wavrin's ownership with certainty.³ They either bear his arms⁴ or his signature, *Jean, bastard de Wavrin, seigneur du Forestel*,⁵ or both. Eight of these manuscripts together contain eleven texts that can be called *romans* or romances. This is an unusually high percentage; contemporaries like Philip of Cleves (Philippe de Clèves, Lord of Ravenstein) or Gruuthuse (Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse) had nothing like this proportion.⁶ Even when the vicissitudes of survival are considered this high proportion points to a special interest in either the making or the reading of such texts.

Most of Wavrin's illustrated manuscripts have pictures in the same style: drawings with touches of colour. A large number were illustrated by one artist, who has therefore been

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- 1 Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 428-30, puts him in third place after Duke Philip and Jean de Créquy.
 - 2 *Richard III's Books*, pp. 14-20.
 - 3 Naber, 'Wavrin', 'Manuscrits' and 'Goûts'; de Winter, 'Mécénat', pp. 251-53; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 428-30, and, *Litt.*, pp. 68-69; for all details not mentioned here, app. D, below.
 - 4 The arms are variously described and this has led to confusion (Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 257): *d'azur à un écusson d'argent à la cotice de gueules brochant sur le tout; d'azur à un écusson d'argent en abime, brisé d'une cotice de gueules brochant sur le tout; d'azur à un écusson d'argent à la cotice de gueules mise en barre brochant sur le tout; d'azur au filet de gueules, avec un écusson d'argent en abime; d'azur a un écusson d'argent, brisé d'un bâton de gueules, brochant sur le tout; d'azur, à bande de gueules, à l'écu d'argent superposé. Filet en barre = / (sinister and seldom used, but Anthony the 'Great Bastard' did); filet = (dexter); cotice (cotisse; narrower than a bendlet) = (dexter); bâton (baton) = a short bendlet? (so cannot be *sur le tout*?). All these 'bars' vary in size. In English it should be: azure, an escutcheon argent, over all a bendlet (or a cotisse) gules. In French (probably): *d'azur à un écusson d'argent un filet (cotice) de gueules brochant sur le tout*. I am grateful to Peter Hammond for his advice.*
 - 5 Sometimes he wrote *Wavrin ob*, which may mean 'Wavrin oir bâtard', but the meaning is not at all certain; Lauer, 'Déchiffrement'.
 - 6 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Choosing', p. 71. I have been able to add a few more 'non-romances', app. D, XXIII-XXVIII, below.

called the 'Wavrin Master'.⁷ The Wavrin Master worked on a number of other manuscripts which are often automatically attributed to Wavrin's library *because* this artist illustrated them. These other books are very similar in subject matter to Wavrin's 'certain' manuscripts, and though they do not contain the usual marks of his ownership,⁸ they have either not been seriously claimed for anyone else, or they belonged to people close to him. These texts, as well as some other manuscripts, both lost and surviving, about which some evidence of Wavrin's involvement remains, will also be taken into account because they may, at the least, provide some evidence about the image of England prevailing in his circle.

7 Below, pt II, ch. 2, sect. 4.

8 Wavrin's signature may be lost as he sometimes wrote his name on a fly-leaf. One book survives in which his arms appear on the clasps of the original binding – which has, of course, often disappeared.

Part II. Chapter 2.

1. Books ascribed to Wavrin's authorship.

There are interesting aspects to all texts that can be connected to Wavrin. Their particular features and the fact that these are shared by so many of them have led modern commentators and editors to hypothesise that a number of them were composed by Wavrin himself. Individual literary historians, each for his or her own reasons, have been tempted to conclude that the text they were studying should be ascribed to Wavrin's pen. This is partly due to the common tendency to ascribe as many texts as possible to one author, partly to the '(mis)leading' name of convenience of the Wavrin Master – who is the common factor to many of these manuscripts – but partly also to the apparently overwhelming weight of circumstantial evidence.

The texts at one time or another thought to have been written by Wavrin himself are: the *Roman de Florimont*, the *Roman du Comte d'Artois*, the *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre*, the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy et de la dame de Fayel*, the *Chronique du bon chevalier messire Gilles de Chin*, and the *Livre des Faits du bon chevalier messire Jacques de Lalaing*.

The *Roman de Florimont*⁹ relates the life and deeds of the (legendary) grandfather of Alexander the Great; it survives in a twelfth-century French verse redaction by an otherwise unidentified author called Aimon de Varennes, and several prose versions. Aimon claimed that he had seen the book in a Latin version of a Greek original; he also stated that French was not his mother tongue, and he used some Greek expressions in his text. Modern scholars do not agree on the value of these claims and his knowledge of Greek. The text was popular: fourteen manuscript copies survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth century,¹⁰ and it not only inspired the authors of two prose redactions, but also a separate work, a prose 'prologue', on Florimont's father.¹¹ The two prose versions survive in only three fifteenth-century manuscripts. The first, in BN fr. 1490 and Arsenal 3476, is close to the verse redaction and mentions 'Aymes de Varennes'. The second prose redaction, in BN fr. 12566, is very different and much longer. Its prologue begins:

En l'an de l'incarnacion de nostre sauveur Jhesucrist mil iii^e xviii^e ou mois de septembre me partis du pais de Picardie ayans l'eage de xviii ans et me mis en la compaignie de pluseurs chevaliers escuiers natifs des pais de Bourgongne et d'ailleurs

9 App. D, no. XXXII. Willard, 'Burgundian version'.

10 Hilka, *Florimont*; Harf-Lancner, '*Florimont*'; Psichari, '*Florimont*'.

11 *Philippe de Madien* (1448), by Perrinet Dupin, chronicler and secretary at the court of Savoy.

en intencion de faire et acomplir le saint voiage d'oultremer pour parvenir en la sainte chitey de Jherusalem pour acquerir les graces, pardons et indulgences qui là sont.¹²

The author and his companions lost their way at sea and the wind blew them to Salonike (Thessalonike), the main port of Macedonia, where – the author claims – they prayed in the church of St Paul. He stayed for a month, studying the *coustumes et merveiles* of the country and researching in particular the great deeds of the ancient chivalry of Greece. Among the books shown to the author was *ung petit livre escript translaté du grec en latin* which told the story of some of the kings of Macedon from whom Alexander the Great was descended; he decided to translate it into French.

The author of this prose version has been assumed, tentatively by some modern commentators,¹³ more seriously by others,¹⁴ to have been Wavrin himself, about whose activities between 1417 and 1423 nothing is known and who could therefore have been on pilgrimage. None of the arguments put forward are very convincing: a particular interest in Alexander the Great is not proved by the presence of books on antiquity in Wavrin's library, for it would be hard to find a contemporary of his background who did not have the same number. His 'concern for verifying sources' which is said to have been 'somewhat in advance of his contemporaries' cannot be used as a serious argument in this context,¹⁵ for most (re-)writers of romances of the same genre – and even authors of texts with a more serious intent like the *Instruction d'un jeune prince* – claimed to base their work on an 'old book', more often than not 'almost illegible' and 'in a foreign language'.¹⁶

It is undeniable that Wavrin – or someone very like him – *could* have written, or at least commissioned, *Florimont*. The subject matter, the way in which the text was reworked, with its elaborations of battles and emphasis on courtesy and chivalry, and its 'modernisation' appear to be in line with the other re-editions that can be connected to him and his circle, but the only specific indications that support his actual authorship are the statements – truthful or not – that the author came from Picardy, like Wavrin, and that he was eighteen in 1418, as Wavrin was. The author would not have had to make the journey himself, for he could obviously have obtained his information from someone else. If it was Wavrin, he, in particular, could have been *better* informed by his nephew, Waleran, Lord of Wavrin, who travelled the area in the early 1440s. The knowledge about the area displayed in the text is deceptive: there was no church of St Paul in the town and if the author really stayed there as long as a month,

12 Dautrepoint, *Mises*, p. 270.

13 Porcher, 'Peintres'; Zink, *Roman*, p. 209.

14 Willard, 'Burgundian version'; Ouy, 'Maître', p. 64.

15 See also pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1, above.

16 Zink, *Roman*, pp. 200-01, for a list.

he would have known – and displayed his knowledge – that its inhabitants’ patron saint was St Demetrius. The other main churches were dedicated to St George, Our Lady and St Sophia.¹⁷ The *eglise saint Pol* was a plausible guess, inspired no doubt by St Paul’s letters to the Thessalonians.¹⁸

The surviving manuscript of the long prose version of *Florimont* does not contain signs of Wavrin’s ownership, but its many drawings are probably the work of the Wavrin Master himself. The presence of the arms of Philip the Good does not preclude Jean de Wavrin’s ownership, as there are several related manuscripts that have the arms of Wavrin but were part of Philip’s library by 1467.

Another book sometimes supposed to have been written by Wavrin is the *Roman du comte d’Artois*. It is an ‘original’ work in the sense that it was composed in the fifteenth century, between 1453 and 1467. The oldest surviving manuscript was illustrated by the Wavrin Master, bears Wavrin’s arms, but is also very likely to be the copy mentioned in the 1467/68 inventory of the library of Philip the Good.¹⁹ The story is based on a ‘little book’ which the author found while reading various other *volumez et traittiez*; he says he is merely the scribe and hopes he will be corrected *doucement* by readers and listeners. The story narrates the adventures of Philip, Count of Artois, who leaves his wife, daughter of the count of Boulogne, because she has given him no children. After many jousts, battles and a love affair during which the countess secretly takes the lady’s place and is made pregnant by her own husband, there is a grand reconciliation. The background of the story has been made vaguely historical and is based on one of Boccaccio’s tales; it is a literary celebration of Duke Philip in the person of a hero of the same name, more or less the same local background and vested with all chivalric talents and accomplishments, his only failure being his lack of a son and heir for many years. The theory of Wavrin’s authorship is based mainly on the presence of his arms, the period and apparent background of the text’s composition, and its illustration by the Wavrin Master;²⁰ there is no convincing evidence.²¹

The *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre* or *Louis de Gavre*²² is a text typical of this

17 Tafali, *Thessalonique*, pp. 130-48, and, *Topographie*, pp. 149-92, esp. 183, where an obscure chapel of St Paul is mentioned.

18 Another small indication of the competence of these *remanieurs*. No mysterious, separate Latin text as the source of the long prose version needs to be postulated; it is sufficiently close to the verse redaction for it to be a re-working of that, comp. Willard, ‘Burgundian version’, pp. 36-38.

19 App. D, no. IV.

20 Seigneuret, *Artois*, p. xxi.

21 Quéruel, ‘Artois’, pp. 138-39.

22 Tentative ascription to Wavrin, Morse, ‘Fiction’, pp. 58-59.

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Fig. 4. A scribe or compiler at work, *L'histoire des seigneurs de Gavre*, BR 10238, f. 1, reproduced from the facsimile edition by E. Gachet. The arms of Jean de Wavrin appear in the initial L.

'series' and has been particularly well researched. Several manuscripts survive; Wavrin's copy, which bears his arms (fig. 4), was made in 1456, is profusely illustrated by the Wavrin Master at his best and occurs in the 1467/8 inventory of the library of Philip the Good.²³ This story – again the jousting and journeys of a young man on his way to fame, this time translated from Greek via Latin and Flemish into French – can be firmly connected to the families of Gavre and Wavrin. Its modern editor has very credibly suggested that the version that Wavrin owned was composed for the marriage of Godefroy de Gavre in 1456.²⁴ Particularly interesting is the version that appears to have been *made* with the Wavrin family in mind – though this is not the one that Wavrin owned – and may also have been of special interest to Elizabeth Woodville, Edward IV's queen.²⁵ The story was cobbled together, copying a number of passages from existing prose romances, and in some cases it can be shown these sections were copied from specific manuscripts produced in the 'workshop' of the Wavrin Master.²⁶

The most thorough attempt at ascribing a romance to Wavrin's authorship was made for the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*.²⁷ This ascription was based on physical possibility: the right age, background and connections of the author, as well as comparison of the handwriting of Wavrin's signature to the hand of the possible 'author's copy' of the text, BR 9629. This unusual and untidy manuscript is written in two different hands and has a great number of corrections and insertions which suggest that this is not a copied text but an original working text of the composer. It was also argued that there is a similarity between the style of *Gillion* and the first book of Wavrin's *Recueil*, a similarity beyond the usual one found in fifteenth-century texts of the same genre.²⁸ The 'author's manuscript' was signed by Wavrin as owner.

The story is essentially a crusading one and endlessly complicated. The hero is a noble knight from Trazegnies in Hainault who marries Marie d'Ostrevant, another local name. Gillion, like the count of Artois, is childless and vows to go on a pilgrimage if his wife bears him a child. As soon as he knows she is pregnant he sets out on his journey and never meets his twin sons until many years and many battles later. In the course of his adventures he is told that his wife is dead – which she is not – and marries a converted Saracen princess. All three are eventually buried in an abbey in Hainault, where the inquisitive teller of the story

23 App. D, no. V.

24 Stuij, 'Popularité', 'Minnaar', 'Public', 'Lalaing', 'Mise en prose' and *Histoire*.

25 Visser-Fuchs 'Only romance?'.

26 Stuij, 'Mise en prose', relates the text closely to *Florimont*, BN fr. 12566, and the prose *Blanchandin*, Vienna 3438 and BN fr 24371.

27 Horgan, thesis; app. D, no. III. Gaucher, *Biographie*, p. 226. Comp. Straub, *Aubert*, pp. 243-76.

28 This is not tenable, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 2, below, but the several *Gillion* mss do present a fascinating puzzle (which can probably never be solved satisfactorily).

discovered their tomb. In answer to his enquiries the abbot gave him a little book of parchment, written in Italian in a very old, difficult script. The author translated this into French for the pleasure of Duke Philip and dedicated it to him. Apart from the plausible, but fictional setting of his discovery of the story, the only personal information given by the author is his avowed interest, from an early age, in the great deeds of men of the past.

Two other texts that have been tentatively ascribed to Wavrin's pen are bound together in his own copy, though modern readers would find them very different in character: the *Chronique du bon chevalier messire Gilles de Chin* and the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy et de la dame de Fayel*.²⁹ Both are scrupulous re-workings of earlier poems.³⁰ The local and genealogical interests that pervade all these texts is maintained by making Gilles de Chin the godson of Gillion de Trazignies, setting much of the action in Hainault – Chin is near Tournai – and marrying the hero to the countess of Nassau. The story is well provided with tournaments and part of it is set in the Holy Land.

The *Châtelain* is the better known of the two; it is not only a real love story with an unhappy ending, it is also about adulterous love, unusual in chivalric romances; *Gilles de Chin* offers examples to follow, the *Châtelain* certainly does not. The only connection between the two appears to be the historical/ancestral and local elements, very strong in *Chin*, very weak in the *Châtelain*, where they are limited to some details of the Third Crusade and the situation of Coucy, near St Quentin. The text of *Chin* also survives separately in another manuscript, where it has two prologues: a general one and one which says the prose version was made at the request of Jean, Lord of Créquy, who liked to hear everything about virtuous men of the past. Part of the introduction to the story itself is identical with the introduction to the *Livre des Faits de Jacques de Lalaing*.³¹

The *Livre des Faits*³² is based on undoubted facts: the life and chivalric exploits of a young nobleman, Jacques de Lalaing, Wavrin's relative mentioned earlier. The relevance of the recital of Jacques' deeds to Wavrin's work lies in the fact that, like the prose romances and the *Recueil* itself, it was put together from several separate elements: a purpose-made report, i.e. a letter composed by Wavrin's friend, Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, Toison d'or King of Arms, to the dead hero's father, Guillaume de Lalaing,³³ an anonymous account of the Ghent

29 App. D, nos. I, II.

30 Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 255-59, 289-92; Naber, 'Coucy'.

31 *Chin*, ed. Chalon; for the second prologue and dedication Naber, 'Coucy', pp. 179-80.

32 The most accessible printed text of the *Faits* is Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 8, pp. 1-251; vol. 2, pp. 221-390, has the Ghent war section, placed into the *Chronique* itself by the editor. Also Gaucher, *Biographie*, and the introduction to the modernised version, in *Splendeurs*; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 408.

33 Morand, 'Épître'.

wars of Philip the Good and several shorter pieces that are of particular interest in the present context.

As said above some of the first sentences of the *Faits* are almost identical with the first lines of *Chin*, starting *Comme il soit notoire, que jadis au pays de Hainaut ... etoit le fleur de chevalerie*,³⁴ but there are many more similarities of phrasing, not only between the *Faits* and *Chin*, but also between those two texts and *Gillion*.³⁵ The authorship of the text used to be ascribed first to Chastelain, then to Jean Le Fèvre – who is certainly the source of part of it – and later to Wavrin himself on the grounds of possibility, and similarity to his other work.³⁶ One commentator wrote: ‘Whoever was the author, he was also the maker of [the romances of] *Gillion de Trazegnies* and *Gilles de Chin* and he was *un professionnel du remaniement*, a professional re-writer, an expert at reworking’.³⁷

The advice of Jacques’ father about how his son should behave and what he should read is partly identical to the instructions from the *Dame des belles cousines* to her protégé in Antoine de La Sale’s *Jehan de Saintré* and had the same source.³⁸ The section on the Ghent wars is another account that led a separate life as well, and though it needs to be studied in more detail than is possible here, there is enough evidence to show that several accounts of this episode were made³⁹ – the relevant section in the *Recueil*, for example, was also an insertion.⁴⁰ Close comparison of the *Faits* and all its known ‘sources’ might reveal, not its author, but at least his methods, which may have been very similar to Wavrin’s in the *Recueil*.⁴¹

In spite of much circumstantial evidence none of the above texts can be ascribed to Wavrin’s pen with any certainty.

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- 34 *Chin*, ed. Chalon, p. 3, who also prints the passage from the *Faits*, p. xviii. Wavrin’s prologue to the *Recueil* also starts *Comme il soit notoire*, but that is all.
- 35 See the examples given by Bayot, *Gillion*, pp. 129-93.
- 36 Horgan, thesis, pp. xii-xvi, xxv-xxvii, 1; below, pt II, ch. 2, sects 2 and 3.
- 37 Bayot, *Gillion*, esp. p. 12. Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 8, pp. viii-ix; Gaucher, *Biographie*, pp. 174-75; *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *Livre des faits*. Also Lacaze, ‘Rôle’, pp. 340-41.
- 38 Ed. Misrahi, pp. 17-28; Black, ‘*Jehan*’; Stuij, ‘Edelen’, p. 251.
- 39 Discussion in Fris, ‘Onderzoek’.
- 40 This section is absent in fr. 20358.
- 41 An argument against Wavrin being the author is the criticism the *Faits* includes of the 1444-45 crusading expedition of Waleran de Wavrin, quoted Paviot, *Politique*, p. 123 from Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 8, p. 34.

Part II. Chapter 2.

2. Wavrin's library and related books.

Other books owned by Wavrin or otherwise closely connected with him need to be briefly described to understand the full composition of his collection. Bearing Wavrin's arms there are two copies of the *Histoire d'Olivier de Castile*. One, illustrated by the Wavrin Master at his best, was part of the ducal library in 1467/8.⁴² It is still in its original binding, one of the two manuscripts owned by Wavrin that were bound by the same Lille binder, the so-called 'predecessor of Godon'.⁴³ The other copy of *Olivier* was one of the Wavrin manuscripts that passed into the library of the Croy family in the sixteenth century.⁴⁴

Olivier de Castile is another series of adventures of two young men and contains standard elements, but is interesting because it is partly set in England and Ireland.⁴⁵ The text was said to have been translated from the Latin by Philippe Camus at the request of Jean de Croy, but in another copy David Aubert himself claimed to have made the translation for Duke Philip.⁴⁶ Another composite volume bearing Wavrin's arms and signature contains the well known stories of *Paris et Vienne* and *Apollonius de Tyr*. Both texts are in versions which emphasise the theme of the crusades and the wonders of the Orient and had scenes of courtly love and tournaments added in.⁴⁷ The illustrations are supposed to be early work of the Wavrin Master.⁴⁸

Of a different nature are the texts of the *Histoire de Thebes*, the *Abriegié de Troyes* and the *Histoire de Troie* bound in one volume:⁴⁹ the first, based on Statius' *Thebais*, in a version drawn from the early thirteenth-century *Histoire ancienne jusqu'a Cesar*,⁵⁰ the second a popular verse abbreviation of the story of Troy composed c. 1459,⁵¹ and the third is one of the Burgundian re-workings of c. 1459 of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis*

42 App. D, no. VIA.

43 The second is Honoré Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*, see below.

44 App. D, no. VIB.

45 Orgelfinger, 'Reality', 'Composition', introduction to *Hystorye*; Régnier-Bohler, Monarque'. I am grateful to Gail Orgelfinger for her help. Also below, pt II, ch. 2, sect. 4.

46 Sepet, 'Plagiat'; Straub, *Aubert*, pp. 324-25.

47 App. D, VII and VIII. Naber, 'Manuscrits', pp. 34-35, 37, and 'B.R. 9632/3'; Karlinger, 'Paris'; Kaltenbacher, 'Paris'; Lewis, 'Apollonius'; Archibald, *Apollonius*, ch. 6; Wavrin's copy is not listed by Archibald.

48 Crone, 'Studiën', pp. 328-29.

49 App. D, nos IX, X, XI.

50 Ed. Constans, vol. 2, pp. cxxiii-cxxxii; Jung, *Légende*, pp. 582, 584; Vielliard, *Mss français*, p. 81.

51 Based on the text that follows it, i.e. *Troyes*.

Troiae.⁵² They are illustrated by an artist from the school of the Wavrin Master or the Master himself working on parchment instead of paper, which may have cramped his style. The book has Wavrin's arms and signature and eventually passed to the library of Margaret of Austria.⁵³ Wavrin also had the Troy stories as rewritten by Raoul Lefèvre, called the *Histoire de Jason*,⁵⁴ in a version made after Philip the Good's death, which was used for Caxton's edition of 1477.⁵⁵ The manuscript bears the arms of Wavrin and was illustrated by the so-called Master of the *Champion des Dames*, who may have been connected with the Wavrin Master. This manuscript also went to Margaret of Austria.

Wavrin's text of the *Romuleon*,⁵⁶ a brief history of Rome written in Latin by Benvenuto da Imola and translated by Jean Miélot, of Lille, in 1463,⁵⁷ was also illustrated by the Master of the *Champion des Dames*, but the borders and some of the miniatures suggest it was not completed by him. The manuscript bears Wavrin's arms and signature but could have been finished after his death.⁵⁸ Classical interest is also indicated by Wavrin's ownership of a French translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* made in the 1370s by Nicole Oresme.⁵⁹

Wavrin owned two collections of informative and didactic texts. One is wholly concerned with the East: it contains two reports of travellers, a description of the Holy Land and a memorandum from the emperor of Constantinople with a commentary by one of the travellers. All were written up at the request of Philip the Good and all have a strong Lille connection.⁶⁰ One of these texts says it is meant 'to encourage the hearts of noble men who wish to see the world'; going on crusade as the equivalent of the Grand Tour? The other collection of texts⁶¹ – all in French – consists of Raymond Lull's *Order of Chivalry*, the pseudo-Aristotelian *Letter to Alexander (Secreta secretorum)*, and the supposed letter of St Bernard of Clairvaux to Raymond, Lord of Chastel Saint Ambroise. The first is a thirteenth-century manual for the correct conduct of knights that was still very popular in Wavrin's lifetime;⁶² the second a mirror for princes that was, in some form, almost a standard item in

52 Jung, *Légende*, pp. 582-94.

53 Because *Recueil* 1, 2, 2, mentions the fall of Troy and *ibid.* 6, 1, 9 describes Waleran's visit to the plain of Troy, Jung, *Légende*, pp. 593-94, assumes this version of the Troy story was made in *l'entourage des Wavrins*. Compare pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3, below.

54 App. D, no. XII.

55 Debae, *Librije*, p. 88.

56 App. D, no. XIII.

57 Raynaud, 'Humanism'.

58 McKendrick, 'Romuléon', p. 157, n. 49, and *passim*.

59 App. D, no. XIX. Richter Sherman, 'Visual definitions'.

60 App. D, nos XIV-XVIII.

61 App. D, nos XX-XXII.

62 E.g. *Richard III's Books*, pp. 80-85, and references given there. There is no truth in the assertion of Vanderjagt, *Vertu*, p. 69, that there was little interest in the text in 'Burgundian ducal circles'.

noble libraries in the fifteenth century,⁶³ and the third a very brief and rather banal treatise on the correct conduct of one's life and the management of a household.⁶⁴

Three manuscripts have only recently been revealed to have belonged to Jean de Wavrin. The first, another 'standard' book, was discovered when its binding was studied and his arms were found to be on the clasps. It is a copy of Honoré Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*, bound by the same binder as the *Olivier de Castile* mentioned earlier.⁶⁵ The second is Guillaume de Nangis' *Chronique abrégée*, with several continuations, which has Wavrin's arms in the first initial.⁶⁶ The third book, which tips the balance of the contents of Wavrin's library a little further away from chivalric romances, is one bound by a Lille binder whose name is known, Godon. It contains a treatise by St Pierre de Luxembourg, as well as a biography of him and has Wavrin's arms at the beginning of the two texts.⁶⁷

More tentative but still interesting is the ownership of a book containing both Vegetius' *De re militari* in the translation of Jean de Meung (end thirteenth century) and a slightly shortened version of Jean de Rouvroy's translation of Frontinus' *Strategemata* (1440). The manuscript bears the arms of the Wavrin family without any obvious differencing.⁶⁸

In the inventory of Margaret of Austria's library, made in 1523, there are nine manuscripts marked *Wavrin* after the title.⁶⁹ Three of their titles overlap with books known to have been owned by Jean de Wavrin: *Jason*, *Gilles de Chin* and *Paris et Vienne*, described above. Three others, *Ogier le Danois*, *Doon de Mayence* and *Octovien* contain very much the same material as the rest of Wavrin's collection. They could indeed have been his, and inherited by his nephew and the latter's son and passed *en bloc* to the Croy family and Margaret of Austria. Of the three last manuscripts marked *Wavrin* two are lost: Avicenna, *De re medica*, presumably in a French translation, and Guillaume de Digulleville, the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine*, an allegory of the Christian's journey to the Celestial City in verse (1330-31). The third, *Le livre de l'arboriste*, i.e. the *Livre des simples medicines*, a well known herbal by Mattheus Platearius, written in the middle of the twelfth century, survives.

Finally there are three manuscripts which like the *Florimond* bear no signs of Wavrin's ownership, but are again strikingly similar to his known books: all are ancestral

63 E.g. *Richard III's Books*, p. 120.

64 Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, p. 218; Latin text *PL*, vol. 182, cols 647-51.

65 Both Ghent UL; Colin, 'Lille', pp. 362, 366, below, app. D, no. XXIII.

66 Gil, 'Mécénat'. n. 93; below, app. D, no. XXIV. The ms.' text deserves further study because it represents Wavrin's only strictly historical surviving book and might have been used by him as a source, though this is not very likely as it contains merely a summary history of France.

67 App. D, nos XXVII, XXVIII.

68 App. D, nos XXV, XXVI.

romances and all are decorated by the Wavrin Master. Of *l'Histoire de Jean d'Avesnes* one manuscript occurs in the inventory of Philip the Good, the other has three elaborate miniatures, was written by Jean Du Chesne and bears the arms of Jean de Croy. The story, supposedly translated from the Latin, is in three parts, not very competently linked together, which relate the life of the semi-historical Jean d'Avesnes, his son, and also, rather unexpectedly, the adventures of the famous Saracen king, Saladin. The text is based on a thirteenth-century verse romance.⁷⁰

Gerard de Nevers, a prose version of the *Roman de la Violette*, survives in two manuscripts, both occurring in Philip the Good's inventory of 1467/8 – one was not finished at the time. The author lays claim to a Provençal original, though none of the four preserved manuscripts of the verse text contain any evidence of such an origin. The prose story has many fifteenth-century names inserted and was written for Charles, Count of Nevers, stepson of Duke Philip, who is said to have liked to hear stories of 'the noble and valiant princes your predecessors'.⁷¹ The *Buscalus* or *Roman de Turnus*, of which Duke Philip and Philip of Clèves owned copies, contains the legendary foundation of the town of Tournai by descendants of Aeneas' adversary Turnus.⁷²

69 App. D, nos II, VII, XII, XXX, XXXIV, XXXVII-XL.

70 App. D, no. XXXV.

71 App. D, no. XXXI.

72 App. D, no. XXIX.

Part II. Chapter 2.

3. England and the English in Wavrin's books.

Though England and the English are mentioned regularly in the books owned by Wavrin and his circle there are no signs of a very particular interest in, or great knowledge of, the country and its people. The king of England and his subjects always come second to the king of France and his people and their slight inferiority is always implied. The island frequently occurs as merely another country, where the hero of the story can travel to partake in a joust or tournament, or which he can acquire, rather nonchalantly by marriage or conquest, as an additional territory to rule. In the prose *Ogier le Danois (l'Ardennois)*, as far as it can be known from the printed edition of 1498, England is obviously a place for the hero to disport himself in. It takes the author one paragraph to describe how Ogier comes to England, conquers it, is crowned in London and acclaimed by the lords spiritual and temporal and then plans the conquest of Denmark.⁷³

In several texts, for example in the *Comte d'Artois* and *Jean d'Avesnes* (see below), the English are allowed to supply valiant knights who are worthy adversaries of the Burgundian hero and act as a foil for his chivalric exploits. Certain place names and names of English nobles recur and show which names and titles were more or less known on the continent. Sometimes these reveal a very specific, but limited knowledge, such as the existence and location of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in *La belle Hélène de Constantinople*.⁷⁴

In stories set largely in a different part of the world or in classical times, such as *Florimont*, *Chin*, *Gillion* and *Apollonius de Tyr*, or *Thebes*, *Troie* and *Jason* there is little occasion to refer to England. *Florimont* mentions Brutus, the founder of Britain, and *Corpeus* (Corineus), his companion, who settled in Cornwall. In the twelfth-century verse text of *Florimont* Brutus is the hero's uncle by marriage; the prose redactor repeats the information without comment or elaboration and actually seems more confused about who is who than the original author.⁷⁵ In the historical *Romuleon* the Roman conquest of Britain is, of course, described, but in a purely factual way, without any comment of the kind that Jean Du Chesne made in his version of Caesar's *Commentaries*.⁷⁶

Several of the most 'chivalric' romances that Wavrin and his circle owned contain descriptions of international jousts and tournaments in which English knights compete – and are defeated. In the *Comte d'Artois* (1453-1467) a tournament is held at Arras by the count of

73 Togeby, *Roman*, pp. 154-55.

74 Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 242-46.

75 Verse: ed. Hilka, lines 140-54; prose: BN fr. 12566, f. 3, quoted Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 268.

Boulogne, to which French, English, Scottish and German knights flock in great numbers. They are split into two groups – even though this means the parties are unequal in size – the English and the Germans fighting the French and the Scots, a division that was also ‘politically correct’. The Franco-Scottish party is only saved by the timely arrival of the count of Artois, the *alter ego* of Philip the Good, who chases the Anglo-Germans back to their tents.⁷⁷ This is the only appearance of Englishmen in the book. In the *Seigneurs de Gavre* (1456) the climactic tournament at Compiègne is visited by dukes, counts and barons from Spain, Aragon, Lombardy, by Germans, Savoyards, Burgundians, Flemings and Picardians. Even the kings of England and Scotland came, with their wives, as well as the king of France and his men from Normandy, Champagne, Poitou and elsewhere. During the *monstres*, the parade preceding the tournament, the English are led by the count of Warwick. During the fighting the count of *Rostelant* (Rutland)⁷⁸ is defeated, but the count of *Salisbury* (Salisbury) is victorious. Throughout the episode the king of England’s role is to honour the protagonist of the story by his presence.⁷⁹

In the added ‘Burgundian’ episodes of the romance of *Paris et Vienne* (after 1432) the king of England plays a similar part, honouring by his presence, this time together with the king of Sicily, the entry of the king of France into Vienne and the wedding of the hero, Paris. During the inevitable tournament the English, together with the Hainaulters, Brabanters and Germans are *la partie de dehors* and the French, Burgundians, Dauphinois and Normans *la partie de dedens*. The count of *Sallisbery*, *grant bouteillier d’Angleterre*, is the hero of the fight until he is unhorsed by Paris himself.⁸⁰

In the originally early thirteenth-century – unchanged in the mid-fifteenth-century prose version – *Livre des amours du Chastelain de Coucy et la dame de Fayel* England is represented by Richard I, *le preu et hardy roy*, who proclaims a tournament at Windsor. The *chastelain* travels to England via Calais, *laquelle estoit alors franchoise*, to take part. He is the *mieulx faisant* of the tournament, in which the English ‘suffer’ greatly, and is offered a place in the retinue of King Richard, *quy alors estoit miroir et patron de chevalerye, plain d’onneur et de hardiesse*, and who was held at the time to be *le plus large prince qui fust regnant sur terre*. When the games are over Richard summons a cardinal to preach the crusade (Lille, BM Godefroy 50, ch. 63; fig. 5) and is himself the first to take the cross; the *chastelain* follows his example and is thus parted from his lady, joining Richard at Marseille to sail for the Holy

76 Above, pt II, ch. 1, sect. 1.

77 *Comte d’Artois*, ed. Seigneuret, pp. 2-13.

78 Edward ‘of York’ (died 1415), Duke of York (1385) and Earl of Rutland (1390) occurs as *le conte de Rostellant Rosteland Roteland(e)* in *Recueil*, 4, 5, 1; 4, 5, 6; 4, 5, 9; 4, 5, 13; 5, 1, 5.

79 *Gavre*, ed. Stuij, pp. 192-209.

Land. During the siege of Acre Richard himself *ne se peult abstenir de chevalchier en pays et querir adventures, car tout son desir estoit de pourchassier et faire tant que de luy fust memoire, et que par sa grant proece il fust craint et doubté de ses anemis*. The king's victory on this 'adventure' is illustrated at the head of the chapter (ch. 69).⁸¹

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Fig. 5.

Richard I and courtiers listening to a cardinal preaching the crusade.

From *Le livre des amours du Chastelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*, Lille, BM Godefroy 50/134, ch. 63

A very different Richard I and many other Englishmen play a role in *Jehan d'Avesnes*. In the first section of this romance (1464-68), which concerns Jehan himself, there is a long description of a tournament proclaimed by the hero on 'the borders of England', that is the Bordeaux region, which was still solidly English at the time of the story. Many Englishmen turn up: the dukes of *Yort* (York) and *Clocestre* (Gloucester), the lords of *Beaumont*⁸² and *Wilby* (Willoughby),⁸³ Sir Thomas *de Malbery* (?) and Sir Henry *de Felleton* (Felton).⁸⁴ From *Cornouaille*, *Illandre*, *Quent* (Kent) and *Gallez* (Wales) came the counts of *Salsebery* (Salisbury), *Morbery* (?) and *Ormont* (Ormond),⁸⁵ the lords of *Duras*, *Rolz* (Ros),⁸⁶ *Mortemer* (Mortimer?), *Mongommeri* (Montgomery)⁸⁷ and *Boursier* (Bourchier),⁸⁸ and Sir John *de Pireton* (Remston?). These men are not individuals, they are foils; all are defeated by Jehan, but their prowess and/or good manners serve to highlight his even greater accomplishments.

80 *Paris et Vienne*, ed. Kaltenbacher, pp. 635-45.

81 *Coucy*, ed. Petit and Suard, pp. 188-92.

82 *le seigneur de Beaumont* in *Recueil*, 5, 1, 5; 6, 1, 1

83 *Wilby* in *Recueil*, 5, 1, 19; 5, 3, 16; 5, 3, 17; 5, 3, 28; 5, 5, 13; 5, 5, 33.

84 There were Feltons serving in Gascony, mentioned by Froissart, Wade Labarge, *Gascony*, pp. 155, 159, 171, 173-75.

85 *comte d'Ormont, seigneur, d'Irlande* in *Recueil*, 6, 2, 6; 6, 2, 9.

86 Several Lords Ros fought in France, *CP*, vol. 11, pp. 101-05; *le seigneur de Ros / Rost* occurs in *Recueil*, 5, 1, 5; 5, 1, 7; 5, 1, 9; 5, 1, 19; 5, 1, 31; 5, 2, 10; 5, 4, 25

87 *Recueil*, 5, 4, 23 and 27.

88 *Recueil*, 6, 4, 1.

The duke of York is Jehan's first opponent; on his helmet he bears a golden sparrow hawk (the Yorkist falcon?). York is defeated but the two men treat each other with courtesy and respect. The second day Gloucester fights, a golden leopard (of England) on his helmet, but he, too, *loûses*. Salisbury, *jeune, fort et puissant* but also 'presumptifous', Morbery, surrendering *par crainte ou par amours*, Duras, who defends himself *vaillament* and takes his defeat *en pacience et amoureusement*, Ros, who touches Jehan's hand in token of surrender *par bonne amour*, Ormond, who ends up with his feet in the air, Mortimer, *fier et [de] dur vouloir*, Willoughby, *grant et fort* and *gros et pesant*, Montgomery, who is steadied in the saddle by his courteous opponent before they decide the battle by the sword, Bouchier, who salutes his opponent *de sa langue englecque*, Beaumont, who fights very well but surrenders eventually *comme sage*, Thomas de Malbery, a worthy opponent, who admits defeat *courtoisement*, Felton, who surrenders *de bon cuer*, and finally *Joan de Pireton*, bearing a golden lion as his crest and putting up very strong resistance, all are defeated one after the other. When it is all over Jehan d'Avesnes gives a splendid feast in a leafy bower hung with tapestries and decorated with flowers made of wax and as a centre piece a life-size stag holding Jehan's arms on its antlers. The English are 'all amazed', for they 'were not used to such things and not very refined'. In a slightly later tournament York and Gloucester are again unhorsed and the others defeated *en masse*.⁸⁹

In *La fille du comte de Ponthieu*, the second part of *Jehan d'Avesnes*, a three-day tournament was added to the original story by the fifteenth-century *prosateur*, organised on 'a plain quite near London'. The knights from France and Burgundy put up their tents, dress in their finery and 'are feasted by the English, *Dieus scet comment!* One example of the attractive immediacy of some of the scenes:

... There was a great clash of shields and swords, the duke of Gloucester went down and there was such an outcry that the count of Ponthieu and Thibault, his knight, who had gone into town to buy some armour, heard it; they did not allow the painting of the shields they had bought to be finished, but mounted their horses, grabbed their lances and shouldered their shields. They saw from the distance that the duke of York was winning and they rushed at him, their horses seemed to fly. ...⁹⁰

A modern scholar has commented on the prominent role of the duke of York in this text and at this tournament,⁹¹ but in fact, as in the first section of the story, he shares his importance equally with the duke of Gloucester, both being *chevetainez* of the tournament and both behaving with exemplary courtesy. York and Gloucester are just grand English names,

89 *Jehan d'Avesnes*, ed. Queruel, pp. 78-119; ed. Finoli, pp. 56-77.

90 *Ponthieu*, ed. Brunel, pp. 54-68.

91 Lacaze, 'Rôle', p. 335.

providing the necessary prestigious *couleur locale*; the lords of *Mongomeri* and *Mortemer*, and the counts of *Salseberi* and *Ormont* also play their (minor) part again.

Just as it cannot be said that York's presence in *La fille* emphasises the alliance between Burgundy and the house of York, so it can also not be claimed that 'any Burgundian of the time might well associate the name Gloucester with treachery'.⁹² It is true that the duke of Gloucester is mentioned, *very* briefly, as a traitor in *Olivier de Castile* (1430-60),⁹³ but in one of Duke Philip's favourite stories, *La belle Hélène de Constantinople* (prose, 1448),⁹⁴ the earl of Gloucester is good and virtuous throughout and the saviour of the heroine. It is Hélène's mother-in-law, the queen mother of England, called Margaret, who does her utmost to destroy her.⁹⁵

In *Saladin*, the third part of the romance of *Jehan d'Avesnes*, the sultan pays a visit to France to find out the strength and weaknesses of the West. During his stay both he and Richard I take part in a tournament in France – Richard's red shield with its three leopards 'of fine gold' is described – and in the *mêlée* the king of England is stunned and thrown off his horse by Saladin, who is incognito. Worse is to come: Saladin decides he wants to conquer France and is advised to occupy England first, because it is *un isle et petit pays fort a merveillez* and no country is *plus propice pour porter nuisance aux François*. When King Richard hears about the sultan's plans he is *moult effrèé et en ploura de pitié*, but many knights come from the continent to help him defend his kingdom and they prepare a particular place, between *Escoche et Varvich* [sic], to meet Saladin, who in the end has to admit defeat and retires. The only Englishmen mentioned by name are the *conte de Stanfort* and a knight called *Anthoine Hardy et Habandonné*.⁹⁶ Later in the story Richard is accused by the author of collaborating with the Turks against Philip of France and he is forced to return from the Holy Land to England with *tous ses Angloys – que Dieux maldie – ennemis de ceulz de France*.⁹⁷

In *Oliver de Castile* much of the action is set in England, but there are no descriptive details. It is a story that pretends to be an historical account⁹⁸ and the author twice refers his reader to 'chronicles', including 'chronicles of England', but this cannot be taken very seriously as in both cases the events concern a fictional King Henry of Castile. Interesting is the incident in which Olivier, newly arrived in England, meets an old knight who asks him whether he knows Sir John Talbot. Olivier responds that he has heard of him but never met

92 Orgelfinger, 'Composition', p. 63.

93 Ghent, UL 470, f. 196.

94 Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, p. 37.

95 Ed. Roussel, Index.

96 'Anthony the Bold and Generous', *Saladin*, ed. Crist, p. 165.

97 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-141.

98 Orgelfinger, 'Composition', p. 51 and *passim*; Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, p. 56, n. 1.

him, and that he knows he lives at Canterbury. The old knight turns out to be Talbot himself, who is very ill and unable to get home. Olivier helps him and when they reach Talbot's house the old man dies. No one among his friends is prepared to bury him because he was greatly in debt. Olivier pays his debts and has him honourably buried. It is tempting to see here at least a sideways reference to the huge ransom that Talbot had to pay after his capture at Patay in 1429. Wavrin, for one, may have known all about it, for he was with Fastolf at the time, but it is more likely that this Sir John Talbot was just another Englishman. In view of the non-committal tone of the rest of the romance one cannot even suggest that the unkindness of Talbot's friends is a symptom of the general disloyalty and greed often ascribed to the English.

Another episode in *Olivier* that deserves mention is the one where the hero finds himself alone in a forest, having lost his hunting companions, and is captured by the son of King *Maquemuire*⁹⁹ of Ireland, whose father he had killed in a tournament.¹⁰⁰ If England was an undiscovered country, Ireland was worse: it was known for its wildness and its people for their uncouthness; even more than England it was the 'Wild West' of continental authors.¹⁰¹ In the *Chronique* of the Hainaulter Mathieu d'Escouchy, a similar adventure is related of Richard, Duke of York, whom a chieftain called *Macemaron* attempts to put to ransom by inviting him to dinner in the depths of the forest and imprisoning him.¹⁰²

It must be concluded that the choice of specific English names in these romances had no ulterior motive behind it. It is clear that certain names were known: York and Gloucester, Salisbury and Talbot, Warwick and perhaps Lancaster. The average scribe or author / *remanieur* of such romances at the Burgundian court knew that such people did exist or had existed, but he was not at all knowledgeable about English names, places and people; the spelling alone defeated most of them and the political events must have been hopelessly confusing to foreigners at the best of times. Compare, for example, the use of names in the wholly fictional *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, an original prose romance composed in the early 1440s and showing, according to its editor, *une indéniable aspiration à la paix* between England and France.¹⁰³ Among English place names it has *Clarence*, *Vindesoze*, and *Ville Joyeuse*, there are English knights called *Romar de Gault* and *Tristan de Beaufort*. Titles include the lord of *Pannet de la Quarriere*, the count of *Clusestre*, the dukes of *Iort* and *Langorre*; the king of England is called *Phillipon*, and his brother, the evil spirit of the story,

99 As Orgelfinger points out, 'Composition', pp. 56-57, the name 'MacMurrough' was known on the continent, e.g. to Froissart.

100 Ghent, UL 470, ff. 128v-129.

101 Rickard, *Britain*, ch. 10; Boivin, 'Irlande'.

102 D'Escouchy-Du Fresne, vol. 1, pp. 295-98.

Thomas de l'Angarde.¹⁰⁴ There are thus no signs of a particular knowledge of or interest in England in the non-historical reading matter of Wavrin and his friends. It has been said that in *Jean d'Avesnes* England is 'close and familiar', but given the nonchalance and vagueness with which English names and geography are treated even there, this is hard to maintain. Of course, there was a certain amount of information available, but on the whole one is not impressed. Some men, such as Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury, and John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, had been so famous (or infamous in French eyes) that it is indeed surprising that they are not given a more individual part to play in the 'historical novels'. Only Richard the Lionheart seems to have been able to maintain a reputation, though not always a positive one.

The makers of some of the popular ballads against the earl of Warwick had been better informed, but at that time the English had been a bit too close for comfort and their existence had to be acknowledged.

103 Ed. Zink, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

104 If there were anything suggestive about these names it would imply that 'Lancaster' (*langarde??*) is the enemy!

Part II. Chapter 2.

4. The Wavrin Master and his workshop.

Many of the manuscripts owned by Jean de Wavrin and his acquaintances show great similarity, not only in matter, but also in execution and they strongly suggest a very active and efficient workshop in or near Lille which focussed on one type of production: prose romances composed or rewritten for the entertainment of the Burgundian court. In itself this is not unexpected. Lille had been the administrative and financial centre of the dukes of Burgundy since the end of the fourteenth century. The first chapter of the order of the Golden Fleece had been held there in 1431, and the famous feast of the Pheasant in 1454. Many artists had been employed on both occasions. The concentration of wealthy citizens, officials and noblemen attracted by the court was favourable for the development of more than one book-producing atelier. One of them centred on the talents of Jean Miélot, illustrator, scribe, author and translator; another focussed on the special gifts of the Wavrin Master, his pupils and his compositors and scribes; the latter was perhaps the ‘hobby’ of one of its patrons, Jean de Wavrin.¹⁰⁵

It appears that the workshop of the Wavrin Master made texts to measure. They were literally made to measure in that they were put together with the required ingredients. One of the obligatory components was the use of familiar names and places; the protagonists of the story had to be ancestors of the future readers; they had to bear titles that rang true and live in places that people were familiar with; both names and places had to be celebrated and praised.¹⁰⁶ Popular narrative elements were included, such as the particular one of the nobleman who is unable to have an heir for many years, and the standard chivalric theme of a young man travelling around proving that he is a perfect knight. He is ‘polished’ by love, serves the king of his choice, fights battles of conquest, jousts victoriously and chivalrously and plays a competent part in courtly festivities; he is generous and always keeps his word. Virtually every single text had, or was given, a crusading section, or at least contained some description of the wonders of the East, which seem to have perpetually fascinated fifteenth-century readers.¹⁰⁷

In order to compose these ‘historical’ or ‘ancestral’ ‘novels’ the makers – not only in the Lille workshop, but elsewhere, too – often turned existing verse into prose, and as they did

105 De Winter, ‘Mécénat’; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, pp. 79-94; Naber, ‘Manuscrits’, pp. 42-48; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 424; Zink, *Roman*, p. 218; Colin, ‘Lille’.

106 Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 614; Zink, *Roman*, p. 210; and e.g. Stuij, ‘Popularité’.

107 Stuij, ‘Minnaar’, pp. 261-62; Rodinson, *Fascination*.

so they modernised, and often rationalised or even ‘historicized’ their exemplars.¹⁰⁸ They also industriously copied each other or repeated themselves.¹⁰⁹ In their view this did not diminish the entertainment value or any other virtue of the work. Just as the ancient Greeks enjoyed listening to ‘Homer’ endlessly using the same phrases and situations – and apparently modern Turks are happy to do the same with their own traditional texts – so the fifteenth-century reader or listener, even the sophisticated one, cannot have minded hearing again and again how the hero turned up in differently coloured armour on successive days of a tournament, or how one of the main characters killed his own children to save his best friend with their blood. One of the most interesting and, to us, entertaining repetitive elements is the author’s finding a ‘little book’, almost illegible, in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish or German, which is then translated for him, or by him at someone else’s request. This emphasises how acceptable, even desirable, were *old* stories, but also indicates that they had to pretend to be *unknown*.

The illustrations of this Lille workshop associated with Jean de Wavrin ask for separate consideration because of the unique¹¹⁰ qualities of the Wavrin Master. In his drawings he created an atmosphere of lightness; his work is precise and detailed, but also suggests how quickly a scene can change and pass. His young noblemen are elegant and their body language eloquent to the point of affectation; his women are lively and always appear to be busily talking; all his human figures are deeply involved in what they are doing, whether they are talking, fighting, riding or just walking along. His animals are light on their feet and very much alive; his armies are massed ranks, active and threatening by their suggestion of great numbers. It is hard to deny that there is irony lurking in the Wavrin Master’s observation of life. The ease and speed with which his work appears to have been produced make it impossible to believe that his attitude towards the scenes and events he illustrated was insincere, but he does put the subject matter into perspective; he does not criticise, but he does emphasise the *burlesque* element in many of the events (figs 4, 5, 6).¹¹¹ The particular elegance of noble dress of the period seems to suit his style perfectly, and none of his pupils or imitators achieved the same perfection and sophistication.

108 Dautrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 533-39, 600-24; Zink, *Roman*, pp. 207-11.

109 Esp. Stuij, ‘Mise’.

110 Dautrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 297, 430.

111 De Winter, ‘Mécénat’, p. 252; Desonay, ‘Notes’, p. 321; Ouy, ‘Maitre’, p. 66.

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Fig. 6. A feast, from *Girart de Nevers*, BR 9631, f. 26v.

It is possible that this particular artist originally made the under drawings for conventional miniatures – it is remarkable how competent and fluent some under-drawings were and how the final miniature was often much more stylised and solemn.^{1 2} Perhaps his special talent for lively drawings was discovered and appreciated and he was allowed to develop it to the full and create little works of art in their own right. The easy, flowing script of the principal scribe of the workshop, Jean d'Ardenay, bears great similarity to the ease and speed of the drawings and it has been suggested that the scribe and the illustrator are the same man. It is certainly undeniable that whoever made the illustrations was well aware of the details of the contents of the text and was able to represent them correctly and subtly.^{1 3} Remarkable, too, is the great numbers of drawings in some of these manuscripts. This and the fact that the red ink of the relevant caption in some cases can be seen to have mingled with the black ink of the frame of the drawing, point to extreme efficiency.¹¹⁴

As interesting as the talent of this draughtsman is the fact that patrons accepted his work: men like Philip the Good, Jean de Créquy and Wavrin himself, who were used to the conventional, decorative and colourful work of other illuminators. They were, of course, also

112 E.g. Geneva, Bibliotheque publique et universitaire fr. 168, Gagnebin, 'Enluminure', no. 62;

113 Desonay, 'Oeuvre', p. 417; Crone, 'Studien', p. 331.

used to the more subtle charms of grisaille miniatures *and* they owned works by more incompetent draughtsmen than the Wavrin Master, but did they appreciate how different he was? Did they not mind the irony he inserted into their ancestral romances? Why did Wavrin especially like him and patronise him? In view of the status and wealth of his customers the Wavrin Master cannot have been patronised merely for the speed (and economy?) of his production.¹¹⁵

Because of his owning so many texts illustrated by the Wavrin Master or his 'school' Wavrin is assumed to have been very closely associated with the workshop. One commentator even suggested that the illustrator was Wavrin himself, who had learned about perspective and become proficient in its use on his many travels.¹¹⁶ As said above several of the *texts*, too, have been ascribed to Wavrin's pen, but in spite of a mass of circumstantial evidence none of these ascriptions can be proved. An attempt to connect two of the 'novels' to Wavrin's *Recueil* by pointing out that in the *Recueil* the capture of the castle of Gavre in 1453 is mentioned, which is assumed to link it to the *Histoire des seigneurs de Gavre*, and that in *Jean d'Avesnes* a number of English names appear which also occur in the *Receuil* cannot be taken seriously.¹¹⁷ Such links are too tenuous. More substantial connections between Wavrin's known work and his 'historical novels' are to be found in the fact that he did compose a book and that the 'method of production' of the *Recueil* is very close to that of the romances: they were both historical reading matter created for the entertainment of a particular audience by gathering together existing material and turning it into a seamless structure. A manuscript of the *Recueil* illustrated by the Wavrin Master may well have existed and would not have been an anomaly.

114 *Ibid.*

115 Almost all his known work is on paper.

116 Ouy, 'Maître'.

117 Gaucher, *Biographie*, pp. 258-29, 260 (for these names, see the next section). Curiously Jacques de Lalaing's death, which occurs in the same section of *Recueil*, is not linked to the *Livre des faits de Jacques de Lalaing*. The accounts of the Ghent war do need further study; Wavrin's version also suggests it was a separate text, *Recueil*, 6, 2, 21-41.

Part II. Chapter 3.

The Recueil des croniques dEngleterre.

Introduction.

This chapter will look at the contents of the *Recueil*. It will first discuss what is known about the original dedication and date, title and subject, structure, making and purpose of the work, using mainly what Wavrin himself says in his text, with some little help provided by related works. Next Wavrin's sources, and how he used them, will be looked at, some in detail, some more cursorily.

Wavrin's work is very much a *recueil*, a collection, for which the maker transcribed or summarised every relevant source available, in order to produce a work that was as compendious as possible. Sources include an anonymous French version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, a French *Brute*, a chronicle of Normandy and the chronicles of Froissart – the latter Wavrin used so extensively that modern editors so far have not considered it necessary to publish his text where it overlaps with Froissart. Wavrin knew many separate reports and documents concerning important and interesting events, such as the death of Richard II and the battle of Shrewsbury. He shared sources with, rather than copied, his older contemporary, the chronicler Enguerran de Monstrelet; he frequently refers the reader to the *croniques de France*; he used a version of the *Recouvrement de Normendie*; he knew the work of Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy and he may have had a connection with Jacques Du Clercq. For the period 1444-1471 the *Recueil* is closely related to the work of the mysterious Monstrelet-continuator. It is often impossible to decide whether the many minor differences between Wavrin's text and the documents he used are just scribal errors, or have to be explained by idiosyncrasies of the manuscript he had to hand and which we cannot check because it does not survive; any major variations are likely to be conscious alterations.

Not all the sources of the *Recueil* can be dealt with here in detail. Working through the text chronologically a number of sections will be discussed; in this way it will be attempted to cover most of the book and at the same time try and consider every aspect of Wavrin's method. It is hoped that an overall picture will emerge, clearer in some places, more obscure in others. The first book of the first volume, for example, which contains the relatively familiar story of Albina and the foundation of Britain, provides enough material to allow some conclusions to be drawn, but a full and detailed analysis of Wavrin's use of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the *Brut*, Froissart and other early chronicles will not be attempted here, only a rehearsal and overview of what is known.

As to Monstrelet and Le Fèvre, Mlle Dupont, Wavrin's first editor, assiduously compared the *Recueil* to their work and indicated in her edition which sections were – in her judgment – original to Wavrin. Such sections are few and far between and her explanation was too simple, marred by the fact that Monstrelet had already been edited by modern scholars when she was writing and Wavrin had not, which appears to have made her silently assume that Monstrelet's text – of which the *making* indeed predates the *Recueil* – was equally available to Wavrin and used by him.¹ The fact that Wavrin and Le Fèvre compared notes is attested by Wavrin himself, but even so the exact nature of their cooperation remains a mystery.

Some sections of the work of Du Clercq and the Monstrelet-continuator have been compared to the relevant parts of Wavrin's *Recueil* in the first part of this study in the course of the attempt to analyse Wavrin's attitude to the earl of Warwick. The evidence of that comparison will have to serve for the present chapter as well.²

Of particular interest are the contemporary newsletters, the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* of 1470, the so-called 'short version' of the *Arrivall of Edward IV* and the 'Capture of Arzila' of 1471, used by Wavrin in his very last section.³ Their evidence suggests that there is no reason to suppose that the dukes of Burgundy opened their archives to Wavrin,⁴ or 'allow[ed] him to read their personal letters'⁵ – or that he had any official position. A close examination of the 'short version' of the *Arrivall* proved that many people knew that text in some form; in that case there was enough supporting material to make a study of the context possible.⁶ The account of the capture of Arzila in North Africa by Alphonso V of Portugal, in August 1471, can also be proved to have been widely published. It survives as a separate document with an interesting introduction explaining how the author wrote it up for Duke Charles, using a letter received by the duke's mother, Isabel of Portugal, Alphonso's aunt. Particularly interesting to English historians is Wavrin's copy of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*. Only one English version and three copies of the same French version of the *Chronicle* survive and there is little supporting material, but analogy suggests that this, like all

1 Compare her remark – and similar ones throughout – about Wavrin's coverage of the years 1444-1460, vol. 1, p. xl: *Copié, ..., d'après Du Clercq et le troisième volume de Monstrelet* [i.e. the Monstrelet-continuator, as Monstrelet only wrote two volumes] *Ce qui concerne la révolution arrivée en Angleterre en 1453 est inédit*; which amounts to saying: only what has not been edited is original to Wavrin.

2 Pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1, above.

3 Pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4, below.

4 Gransden, *Writing II*, p. 290.

5 Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 429; the same, *Litt.*, p. 445. Also Hommel, *Chroniquers*, p. 110: *A la cour de Bourgogne, on flattait la manie de chroniqueur du vieux Wavrin, et l'on s'effocait de lui procurer de la documentation.*

6 Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir'.

the newsletters that Wavrin used, had been sent to Charles the Bold or Margaret of York, who for reasons of their own allowed them to be made public.

In the later parts of his book, where the newsletters are to be found, Wavrin appears to have been working in a way more familiar to modern historians, gathering and using contemporary documents, instead of merely copying a predecessor. In fact, it is likely that he was using the same method that he had followed before: gathering *all* available material, selecting the most appropriate or complete text when he had any choice, joining them together, summarising, inserting and altering as he thought best.⁷ The difference between the earlier and later section did not depend on his method, but on the nature of the available sources. Up to *circa* 1400, when Froissart ends, they had all been long and literary; some of the later ones were short and factual and demanded a different kind of editorial activity.

7 On this assembly work, e.g. Lemaire, 'Conception', pp. 246-47, quoting David Aubert and Jean d'Enghien; the latter says he is making something that resembles *ung chapelet bien odorant et plaisant a veoir des fleurettes* made by young girls.

Part II. Chapter 3.

The Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre.

1. The dedication and date, title and subject, structure, making and purpose of the *Recueil*.

Dedication and date.

According to its original prologue⁸ Wavrin's collection of the chronicles of England was dedicated to his nephew of the half blood, Waleran, Lord of Wavrin, Berlettes, Lillers, Malannoy and Saint Venant (c.1418-after 1480), head of the house of Wavrin.⁹ Jean does not say much about his nephew or himself, he does not discuss his parentage, as many other memorialists and chroniclers did, but his pride in the house of Wavrin is evident. By writing the book and dedicating it to Waleran he is offering it to his dead father and brother and all their ancestors.

Shortly after Waleran's return from his voyage against the Turks,¹⁰ in early January 1445/46, he and Jean, as they often did, discussed various 'fair and ancient histories' and they realised to their surprise that no *general* chronicle of England appeared to exist, and that in spite of the many noble kings that had ruled the island and the many great deeds of its knights only *petis livres* of individual kings had been written.¹¹ Wavrin undertook to remedy this by gathering together all the existing records of these kings and their chivalry.

Wavrin had no official position and he was in no sense the *Historiograph Philipps* or *un des chroniqueurs officiels*,¹² and he did not dedicate his book to Philip the Good. This may have been a conscious decision, for it would no doubt have been possible for him to approach the duke. His family was among the highest in the Burgundian lands, his nephew had been educated with Charles the Bold and he himself was a valued servant to the old duke, but he probably considered his nephew a dedicatee of sufficient standing, and perhaps he did not expect Philip to be particularly interested in a history of England, especially after the peace of Arras (1435) and the duke's renewal of his allegiance to the Valois kings of France and break with England. Philip was concerned to have texts published that related to his own dominions

8 App. E, 1. For the dedication to Edward IV, see below, pt II, ch. 4.

9 For Waleran, Goethals, *Histoire*, pp. 50-52; Brassart, 'Généalogie', pp. 60, 66, 67; *Biographie nationale*, vol. 27, cols 132-36.

10 Waleran's expedition is mainly known from the account included in the *Recueil*, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4, below.

11 It is a moot point whether Wavrin was correct, but it is likely he did not look beyond French texts and that he was not aware of the 'long' English *Brut* chronicles available in his lifetime

and claims, and reflected, however remotely and ‘romantically’, his territorial hopes and dreams.¹³ Many of the other books that Wavrin owned or can be associated with¹⁴ are better representatives of the genre that Philip preferred than the *Recueil* itself. If Wavrin had started writing during the reign of Charles, he might have written it for the duke himself, but it has to be emphasised that there are very few books of English history in the inventories of the ducal library and there is no evidence that either Philip or Charles ever owned a copy of the *Recueil*.¹⁵

According to the surviving copies of his dedication Wavrin started his work in 1455. Whether there actually was a ten-year interval between his conversation with his nephew, shortly after January 1446 (1445 by Burgundian reckoning), about the lack of a full-length history of England and the inception of the work, or whether *fifty-five* – even though this is confirmed by the surviving manuscripts¹⁶ – is a scribal error for *forty-five* cannot be ascertained.¹⁷ Wavrin wrote that his nephew had *darrainement*, lately, returned from his expedition when they were talking, and it is much more likely that he started his work not long after. It may be worth noting that Wavrin, born in 1400, wrote that he felt he was *approaching* old age, not that he *was* old; at the age of fifty-five he might well have thought different¹⁸

The collection of chronicles was planned to be in four volumes,¹⁹ down to, but not including, the coronation of Henry V, and the fourth volume does indeed end with the death of Henry IV and his burial at Canterbury (4, 6, 31). The dedicatory prologue to Waleran announces that the work will end at the coronation of *Edouard V*. Opinions vary about the cause of this error; the most simple explanation is that this was not Wavrin’s mistake, but was made by an editor working during the reign of Edward IV. He was attempting to fit the original preface in his exemplar – which presumably read *Henri V* – to the text, which he knew came down to 1471/2 in the reign of Edward IV. There would be nothing odd about a foreign scribe making a mistake about the *number* of an English king, but he is likely to have been aware of the *name* of the reigning prince.²⁰

12 Crone, ‘Studien’, p. 321; Quéruel, *Avesnes*, p. 9.

13 Lacaze, ‘Rôle’.

14 Above, pt II, ch. 2, sects 1 and 2; app. D, below.

15 Barrois, *Bibliothèque*. *Pace* the unfounded (and generally obsolete) remarks on the ownership of the *Recueil* in Matheson, *Brut*, pp. 22-23.

16 BN fr. 71, 74, and BL Royal 15 E iv, acc. to Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 3; Vienna 2534, f. 16.

17 Wavrin himself had forgotten when exactly he started, see his dedication, app. E, 1, below. Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, p. 444, Molinier, *Sources*, p. 196, and Naber, ‘Wavrin’, p. 288 have 1445 without explanation.

18 *Pace* Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 2, pp. 439-40, who obviously refused to accept fifty-five as old.

19 Prologue: *en quatre volumes*.

20 In BN fr. 85 (*Recueil*, 6, 5, 43) *Richard* is given as the name of the king who receives the Golden Fleece from Charles the Bold; as Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. ccxi, n. 1, says, it is very

Success, continuing enthusiasm, the availability of more material and perhaps an unexpected lease of life encouraged Wavrin to continue his work as far as he could; *Dieu devant, je parsievray ma matiere, autant que oportunité me durera* he wrote at the end of the fifth volume.²¹ He was able to take his story down to Edward IV's return from exile and the capture of Arzila in 1471, and in order to accommodate everything he eventually needed six volumes. *When* he decided to continue his work is not certain. For the Agincourt section, early in the fifth volume, he compared notes with Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, who started his own book in 1467, and this may provide the *terminus post quem*.²² He was still in search of information, for *le parfait* – either the ‘completion’ or the ‘perfection’²³ – of his work, in July 1469, when he visited Warwick at Calais (and when he wrote this episode down he seems not yet to have known about the earl's treasonable activities of 1470 and 71). Some of the documents he used for 1469 and 1471 were strictly contemporary and in 1473/4 Jean Du Chesne was able to write that Wavrin had *nouvellement continuees* his ‘histories’ (see below). Du Chesne also appears to say that the work was finished and his correct reference to six volumes suggests that he knew the book. A possible *terminus ad quem*, the date by which Wavrin stopped writing altogether, is provided by the last entries: the reports of Edward IV's return, in April and May 1471, and the capture of Arzila, in August of the same year.²⁴ If these were included by Wavrin himself he must have stopped some time in the autumn of 1472, after the latter report had become available to him. Earlier, incomplete editions may have existed, but the first six-volume edition, ‘beautifully’ produced, was finished by 1473/4; Wavrin was old by then, but he had wasted no time and perhaps lived long enough to see his work ‘come out’.

Title and subject.

In the heading to the Prologue and towards its end the *Recueil* is referred to as *ceste presente euvre du recueil des croniques et anchiennes (h)istoires de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme(e) Engleterre* and *ce recueil de(s) croniques et histoires du royaulme dEngleterre*;²⁵

likely that this ms. was being copied during the reign of Richard III (which is corroborated by the style of the illumination, see below pt. II, ch. 4).

- 21 Compare Du Clercq, who wrote he would continue *tant ce que je vivray* (Du Clercq, *Préface*), and Chastelain: *jusques tant que permis me sera vivre* (Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 1, p. 12).
- 22 He could have used earlier drafts by Le Fèvre or compared notes before the latter started his actual work, see below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.
- 23 In Chastelain's *Prologue* it means ‘completion’, Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 1, p. 12.
- 24 It is possible Wavrin did not insert the beheading of the bastard of Fauconberg (September 1472, 6, 6, 32) himself; it does not occur in fr. 20358 (nor in Harl, 4424 and fr. 88, otherwise very close in this section), which suggests it was added to the Gruuthuse redaction.
- 25 The letters in brackets give the spelling of Wavrin-Dupont.

the surviving manuscripts appear to agree in this.²⁶ Hardy was therefore no doubt correct to take *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories²⁷ de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre* as the title of his edition. Sometimes the formal title is abbreviated to *croniques dEngleterre*. For example, in the *table des rubriques*, or when referring to the subject of his book. In one of those instances he also repeats the word *recoillier*:

Pour ce que moy, acteur de ces Croniques dEngleterre, ne veul pas prendre ne recoillier au long les choses advenues en pluseurs lieux et divers, fort tant seulement des guerres de France, dEngleterre, de Bretagne, de Castille, de Portingal, ou les Anglois (4, 1, 53)

A few titles of contemporary works resemble Wavrin's. One is historical: Pierre Le Baud's (died 1505) *Compillacion des Croniques et Ystoires des tresnobles roys et princes de Bretagne armoricque*, which went up to 1458 and contained earlier chronicles, some of them now lost. Like Wavrin Le Baud included a version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*.²⁸ More famous is Raoul Le Fèvre's pseudo-historical *Recoeil des Histoires de Troyes* (1464/65), which joined together all the known stories about Troy. It was meant to run from the time of Saturn to the third and last capture of Troy, but the author/compiler did not live to finish it and others filled the gap.²⁹ In his prologue the author contrasted his work with the *singulieres histoires* and the *particuliers livres* about Troy, comparable to the *petis livres* that Wavrin mentioned as having been written about English kings. Le Fèvre added that he had been ordered by the duke *d'icelles faire un recoeil*, which he planned to do in *iiij livres ... mis en ung*.³⁰

The name of the island of Britain appears to be given in Wavrin's title with unnecessary exactness, but this was not unusual at the time. Even *Perceforest*, a 'history' of Britain so fictional that it starts with Alexander the Great's visit to the island, has as subtitle *livre du roy Percheforest de la Grant Bretagne, nommee a present Angleterre*.³¹ The various names of England appear to have fascinated fifteenth-century continental commentators, who tried – like Wavrin – to explain the meaning of each. The *Débat des hérauts*, for example,³² gives *Albion* as the original name without explanation, goes on to say that the island was called *Bretaigne* after Brutus, and later *Inglaterre* after the Saxon *Inglus*. The change of name was important because it was generally accepted that Brutus and the Britons had been great heroes,

26 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 1, collates BN fr. 71, 74 and BL Royal 15 E iv. Vienna 2534, f. 15, has the same.

27 It is not clear why Hardy used this spelling.

28 BN fr. 8266 (Suppl. fr. 67), mentioned Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 17, n. *.

29 *Dictionnaire*, s.n.; *Karel de Stoute*, item 3.

30 Le Fèvre-Aeschbach, *Recoeil*, p. 125.

31 *Perceforest*, ed. Taylor, p. 63; *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, also mainly set in England, has: *Angleterre, laquelle estoit appallee pour le temps la Grant Bretagne*; ed. Zink, p. 1.

vaillans chevaliers, from whom Constantine and Arthur were descended, but the Saxons, on the other hand, were usurpers who did nothing but fight civil wars. Their descendants, the English, tried to claim the honour due to the Britons from whom they were not descended and this was a major breach of the rules of chivalry. Twice, therefore, the French herald in the *Débat* uses the slightly derogatory phrase which reflects the controversy about this shameful pretense: *ladicte yslle, qui lors se appeloit Bretagne, s'apelle a present Angleterre* and *Bretaigne, qui a present se nomme Angleterre*.³³ The phrase is also present in the title of an anonymous translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, the *Histoire de Brutus, premier roy de Bretagne, a present dicte Angleterre, et ses successeurs*, which is different from the version used by Wavrin (see below) and appears to survive in only one manuscript.³⁴

Elsewhere in the text the subject of the book is set out differently:

Pour ce que moy, acteur de ces Croniques d'Angleterre, ne veul pas prendre ne recoillier au long les choses advenues en pluseurs lieux et divers, fort tant seulement **des guerres de France, d'Angleterre, de Bretagne, de Castille, de Portingal, ou les Anglois** (4, 1, 53)³⁵

Les choses advenues de nostre tempz et par especial le grans et haulz fais de roys **d'Angleterre** (5, 1, 7)³⁶

Retournerons auz matieres touchans **les fais des guerres dentre Francois et Engles** (5, 4, 1)

Retournerons au **fait de France et d'Angleterre** (5, 4, 2)

Poursievir nostre matiere touchant **les affaires cursibles des royaumes de France et d'Angleterre, et aussi du duc Phelipp de Bourguoigne** (5, 6, 6)

There is no doubt in Wavrin's mind that wars are the stuff of history; other events are *incidences, recreatives* or otherwise.³⁷ He also seems not to distinguish between France and Burgundy until late in his work.

After Wavrin's death, when the *Recueil* was presented to Edward IV as part of the diplomatic exchanges preceding Edward's invasion of France in 1475, the then editor, apart from scrapping the original dedication and including a new prologue in praise of the king of England,³⁸ also gave the text a new title:

32 Pannier, *Débat*, pp. 10-11, 40; also Beaune, *Naissance*, p. 44.

33 In Wavrin's *Recueil* England is called after the Saxon leader *Englist* (see below). According to Eustache Deschamps it was called after *Angela, fille a un duc puissant De Saxoine, Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, p. 88. Compare Bossuat, 'Origines', p. 196.

34 BN fr. 5622 (10211), mentioned Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 17, n. *.

35 Froissart's subject was the *nouvelles guerres de France et d'Angleterre*; Monstrelet: *faits d'armes* and *adventures et vaillances d'armes* that were done in France and neighbouring countries; Du Clercq: *choses advenues ... au royaume d'Angleterre, comme au royaume de France et es pays de Philippe-le-Grand, duc de Bourgogne*.

36 In the Nassau redaction, KB 133 A 7^{III}, ff. 11v-12.

37 On the word *incidence*, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4, below.

38 Below, pt II, ch. 4

Prologue de lacteur sur la totale recollation³⁹ des sept volumes des anciennes et nouvelles croniques d'Angleterre a la totale loenge du noble roy Edouard de [erased]⁴⁰ .v°. de ce nom.
Cta.

To include 'new' chronicles must have seemed more realistic, given the fact that the book covered events up to only a few years before. It has to be noted that this unknown editor not only claimed to be *lacteur*, but also mentioned 'seven' volumes (incorrectly, as far as can be known) and left out the 'histories' of Wavrin's original title, which may have been an important word, because it referred, however unconsciously, to the narrative element, the stories, in short, to the entertainment, that was such an important aspect of Wavrin's work.

Structure.

In his dedication Wavrin announced that he gone to the 'pain and labour' of *recueillir* [gather, collect, rehearse], *adjouster* [add, join together] and *ramener* [put in the right place, bring back to memory] all the lives and martial deeds of the kings of England.⁴¹ In this he resembles the *prosateurs*, the authors/editors who turned 'ancient' verse romances into 'modern' prose and whose work made up such a large proportion of his library: many of them shared this wish to make a compilation of all texts concerning a person or subject, moved by, what Doutrepoint called, *l'esprit cyclique*.⁴² Like these same prose compilers, Wavrin went out of his way to organise his material properly. He may have claimed in his prologue that he was more interested in the *entendement de l'ystoire* than in *ordonnance et fachon*, but his work is in fact clearly structured with its six volumes, books, chapters and *formules de transition* between sections.⁴³ Thanks to Jean Du Chesne's description of the finished *Recueil* in 1473 or 4, we can be sure that the six-volume structure was the 'final' and presumably the intended format.⁴⁴

This format is represented by the six-volume edition which survives from the library of Louis de Gruuthuse, by partial sets such as the 'Nassau' manuscripts, and by the single volumes from other aristocratic libraries.⁴⁵ There appear to be minor differences even between these 'editions', but on the whole they are the same. All other manuscripts that survive in a different format will here be taken to derive either from earlier or incomplete variants or to be

39 Note the use of *recollation* instead of *recueil*.

40 Curiously the erasure is not long enough to have contained *d'Angleterre*; one suspects it contained a name, such as *York*.

41 In the Nassau redaction, KB 133 A 7^{III}, f. 11v, the word *assembler* is used. Philippe de Vigneulles (see below) used: *assambler, j indre* and *concorde*, Demarolle, 'Philippe', p.57.

42 Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 475-85.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 468-75. By *formules de transition* are meant phrases like: 'Let us now return to the matter we left of', 'Here the story the author says', 'Not to be too long', 'For the moment I will not speak of ...', Rasmussen, *Prose*, pp. 72-73.

44 Above, pt II, ch. 1, sect. 1.

45 For all mss, pt II, ch. 4, and app. F, below.

'pirated' redactions, the work of scribes who were using sometimes extensive sections of the *Recueil* for their own purposes. This may not reflect the truth in all its aspects, but it is the only way to tackle the problem of analysing the work's structure.⁴⁶

The *Recueil*, in the 'Gruuthuse redaction' has six volumes of six books each. Each book has a number of chapters varying from five to eighty-five, with an average of thirty-five. The information given by the author at the beginning of his first volume deserves to be quoted in full. The volume as a whole is headed:⁴⁷

Cy commence le premier volume des anciennes croniques d'Engleterre, lequel contient en soy six livres particuliers, desquelz le premier prent son commencement a dame Albine. Et dure ce present volume jusques au vaillant roy Edouard de Windesore,⁴⁸ auquel roy le second volume se commence, comme vous orrez⁴⁹ et verrez en poursievant ceste matere.

The first chapter is headed:

Et premiers sensieult un petit prologue pour plus clerement donner a entendre ceste oeuvre sequente. Premier chapitre.

and reads:⁵⁰

Or donques pour ceste matere plaisant[e] entammer et mettre a effect, il est a scavoir que ce premier livre, qui contient en soy v. chapitres, est comme ung preambule et prologue pour lentendement et instruction de toute ceste presente euvre, cest a entendre des quatre volumes des cronicques d'Engleterre jadis appelee la Basse Hibernie, et depuis par diverses guerres et conquestes de gens elle a sorty plusieurs nons, cest a scavoir Albion pour dame Albine et ses seurs, filles du roy Diodicias, desquelles est faite mention en ce premier livre, pourcequelles y habiterent premierement comme vous orez. Et lui dura ce non d'Albion jusques au temps dun prince appelle Bructus qui la conquist sur les geans qui furent procreez et issus de la ditte Albine et ses seurs, lequel lapella Bretagne-la-Grant doultre mer a la difference de Basse-Bretaigne. Et depuis un grant prince de Saxone nomme Englist ot acointance a Vortiger, conte de Vincestre, lequel fist morir par traison Constance, filz de Constantin pour estre roy et succeder au royaume apres lui, et espousa la seur du dit Englist lequel le secouru de xi^m hommes contre ses ennemis. Et pour ceste cause le roy Vortiger lui donna la terre de Kent et la seigneurie de tout le pais entierement, dont il fist roy, et nomma son dit royaume Engleterre de son non, lequel nom cest a scavoir Engleterre luy dure encoires jusques aujourdhuy, comme il est evident.

Chapter 2 is headed:

Cy ensieult un preambule convenable a maniere de theume. II^e chapitre.

46 App. E, a sample of the similarities and differences of the mss. It is not certain that the *Recueil* was always meant to be divided as it was finally produced. Fr. 20358, an accurate text that had close links with Wavrin himself (app. F), may represent an alternative or earlier division.

47 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 5; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 5.

48 Wavrin-Hardy has *Windsore*.

49 Wavrin-Hardy has *orez*.

50 Not printed in Wavrin-Dupont; comparison with Vienna, ÖN 2534 produces no differences.

The shortness of the first book, with its mere five chapters, is wholly dependent on the length of the Albina story, which was consciously separated from the bulk of the early history of Britain covered by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The first book ends:

Et atant prent fin le premier livre des cronicques dAlbion qui depuis par Bructus eut non Bretaine la Grant, et encoires depuis par le prince Englist eut non Engleterre qui jusques a present lui a dure, comme cy-apres en poursievant ceste matere en la cronicque de Brutus sequente vous le porez plus amplement veoir.

Cy prent fin le premier livre de ce premier volume des cronicques dEngleterre.

The second book has a heading announcing its number of chapters in the book (60) and the period it will cover: the reigns of the British kings, who ruled from Brutus until ‘a long time after the incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ’; it ends with the brief remark that the second book has ended and the third will begin. The third book has a similar heading: fifty-three chapters and the contents of the first chapter. This book ends with the peroration of the original author of this redaction of Geoffrey of Monmouth, followed by the laconic remark that the third book ends and the fourth book will begin.⁵¹

Books 4, 5, and 6 of Volume 1 continue in the same way: the book headings announce the number of chapters and – doubling as chapter heading – the contents of the first one. The volume as a whole ends with the words:

Et atant se taist de ceste histoire, ouquel temps le roy Phelippe [VI] print la croisure pour aler outre mer, laquelle fut empeschie par la guerre qui semeust entre France et Engleterre, comme il sera touche au second volume, car cy fine le premier.⁵²

Wavrin then created a break⁵³ by turning back briefly to earlier chapters of Froissart – on whose work he was heavily depending by now and whose name he mentions – to Edward III’s youth, and by focussing on Edward’s actions from this point. Volume 2, Books 1 to 6, Volume 3, Books 1 to 6, Volume 4, Books 1 to 6, continue according to the same pattern, except that at the end of the second book of the second volume the reader is reminded that this book was the ‘eighth book’ of the whole work, which might be a remnant of an earlier division. There is no unusual break at the end of Volume 4 – where Wavrin had originally planned to end his story – except that in the Gruuthuse redaction it ends more formally:

Et atant fine le quart volume de ces cronicques dEngleterre. Si commencerons le v^e au couronnement du roy Henry, son filz, v^e de ce nom, en poursievant jusques a lan lxxij, que reigne triumphantment Edouard le Debonnaire.⁵⁴

It is possible that this was either actually written by Wavrin in 1472/3, or that 1472 is a mistake for 1471 and that these are the words of a copyist. The only other manuscript of Volume 4,

51 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 501; the first part of Hardy’s edition ends here.

52 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 85; not in Hardy.

53 As he had said he would in his very first heading, see above.

Walters Art Gallery W 201, f. 332v, does not have the words about Edward, but ends: *v^e de ce non*. This suggests that Edward's continental nickname was added to the Gruuthuse copy by a Flemish scribe (who was also pleased to mention the creation of his patron, Gruuthuse, as earl of Winchester in October 1472 (6, 6, 15)).⁵⁵

Elsewhere in the Gruuthuse redaction (5, 6, 13), Edward IV is also described as *presentement regnant*. In the Nassau manuscript this is omitted, which cannot mean that he was *not yet* reigning, because the manuscript was clearly made in the 1470s or 80s.⁵⁶ The reference to Edward is part of an explanation of who was Richard, Duke of York, and which king made him governor of Normandy. The version of the text that survives in the Gruuthuse redaction can only have been copied by a scribe who was very unclear about the English situation:

le tres noble duc dYorc souverain gouverneur et capittaine general de la ducie de Northmandie et consequamment de toute la conqueste a ce commis par le roy Henry dAngleterre troisieme⁵⁷ de ce nom et pere du roy Henry le quart⁵⁸ successeur du noble roy Edouard presentement regnant

The Nassau redaction is similarly garbled, but does not mention Edward:

le noble duc de York depuis quil avoit este commis au gouvernement et garde du pays de Northmandie par le roy Henry troizieme de ce nom pere de ce roy Henry le quart⁵⁹

ÖN 2546, one of the 'pirated' editions of the *Recueil*, may have the solution (punctuation and capitals mine):

le duc dlorch souverain gouverneur et capitaine general de la duchie de Northmandie et consequamment de toute la conqueste a ce commis par le roy Henri dAngleterre iij de ce nom et pere du roy Edouard presentement regnant⁶⁰

If *pere* refers back to York and *Henry iij* is Henry VI (and in the Nassau redaction the second *Henry* is read as *Edouard*) the text is tolerably clear!⁶¹ It is the 'emendation' by the Gruuthuse scribe that shows the extent of the ignorance of some continental scribes concerning English royalty.

54 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 196; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, p. 160.

55 BN fr. 15491, f. 241v; not in fr 20358; not in Harl. 4424 or fr. 88.

56 If the omission has any significance the ms. was made after 1483, comp. n. 20, above.

57 It is not clear from Dupont (vol. 1, p. 316) and Hardy (vol. 4, p. 349) whether the ms. has *troisieme*, *III* or *ijj*; mistaking *vj* for *ijj* is only too easy, but Henry VI was, of course, sometimes called 'the third' as the third king of his house.

58 Dupont and Hardy both have *le quart*.

59 The Hague 133 A 7^{III}, f. 273.

60 ÖN 2546, f. Cxliij.

61 The whole chapter is curious; it is a celebration of York and an exposition of the factions in England in the 1440s and may well have been a separate document. The same material in partly the same words appears in the isolated 'ch. 1' of the second part of fr. 20358. Vienna 2546 is very close to the Gruuthuse redaction, but all texts are garbled throughout these first paragraphs.

Volume 5 has a heading in the same style as the earlier volumes and this is continued throughout its six books. In the Gruuthuse redaction the last book of this volume ends unusually, for Wavrin wished to announce the inclusion of the report of the journey of his nephew, Waleran,⁶² and added:

de laquele [events in France] je me passe quant a present: car je voeil, selon ma premiere intencion, terminer et baillier fin a mon present v^e volume: mais au vj^e sequent, Dieu devant, je parsievray ma matiere, autant que oportunité me durera, selon la fourme encommencie. Et y sera entee, quasy⁶³ au commencement, une notable incidence qui en ce temps advint en sarrazine terre; laquele, a mon semblant, debvra grandement plaire a tous, pour recreer les esperitz, comme je ne la sache recitee en quelque autre volume. Et atant prent fin ce vi^e livre et par consequent le v^e volume des croniques dEngleterre.

The comparable passage in the Nassau manuscript is much more brief, presumably because this redaction did not have Waleran's report in its next volume (which does not survive):

dont pour le present je me passe, pour ce que mon intencion si est de clorre ce present vollume et poursievir au vj^e sequent ma principale matiere avecques les incidentes du temps. Cy prent fin le sixieme et darrenier livre de ce present chinquiesme vollume.⁶⁴

BN fr. 20358, one of the most interesting variant redactions, which also lacks Waleran's report and has a different division into volumes, books and chapters, reads:

de laquelle je me passe pour ce que mon intention sy est de poursievir ceste hystoire touchant ait des guerres de Franche et dEngleterre.⁶⁵

ÖN 2546, a 'pirated' copy has:

de laquelle je me passe quant a present iusques atant que temps et lieu sera.⁶⁶

At some point, perhaps as late as *circa* 1470, Wavrin decided to insert his nephew's story. It had not been part of his original plan, for his history was to end at the coronation of Henry V, and not even of his continuation, for if it had been the Nassau redaction would presumably have included it. Both the 'variant' redaction in fr. 20385 and the Nassau manuscript represent editions that did not (yet) include the *aventures sarrazines* (though the part of the manuscript that should include it does not survive).⁶⁷ In the Gruuthuse redaction, at the end of the first chapter of the first book of the sixth volume, Wavrin repeats that he will next include an *incidence* (excursion) about 'the land of the Saracens'; this excursion, i.e. Waleran's report, fills the rest of the first book. In ÖN 2546 the first chapter of Book 1 is immediately followed

62 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4.

63 For *entee quasy*, 'inserted, almost (at the beginning)', Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 4, p. 387 has *enteequafj*(!?). 'Almost at the beginning' reflects the actual situation, for Waleran's report follows immediately after one short chapter.

64 The Hague, KB 133 A 7^{III}, f. 280.

65 Fr. 20358, f. 136.

66 ÖN 2546, f. Cliij.

by what in the Gruuthuse redaction is the first chapter of the *second* book, i.e. the first chapter *after* Waleran's journey; ÖN 2546 thus shows what the *Recueil* looked like before Waleran's report was inserted.

In the Gruuthuse manuscript Volume 6, Books 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are headed in the familiar way. Book 6 correctly announces there will be thirty-two chapters, but neither in the heading of the last chapter nor at the end of the text is there any mention of this being the last section or the last item of the *Recueil* as a whole. This may be because the scribe in the late 1470s or 1480s *knew* there were thirty-two chapters and could announce their number, but Wavrin, still writing in the early 1470s, *did not and could not know* how many chapters there would eventually be. He may have considered the story of Edward's return a good ending to his history of England and thought it needed no further explanation, but it is also possible that he was prevented by old age or death from giving his work a proper 'end', a final flourish, with an appropriate prayer or a celebration of Duke Charles. Because we have Jean Du Chesne's positive statement about the six volumes and Wavrin being old (but alive) we can at least assume that *most* of the last volume was edited by the author himself.

In many instances it is difficult to decide why Wavrin put his volume, book and chapter divisions where he did. His framework of six books to each volume played a part, but the chapters themselves, for example, vary greatly not only in number, but also in length. Usually this appears to be caused by the length or division of the source he was using⁶⁸ and there are a number of interesting 'break points' which seem to relate to the beginning, end or division of the manuscripts or texts of his sources:⁶⁹ To give a few examples:

1. The beginning and end of the Albina story, all of Volume 1, Book 1, except the introduction.

2. The beginning and the end of the Geoffrey of Monmouth redaction, of which the text fills exactly two books, Volume 1, Books 2 and 3.

3. The point where, in Volume 4, Book 2, between chapters 26 and 27, Froissart's text passed from Book 3 to Book 4. The *Recueil* here has an additional section and the variant redaction in fr. 20358 and 20359 here starts a new volume.⁷⁰

4. The point where, in Volume 4, Book 5, between chapters 12 and 13, the *Recueil* uses Froissart's text for the last time and fr. 20359 ends altogether.

67 Iorga's description. It is possible someone *removed* Waleran's report, but this would assume too cavalier a treatment of a fascinating section.

68 E.g. the long chapter on the siege of Calais in 1436, 5, 5, 36.

69 For the mss mentioned, app. F, below.

70 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

5. The point where, in Volume 5, Book 4, between chapters 7 and 8, one volume of the 'pirated' copy (Vienna 2545-56) ends and the next starts; at this same point the *Recueil* announces it will leave the siege of Orleans for a while and starts telling the reader about Joan of Arc.

6. Volume 5, Book 6, chapter 13, which contains a curious, very pro-Richard, Duke of York, text (see above) and which is also the point where fr. 20358, after a long gap, starts again.

7. The division in Volume 6, between Books 1 and 2, where the report of Waleran de Wavrin's journey ends, which is also where the *Recueil* starts to use the text of the so-called *Recouvrement de Normandie*.⁷¹

8. The point where, in the middle of Volume 6, Book 2, chapter 15, Vienna 2456 (called the second volume of Monstrelet) ends and fr. 15491 (called 'the third volume of this work') begins and which also represents the end of the *Recouvrement de Normandie*.

9. The point where, at the end of *Recueil* Volume 6, Book 6, chapter 23, the text of fr. 15491 ends altogether, and in the Gruuthuse redaction and the variant redaction of fr. 20358, only the newsletters about Arzila and Edward IV follow.⁷²

There are also many apparent break points where other texts have insertions or omissions, which may be significant, and all these break points or points of transition could be studied more closely; whether such examination would produce any conclusions of importance is a moot point. Some of them are discussed in the present study, but only where there appears to be enough supporting material to help draw any conclusions, as in the case of Warwick's apology⁷³ or the battle of Shrewsbury.⁷⁴

For the moment it has to be concluded that Wavrin planned and finished a history of England from Albina to the death of Henry IV. Later, perhaps some time after 1461, the beginning of the reign of Edward IV, he decided to continue. In 1471 or '72 he had to stop, probably because of his age – he was as old as the century – but he had been able to edit at least two versions, of which one did and one did not include Waleran's report. There may have been more versions, some only existing in draft, such as the exemplars of the unillustrated manuscripts fr. 20358 and 20359, some being used by later editors to fill out their chronicles published under the name of Monstrelet, such as fr. 15491, and Vienna 2545 and 2546. Wavrin

71 As edited by Stevenson, *Narratives*, pp. 239-376 (*Recueil*, 6, 2, 1-15). As suggested above, in an earlier redaction of the *Recueil* this was merely the break between two chapters, chs 1 and 2 of Book 1, ch. 1 being an introduction on the state of affairs in England, and the next chapter continuing with the wars in France.

72 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4.

73 Above pt I, ch. 1, sect 1.

74 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

may have hoped to bring the work to a proper conclusion, but he lost control, perhaps his life. It is possible that someone else finished the text; it was undoubtedly someone else who pretended that the book had been written for Edward IV and composed the unreadable dedication to the king of England in 1475.⁷⁵

Making.

How should we imagine the actual making, the physical production, of the *Recueil*? How did a long, composite work like the *Recueil* – or, for that matter, any of the prose romances – come into being? The words Wavrin used in his preface are relevant in this context as well: *recueillier*, *adjouster* and *ramener*. First of all the work needed a ‘guiding spirit’, someone whose interest started the process. Like the printer, translator and editor, William Caxton,⁷⁶ Wavrin may have looked around in his library and picked up a likely book, or he may have been offered a text or an idea – like Waleran’s suggestion about a history of England – by an acquaintance. Unlike Caxton, however, Wavrin did probably not do much of the manual work that followed.

First the ‘gathering together’: in the case of the *Recueil* he would have known what he owned in the way of books relevant to the early history of England, such as the romance of Albina, the French version of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Froissart’s vast work. It would have been no problem to tell a scribe to copy the Albina story and Geoffrey of Monmouth in their entirety, but when it came to the *Brute*, the *Chroniques de Normandie* and especially Froissart it must have been essential to mark up the selected manuscripts in detail, in the same way printers did a few decades later. Passages had to be added in to produce a readable text – this is where the ‘joining together’ started in earnest. As we do not possess any marked up manuscripts known to have been Wavrin’s, only more careful consideration of the sections where his editorial activity appears to have been less than successful might reveal some details of his intervention, but our ignorance of the particular copies that he had access to will always preclude proper analysis.

When Froissart had run out Wavrin’s life as an editor became much more complicated and the ‘joining together’ harder. For the post-1400 section he must have searched actively for such texts as the *Traïson Richart Deux* and the challenges from Orléans and St Pol to Henry IV, though he may already have been aware of their existence, as it is likely he owned one or more collections of miscellaneous documents of the calibre of BN fr. 1278, the Lannoy family

75 Below, pt II, ch. 4, sect. 1.

76 Blake, *Own Prose*, pp. 68, 78, 83, 88, etc.

papers.⁷⁷ He may have collected a pile of such papers, stacked them in the right order, marked them up and added linking and explanatory sentences, but it is possible, of course, that even that could be left at least partly to a competent, professional scribe who was also a translator and editor, like Jean Du Chesne. Perhaps the edition of the *Recueil* that Du Chesne mentioned was produced by himself; his close connections with some of the ‘Masters of the *Recueil*’ in the production of other manuscripts make this quite feasible.

There is little doubt that the ‘break-points’ mentioned earlier have something to do with editorial and scribal activity, showing, for example, that in one ‘edition’ of the book certain sections do occur, while at the time an earlier version was made they clearly were not yet known, or the decision to include them had not yet been made. Even without textual indications it is clear that it would have been physically impossible for Wavrin to pen down all of his own book, let alone produce some prose romances as well: he would have had little time left for a social life at court and among the upper ten of Lille. Copying chunks of text already available by an intelligent and experienced scribe (a *clerc*), such as Jean Du Chesne or David Aubert,⁷⁸ or even by several less learned men in a copying workshop was sensible and efficient. A non-creative, simple scribe could produce a work of a certain standard if he had been told what to incorporate, and a long text could be made relatively quickly. Such a method of production, whether it was done by learned *clercs* or simple craftsmen, did, of course, demand supervision.

It may be legitimate to take quite a ‘modern’ view of such supervision, for fascinating evidence of possibly analogous editorial work survives in a manuscript of the chronicle of the Metz cloth merchant and amateur historian, Philippe de Vigneulles (1471-1527/8).⁷⁹ De Vigneulles is of particular interest in relation to Wavrin because not only did he write an extensive history of his home town from its mythical beginnings to 1525, for which he used all kinds of sources, from romances to the recent work of Robert Gaguin, he also made a collection of short stories, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*,⁸⁰ and a prose version of the *Geste des Lorrains*, an epic cycle of local interest, which he considered an historical work.⁸¹ At least one of the few surviving manuscripts of his *Chronique* has been taken to be an autograph, but a recent commentator has argued most interestingly that it was made by a scribe collaborator. The manuscript has a number of marginal annotations which could be regarded as authorial

77 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4.

78 On Aubert, Straub, *Aubert*, Martin, ‘Aubert’.

79 On de Vigneulles, various publications by Demarolle.

80 Ed. Livingstone.

81 Herbin, ‘Translation’, and ‘Approches’.

corrections, but are much more likely to be suggestions and comments from the author to someone else (my translation; all the imperatives are plural):

This is good, but put it where this same sign is ≠.
 Look at the Gaguin papers. I think something should be put here before the
 bishops of Metz or the kings of France are mentioned.
 Leave this till later, where the paper is folded.
 It is better in Gaguin.
 ... look in Gaguin, what he says about this emperor and this king of France
 later, for it should not be put in twice.⁸²

The tone of these annotations suggests communication between equals, if not in social status than at least in scholarly involvement. De Vigneulles was a wealthy merchant, not a member of the aristocracy, but if Wavrin, with his 'bookish' interests ever wrote such instructions they may well have been of a similar nature and perhaps they earned him the flattering comments from his Lille 'colleague' or collaborator, Jean Du Chesne.

In view of this production process the luxury manuscripts of the *Receuil* as we know them were in theory preceded by:

- 1) the existence of the relevant texts, both literary and archival, in Wavrin's library;
- 2) a series of bound manuscripts and loose papers marked up with verbal instructions and/or signs such as ≠;
- 3) draft manuscripts of the whole or parts of the text, either still marked up or not (fr. 20358 and 20359 may represent [cleaned up] copies of such drafts);
- 4) a full, illuminated set, produced before or in 1473/4 and produced at Lille within the sphere of Jean Du Chesne;
- 5) a complete copy owned by the author himself, either unillustrated or perhaps illustrated by the Wavrin Master.

Any of these objects may have survived and might be found in the future.

Purpose.

In his own dedicatory prologue to his nephew Wavrin emphasises two reasons for undertaking his vast enterprise: he could no longer follow arms or undertake long journeys and voyages himself, *and* he wanted to avoid idleness, *mere de tous vices*. More interesting than these commonplace reasons for writing is the implied one of filling a gap in the historiography of his day, that is the lack of a complete history of England. Whereas other authors said they were going to continue where someone else left off,⁸³ Wavrin was about to fill a vacuum. Apart

82 All in Demarolle, 'Propos'.

83 Monstrelet continued Froissart, Mathieu d'Escouchy and the anonymous Monstrelet-continuator started where Monstrelet finished.

from this commendable reason for writing it is almost inevitable to assume that a special interest in England also influenced his decision.⁸⁴ His whole career points that way, however difficult it is to find other tangible evidence. What is obvious from the *Recueil* is Wavrin's loyalty to both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, stronger than any interest in England or friendship with Englishmen. This loyalty is beyond doubt and does not need mentioning or emphasising. Given his remarkably neutral, almost scientific, attitude to political and especially to military events it is very difficult to know when he was critical of any action or situation, the only exception being the siege of Calais in 1436 when his Burgundian and pro-English sentiments may have clashed, but even then it may have been the practical and military hopelessness of the undertaking that troubled him most.⁸⁵ One has to realise that, unlike many of his colleagues,⁸⁶ he never claimed he would be impartial – he never mentioned the subject – while he was actually as impartial as his sources allowed him to be. It was Wavrin's professional colleague, the scribe Jean Du Chesne, who said the *Recueil* was 'truthful' and 'accurate'.

Filling a gap in the historical writing of his day, and filling it well by creating a full-length history of England, was Wavrin's main reason for writing, but he emphasised he did not want to publish anything that was already available. In his earlier volumes he had had to summarise important existing texts as part of his aim to make his *recueil* complete, but when he used Froissart's chronicles as a source he at least twice refers the reader to the more extensive text of his predecessor.⁸⁷ In the later volumes he meant not to include information that could be found elsewhere.⁸⁸ In the period covering the years 1407 to 1431, for which he used a text that he called the *cronicques de France* – it is not clear to which work he is referring – he inserts phrases such as:

comme plus a plain est touchie es cronicques de France, qui de sa prinse et de son gouvernement parlent au long (5, 3, 7).

De laquele matiere lairons les desirans den scavoir querir la substance en la lecture des cronicques de France, quy au long en font mention (5, 3, 38)

Sometimes the desire to be brief and limit himself to his chosen subject is mentioned without referring the reader to other sources, for example when he narrates how he went with Philip the Good to Holland in 1428. During this campaign there were

84 Above, pt II, ch. 1, sect. 3.

85 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect.

86 Lemaire, 'Conception', pp. 245-46; Dufournet, *Destruction*, pp. 16-17.

87 Below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

88 Not including what could be found elsewhere was also characteristic of the prose re-workings of the period, Doutrepont, *Mises*, pp. 560-62, 569-75.

maintes belles apartises darmes quy longues seroient a raconter et fort allongeraient nostre matiere principale, pourquoy au present men passeray adfin de conclure la fin desdites guerres, et retourner aux fais de France et d'Angleterre (5, 4, 3).⁸⁹

Another clear example is the detailed account of the victorious entry of Charles VII into his newly regained city of Rouen in November 1449, which Wavrin had to hand in his copy of the *Recouvrement de Normandie*. Jean Chartier, in his *Histoire de Charles VII*, had included the full text,⁹⁰ but Wavrin wrote:

Desquelz je ne feray a present autre mention, ne des estas, richesses, ou habillemens et joyeusetez qui se firent a son entree quy furent choses a esmerveillier, pour cause de briefte, car a tout specifier porroie trop eslongier nostre principale matiere (6, 2, 9)

Even concerning events which he himself witnessed and which had undoubted relevance to Anglo-Burgundian relations, he is prepared to be brief or refer the reader to other authors. In the case of the tournament at Smithfield in London in June 1467, the Gruuthuse redaction has: *desqueles je me passe pour briefte*. Fr. 20358 explains: *men rapporte a ceulx quy y furent comme moy de plus amplement en parler*.⁹¹

Similarly on the wedding of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold Wavrin spends only a couple of pages and ends:

trop serroient longz a raconter, pourtant men passe en brief, adfin deschiever prolixite; mais tant en dy je en somme quen mon tempz ja nay pas oy parler de feste mieulz estoffee en toutes choses comme la mangnanimite du duc le requeroit, ainsi que scevent tous ceulz qui le congneurent.⁹²

Avoiding prolixity and not repeating the work of others were part of Wavrin's aim to entertain his readers. Even if he did not dedicate his chronicle to the dukes his intended reading public was the same as that which would have been reached by a work made for them. His nephew Waleran no doubt represented the court circle that Wavrin was aiming at and to please and entertain such readers was his main purpose. Almost his first words in the *Recueil* refer to this: the story of Albina, which here 'stands in' for the *Recueil* as a whole, is 'pleasant matter'. This purpose in writing also occurs in his first reference to the account of Waleran's journey to the East, where he emphasises that the story is one that 'should please everybody greatly' and 'refresh the spirit'. Elsewhere he describes a certain section as *incidence recreative* (5, 3, 7). In one redaction he refers to his own pleasure in undertaking the work.⁹³

Wavrin's wish to entertain his peers by writing a chronicle is understandable when one realises that he was an amateur historian among people who were all interested in history – it

89 Also 4, 6, 19; 4, 6, chs 24, 27, 29.

90 Ed. Vallet de Viriville, vol. 2, pp. 161-71; Stevenson, *Narratives*, pp. 309-20.

91 See app. E, 2; even the surviving sources on Smithfield are, of course, extensive.

92 End of 6, 5, 36; fr. 15491, f. 216, has the same text; fr. 20358 lacks this section.

93 *Jay prins plaisir dassembler per escript*, KB 133 A 7^{III}, f. 11v.

was one of his conversations about 'fair and ancient histories' with his nephew Waleran that inspired him to write his book. Like the heralds of the *Débat* he was aware of the didactic value of history, but his main aims were literary and social, setting out to provide entertainment to his peers, keeping them, and himself, from idleness and depression. As an English contemporary of Wavrin wrote: occupying the mind with 'gostly chevallrie off dedis of arms spiritual'.⁹⁴ This may be a commonplace, but Wavrin is likely to have taken it very seriously.

A good example of Wavrin's actual ability to 'entertain' is the story of the capture and recapture of the town and castle of Cravant that led to the battle of 31 July 1423 (5, 3, 13-17); it is one of the liveliest and most effective in the whole work, with its description of personalities, entertaining events and sections of direct speech. None of the narrative details used by Wavrin have been found anywhere else, and if the story was not composed by Wavrin himself – which for once seems a distinct possibility – he managed again to find an entertaining, 'novelistic' account to use in his chronicle. The same personal touch can be found in his account of the battle of Verneuil, 17 August 1424 (5, 3, 28-29), which contains evidence of Wavrin's emotional involvement and includes one of the rare instances of his mentioning his own physical action. In his description of the battle and its preliminaries, to heighten the 'entertainment value', he used, sparingly, a few of the narrative elements that are also in evidence in the 'historical' romances he owned.⁹⁵

To understand why it was Wavrin in particular who composed a chronicle of this kind we have to consider the elusive but insistent indications of a link between him and the workshop that produced the illustrated ancestral romances popular in his milieu; it is tempting to assume that there was indeed a connection. It would have been pointless for Waleran de Wavrin and his uncle to discuss the gap in the historiography of England further if there had been no possibility of remedying it and set such a project in motion. Not only did Waleran suggest to his uncle that such a vast work was needed, he also assumed that it could be done. It is undeniable that some aspects of the composition and production of the romances illustrated by the Wavrin Master and artists close to him are similar to those of Wavrin's *Recueil*. The romances were composed to fill noblemen's bookshelves with pleasant stories about their own ancestors, the *Recueil des chroniques d'Engleterre* was composed to fill a gap in the existing historical literature pointed out by Waleran de Wavrin; both were made in answer to a 'demand'. The extensive and at times very clever transcribing, summarising and interweaving

94 Scrope, *Othea*, p. 121

95 Pt II, ch. 2, sect. 4, and ch. 4, sect. 3.

of every available source so obvious in the *Recueil* is also reminiscent of the 'plagiarism' of many of the romances.⁹⁶

96 Below, pt II, ch. 4.

Part II. Chapter 3.

The *Recueil des croniques dEngleterre*.

2. The beginning: Albina, foundress of Albion.

In the first book of his *Historia regum Britanniae* Geoffrey of Monmouth briefly mentioned the fact that at the time of Brutus' arrival Britain was called Albion and inhabited only by a few giants (*Insule huic tunc nomen Albion erat que a nemine exceptis paucis gygantibus inhabitatur*).⁹⁷ His inspiration derived from the ambiguous biblical description of the early inhabitants of the earth (*Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis*),⁹⁸ and no explanation of the presence of these giants was given and no details added by the author, but in this as in other cases⁹⁹ Geoffrey's popularity ensured that later writers filled in his gaps with their own inventions. Before 1333-34 an Anglo-Norman poem, now usually called *Des Grants Geanz*,¹⁰⁰ had been composed telling the story of Albina and her sisters, who first inhabited the island and gave birth to these giants. Many manuscripts of this French text survive, in a confusing variety of versions and lengths, in prose and verse, and usually as a 'prologue' to the *Brut*, the vernacular descendant and continuation of Geoffrey's *Historia* and the only 'national' history of England available in the middle ages.¹⁰¹ One, early, version is significantly longer than the others,¹⁰² and the story was also translated into English,¹⁰³ Latin¹⁰⁴ and Welsh.

To confuse matters further two completely different beginnings of the story survive. The first and probably earlier one runs thus: an unnamed king of Greece had thirty daughters who all married at the same time and then planned to murder their husbands – this was clearly based on the Greek myth of the Danaids. The youngest revealed the plot, the murders were prevented and the sisters were punished by being set adrift in a boat, coming to land after a long voyage on an uninhabited but fertile island. Albina, the eldest sister, claimed the land and called it Albion. They had intercourse with demons and the result was a race of horrific giants, who multiplied and peopled the island, but were finally defeated and extinguished by Brutus when he in his turn reached the island and called it Britain after himself. The other version of

97 Bk 1, chs 5 and 21; *HRB I*, p. 13; *HRB II*, pp. 1, 16.

98 Genesis 6: 4; compare Job 26: 6; Sap. 14: 6; Eccli. 16: 8; Bar. 3: 26. Bress, 'Temps', on 'pre-historic' giants in Egypt, Sicily and Britain.

99 Compare the *Prophecy of the Eagle* mentioned but not given by Geoffrey and 'made up' by later writers, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III's books: VIII. 2, pp. 290-304 and 351-362.

100 Edited and discussed by Brereton in 1937, replacing earlier editions; it *may* have been based on a lost Latin text.

101 For details Brie, *Geschichte*; Brereton, *Geanz*, pp. vi-xi; Carley and Crick, 'Constructing', pp. 45-48; Tyson, 'Handlist'. On the *Brut* generally, Matheson, *Prose Brut, Manual*, vol. 8.

102 BL Cotton Cleo. D ix.

103 Brie, *Brut*, pp. 1-4.

104 Edited Carley and Crick.

the story has no obvious literary background; it began with King Dioclicias of *Syria* and his thirty-*three* daughters who all married at the same time, were displeased with their husbands and after a while *did* kill them all (except one), simultaneously. The rest of their adventures was the same. This version became well known in England because it was used as preface to the popular Middle English prose *Brut*.

The origin of the story, its inspiration and development generally have been – and are still being – studied by scholars, as has its value as a foundation legend with female protagonists.¹⁰⁵ The questions to be asked here are therefore limited: what versions of the story were known in the fifteenth century and in what context do they occur? What did people think about it? How did Wavrin know it and why and how did he use it? Does it tell us anything about his work and his method? Several of these questions cannot be answered with any semblance of certainty.

In surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts the Anglo-Norman poem, *Des Grantz Geanz*, a ‘Greek’ version, still acts as prologue to the French prose *Brute*¹⁰⁶ and a French prose summary of the ‘Syrian’ story is also very common as introduction to the same text.¹⁰⁷ Of the several texts in Latin most survive as introduction to the story of Brutus in Latin, but one of the translations of *Des Grantz Geanz* into Latin, called *De origine gigantum*, which turned the episode into serious history, softening its negative aspects and emphasising its legal ones, occurs *on its own* in several manuscripts of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸ This text has recently been given a political context and linked to the English claims to the overlordship of Scotland.¹⁰⁹ The French and Latin texts were known in England and on the continent.

In imitation of the French *Brute* most English *Brut* chronicles – as said above – start with the story of Albina,¹¹⁰ whose father, through minor scribal confusion, is called Dioclician; he is king of *Surrye*, marries Labana and has thirty-three daughters by her. Once they are married the daughters all come to despise their husbands because they are of lesser birth than they are themselves and they refuse to obey them. Called to account by their father they are unrepentant and decide to kill their husbands. ‘And whan nyght was comyn, the lordes and ladies wente to bedde, and anon as here lordes were in slepe, thei cutte all here housbandes

105 Johnson, ‘Return’, pp. 24-27, 31-38; Reyner-Bohler, ‘Figures’, pp. 75-76, 81, 86-91. Albina is not mentioned in Borst, *Turmbau*.

106 Brereton, *Geanz*, p. xi.

107 Brie, *Geschichte*, pp. 28-30; Taylor, ‘*Brut*’, pp. 248, 249-50.

108 Together with miscellaneous material, some historical, but no *Brut*, and with Geoffrey’s *Historia* in one or two instances only. Carley and Crick, ‘Constructing’, pp. 69-76.

109 Johnson, ‘Return’, p. 25; Carley and Crick, ‘Constructing’, pp. 54-69

110 Printed Brie, *Brut*, pp. 1-4.

throtes, and so they slown hem all'.¹¹¹ When they have settled in their newly discovered island the devil sent 'bodies of the eyre' in the shape of men, to lie with them and engender giants, among them Gogmagog and 'Laugherigan'.¹¹² One of the earliest English copies of the story occurs in the fourteenth-century verse chronicle of Thomas of Castleford (c. 1327), whose work survives in one fifteenth-century manuscript.¹¹³

On the evidence of the large number of surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Brut* chronicle,¹¹⁴ it may be assumed that this was the story that most fifteenth-century Englishmen knew and presumably accepted as true. For example, in a highly decorated genealogical roll showing Edward IV's descent from Adam, his rights to the crowns of England, France and Spain, and proving that his accession was the work of God, the version with the nameless king of Greece and his thirty daughters was included. The story was given a learned and factual air by adding a number of exact dates, indicating that it was accepted as history by Edward's literate servants and officials.¹¹⁵ One of the obviously literate people who thought the tale worthy of consideration was William Caxton who included it in his edition of the *Chronicles of England* in 1480 and 1482.¹¹⁶

In the middle of the century a note of criticism, though a curious one, was struck by John Harding, Wavrin's older English contemporary and – like Wavrin – a former soldier. He used the story in the chronicle he dedicated first to Henry VI, then to Richard, Duke of York, and eventually to Edward IV.¹¹⁷ He told the 'Syrian' story up to the planning of the murders and then added an interpolation on the nature of English women, who always want to have the 'soveraynte', for 'they have it of nature of the saied susters'. He continued to narrate the betrayal of the plan by the youngest sister, the sea voyage and the landfall, and then, unexpectedly, announced that this was all wrong and 'not trewe', because there was no king of Syria of the name of 'Dioclesian' at that time. The truth, he said, elaborating on his source, was that the king was a king of Greece, called Danaus, who married his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother, Egistus, King of Egypt. After this display of his knowledge of classical mythology, Harding is happy to accept the rest of the story in all its detail: these women all killed their husbands, were sent into exile, founded Albion and gave birth to 'great gigantes ful of might'. To cover himself he added the statement of Bartholomew the Englishman that

111 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

113 Ed. Eckhardt.

114 Matheson, 'Location list'.

115 The so-called Philadelphia Roll, Philadelphia Free Library MS Lewis E 201.

116 Though in his edition of Higden's *Polychronicon* he had read that Albion was the 'white lond', after the 'white rokkes aboute the clyves of the see that were i-seie fro ferre', Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 2, p. 5.

Albion was called after its white cliffs and also the claim of ‘Maryan’ (Marianus Scotus, i.e. Florence of Worcester)¹¹⁸ that it was in fact so named by Albina herself for the same reason, ‘so both waies maye be right sure and trewe’!¹¹⁹ It is undeniable that Harding, as an historian, did his best.¹²⁰

Wavrin’s approach to the story was typical: it was entirely rational, within the evidence available to him; it satisfied his desire to be as complete, as compendious, as he possibly could, and it made, or was made into, a good story. After a general heading to the first book his text announces that the old names of England will be explained: Albion from Albine, which name lasted until the arrival of Brutus, who called it *Bretagne-la-Grant* to distinguish it from *Basse-Bretagne*. Later again a great Saxon prince, called Englist, was given so much land by King Vortigern of Britain that he was able to call the land *Engleterre* after himself, *lequel nom ... dure encoires jusques aujourd’huy, comme il est evident*.¹²¹

Wavrin appears to have had several reasons for including the story, some scholarly and some less so. First of all, the story existed, was relevant and had to be included. Secondly, he wished to give some kind of structure to the beginning of his work and to the early history of England by explaining systematically its former and present names. He omitted to elucidate the name of *Basse Hibernie*, but the Albina / Albion episode fills the whole of the first book of his first volume, which compared to the other books is very short, having only five chapters instead of the usual fifty or more. This suggests that Wavrin intended the story to stand on its own and he called it *un preambule convenable a maniere de theume*, a preface that may serve as ‘argument’ (?). In a later section, it must be added, he carelessly allowed to stand one of the other explanations of the name Albion: *pour les pieres blanches qui sur la mer de Bretagne se moustrent*¹²² – which reminds the modern reader how difficult it was to edit such a vast work as the *Recueil*. A third reason may have been his own and his contemporaries’ interest in any story set in the East, with its crusading associations and its description of marvels and strange customs.

117 On Harding, *Manual*, vol. 8, XXI [17].

118 Gransden, *Writing II*, p. 283.

119 Ed. Ellis, p. 26.

120 In a late fifteenth-century Dutch version of the story Diodicias (or ‘Astathadis’) is the husband of ‘Albiona’. She and her sisters want to kill their husbands in order to rule their kingdoms. They are found out and put in a ship etc.; Kattendijke Kroniek, above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 5. In this, as in other Dutch world chronicles of the period, the giants, having fled the island occupied by Brutus, cross the sea and settle in Holland and Friesland, where they were regarded as the founders of several towns.

121 Above, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1.

122 1, 2, 1 (Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 39).

Whatever the reasons why Wavrin included the story,¹²³ his narrative treatment of the tale is remarkable: it was turned, very effectively, into a short but elaborate piece of entertainment, a true romance with attractive realistic elements.¹²⁴ If it was not composed by Wavrin, it can at least be said that he selected an interesting version, one that had all the features of the full-length romances popular at the ducal court of Burgundy at the time.

Diodicias was a powerful and renowned prince, ruling many kingdoms and lordships, ‘the most dreaded king of the East’. Like so many other kings of romance he was asked by his barons to marry and produce an heir. He took to wife the fairest, wisest and most humble lady he could find, daughter of his uncle, King Albana of *Cirenne*,¹²⁵ and she duly gave him fourteen beautiful daughters; the eldest, Albine, was the fairest, except for her *regard tres felon*, the evil look in her eye. The existence of as many as thirty-three daughters of Diodicias is made more credible by having him marry four times, *a la loi paienne*,¹²⁶ and have nineteen more daughters and three sons by his other wives. Diodicias kept each of his spouses in state in a different city and visited them in turn. When all the daughters had come to marriageable age, the king organised a great feast in the city of Tharsus, inviting all his queens, his daughters and enough kings, princes and great lords to find husbands for all the princesses. After successfully marrying them all off Diodicias was very pleased and considered himself a favourite of Fortune, humbly thanking his gods with great sacrifices – another realistic detail. The ladies, however, having left with their lords and living far away from their father’s splendid court, soon grew discontented, considering themselves married beneath their status; Albine, the eldest, who had much *cruaulte* in her, started to incite them all to pride, contempt and disobedience of their husbands. Much is made of the sisters’ pride in their rank, presumably in an attempt to explain their attitude and their crime rationally. Perhaps this excursion may be linked to the contemporary interest in and debate on the nature of true nobility.

All efforts to correct the sisters’ behaviour failed and finally the princes complained to their father-in-law. Diodicias again organised a great feast, this time at Tyrus, lasting three days, and eventually he lectured his daughters on their misdemeanours; emphasising, in his turn and in his own way, their high birth and reminding them that ‘nobility is virtue, which

123 I do not think Wavrin had political motives – as many other users of foundation myths had – if only because he was not discussing his own people or country. The tone of his story does not suggest he meant to say anything disparaging about the English people or English women (as Harding did), or about women generally. For the political use of foundation myths Reynolds, ‘*Origines*’.

124 The tendency to make romances more realistic was common to the *prosateurs* of the period, Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 530-59.

125 That she is nameless indicates Wavrin never saw an English *Brut* text as edited by Brie.

should consist of humility, courtesy, mildness and loyalty'. Though apparently ashamed, the women are raised to anger rather than repentance; they hold a secret meeting in Albina's chamber and listen to their eldest sister's long speech on the iniquity of their situation, their own high birth and the lowliness of their husbands. Albina argues that they should be free, and follow the example of their famous contemporaries, the Amazons – thus another realistic, learned element is introduced into the narrative. The princesses should kill their husbands, put to death or chase away all other men, and go and conquer kingdoms and empires until nobody in the eastern parts is more powerful than they. The other sisters were convinced and laid their plans; all were sworn to secrecy. For a while they pretended to be reformed, behaving humbly and lovingly, until they were able to organise another feast, this time in the gardens of Damascus, thus allowing them and their husbands to stay the night in the same palace. Drugged by a special potion the princes slept heavily after the party and that night all the sisters cut their husbands' throats, except the youngest, who loved hers and revealed the plot, though it was too late. Her actions, her fear of her eldest sister, the conversation of husband and wife and all the events following the murders are elaborately set out with many realistic touches. Diodicias, informed of his daughters' heinous crime now railed against Fortune in a long lament and we are told that he spent the rest of his days in *dolereuses complaintes et lamentations*.

The thirty-two guilty sisters, set adrift without sail or mast, but with food for six months, were blown westwards and passed the Pillars of Hercules, which, the reader is reminded, the eponymous hero himself 'had passed about six years earlier' (*qui environ vi ans paravant les avoit passez*). Their life on the island of Albion is described with pleasure and with attention to detail; the author has given some thought to the realities of primitive life, the possibilities of an uninhabited island and creates a picture of comparatively 'civilised' life for these aristocratic but temporarily 'wild' women. To make fire they collected dry wood, used sun-dried bits of linen from their clothes, detached metal hoops from their boat and beat them on stones to strike sparks. Once fire had been made they gave thanks to their gods and made a *constitution et commandement general, cest ascavoir que chascune a son tour garderoit eu, et se par la negligence daucune il estaindoit elle en devoit par lordonnance des autres recevoir pugnition merveilleuse*. Using ropes and other parts of their boat they made snares and other hunting equipment to catch birds and beasts. They lived so well and had so much *huizeuse et bon temps* that they began to wish for *plaisir charnel* – or according to another manuscript of the text, *compaignie d'homme* – more than anything else. The devil, always alert, created male forms out of air to please them and in due time a race of giants was born, male and female,

who multiplied and filled the island, greatly oppressing the Irish and the Scots, until they and their leaders, Gogmagog and *Lancorigam*, were all killed by Brutus and his Trojans.

In a recent and creditable attempt to prove Wavrin's authorship of at least one of the anonymous romances written during his lifetime and within his 'literary circle', it has been said that there is a great resemblance of style between that romance and this, the most romance-like section of the *Recueil*.¹²⁷ This resemblance has been claimed to be greater than the usual similarity between fifteenth-century texts of the same genre. However tempting and attractive, such a statement is hard either to corroborate or contradict, particularly in the case of Wavrin, whose historical work proves unequivocally that he copied texts verbatim. Unfortunately his Albina story may also have been a mere copy: a text identical to the one Wavrin used – but for slight differences in phrasing and scribal variations of spelling – occurs also in two contemporary manuscripts of a 'real', full-scale romance, *Guiron le Courtois*.¹²⁸

Guiron le Courtois, sometimes referred to as *Palamède*, is one of those vast romances telling the deeds and adventures of the fathers of the greatest knights of the Round Table: the fathers of Tristan, Erec, Percival and Arthur himself. It was composed 1235-40; its manuscript tradition is complicated, partly because the original text was unfinished and many continuations were made, usually not of very high quality and fairly short. Some manuscripts of the story include long interpolations, such as (parts of) the *Prose Tristan*, the *Prophecies of Merlin*, *Lancelot*, or the *Compilation* of Rusticien de Pise, itself partly based on *Guiron*. The largest collection arranged round *Guiron* is a late work which, according to one authority, 'shamelessly plundered a number of earlier chronicles and treatises' (*pille sans vergogne un certain nombre de chroniques ou de traités antérieures*),¹²⁹ and though it is a genuine romance the compiler at times displays semi-historical pretensions.¹³⁰ The story of Albina fitted very well into this redaction and was used, as it was by Wavrin, as an introduction to the book as a whole. This *Guiron* compilation survives in BN fr. 358-363¹³¹ and Bodleian Library Douce 383.¹³² The first set of manuscripts belonged to Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse (c. 1427-1492), book collector, counsellor of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, and friend and host of Edward IV of England. The volume that contains the Albina story, fr. 358 (ff. 1-12v), can probably be dated to the 1470s or early 1480s, like the rest of the set.

127 Horgan, thesis; pt II, ch. 2, sect. 1, above.

128 For what follows Lathuillère, *Guiron*.

129 *Ibid.* p. 126.

130 For its title in some manuscripts, see the previous section.

131 Described Lathuillère, *Guiron*, pp. 70-74; *Arturus Rex I*, pp. 244-46, pl. ill. 13;

132 Described Bogdanow, 'Fragments'; Lathuillère, *Guiron*, pp. 56-57; *Arturus Rex I*, pp. 246-49, ill. 12; Dogaer, *Painting*, pp. 171, 160.

Of the copy in the Bodleian only the miniatures and some fragments of text survive, but enough is left to show that it was the same text (Douce 383, f. i). Two of the remaining folios bear the arms of Engelbert II, Count of Nassau (1451-1504), and the book must have been produced in the late 1480s or 1490s by an artist in the circle of the Master of Edward IV. Engelbert was another book collector, though not of the same calibre as Gruuthuse; fourteen of his books survive, most of them romances and chronicles in French.¹³³ Both Gruuthuse and Nassau were part of the inner circle of the Burgundian court, though Gruuthuse's career started much earlier and covers a longer period. The taste in books of both men was similar to that of most of their peers at court and it may be assumed that other copies of the same redaction of *Guiron le Courtois* were produced, even if no others survive.

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Fig. 7. On the left one of the daughters of King Diodicias of Syria murders her husband, while another flees; on the right a view of the gardens of Damascus. From BL MS Royal 15 E iv, f. 20v.

The illustrations that accompany the story of Albina both in Wavrin's *Recueil* and in *Guiron* are also of interest. The three surviving illustrated copies of the first volume of the *Recueil* are of the same date, 1475 to 1480. The best known is probably the one that belonged to Edward IV, BL Royal 15 E iv; its first picture (f. 14) shows the presentation to the king in very standard scene, identical to dozens of others made in Flanders at the time,¹³⁴ but its second (f.

133 For Engelbert's life, De Win, 'Engelbert'; for his library, *Boeken van en rond Willem van Oranje*, pp. 9, 11, 25-26.

134 Below, pt II, ch. 4.

16) has the wedding of Diodicias' daughters: the king and two of his wives are at the window of a house overlooking the churchyard where a priest is marrying the couples *en masse*. The third illustration (f. 20v; fig. 7) shows one of the sisters murdering her husband, while in the next room the youngest is about to flee with her husband. Outside the building there is a view of a walled garden in spring – presumably the gardens of Damascus – with a row of Flemish houses and a sea with mountains in the background. The fourth picture (f. 24v) gives a bird's

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Fig. 8. The wedding feast of the daughters of King Diodicias and his four wives. From Vienna, ÖN Cod. 2534, f. 17.

eye view of the tranquil and prosperous land of England and accompanies the description of the island, which precedes the story of the arrival of Brutus in Wavrin's text.

The manuscript of Volume 1 now at Vienna (Cod. 2534),¹³⁵ of which the first owner is not known, has a magnificent and colourful wedding feast (f. 17; fig. 8), showing Diodicias with his four wives presiding over a dance. An attempt was clearly made by the artist to suggest a great number of participants; to be noted are the many-tiered cupboard in the background, the minstrels in their gallery, the king's throne with its cloth of estate and the views through the open doors. The next illustration in the Vienna manuscript (f. 23) is a very dramatic murder scene, showing seven murders in seven adjacent rooms taking place at the same time, while outside the youngest sister and her husband leave the palace through the moonlit night. There is something ironic about the way the artist has alternated the red, blue and green of the bed clothes, the bed hangings and the dresses of the sisters. The picture (f. 28) of England has the same splendour and tranquillity as the one in Edward IV's copy, and even more depth and distant views.

Gruuthuse's copy of the first volume of the *Recueil*¹³⁶ has a very similar wedding feast with many of the same features; the cupboard and the minstrels' gallery have shrunk, but a dancing jester has been added. The floor of the hall looks rather empty, though the couples are still there (f. 1).¹³⁷ This copy does not have the murder and the picture of England (f. 9) is rather crude, but it undoubtedly shows an island surrounded by much water. The only other illustrated copy of Volume One of the *Recueil* to survive is a much cheaper production (BN fr. 2807). It has one, rather delightful and simple grisaille illustration, which still preserves the throne, the cloth of estate, one minstrel and the open door through which a man is entering.¹³⁸

The first illustration of Gruuthuse's copy of the *Guiron* (BN fr. 358, f. 1) shows no obvious artistic relationship to the *Recueil* scenes of Diodicias' feast, but the dais for the king and his four wives as well as the open door with people entering remain. The space is filled more competently and the perspective is less clumsily emphatic. The manuscript probably has to be dated later than the copies of the *Recueil*.

The one relevant illustration in the *Guiron* of Engelbert of Nassau¹³⁹ resembles the Gruuthuse *Guiron* slightly but is clearly later; it was made around 1490, much later than any surviving copy of Wavrin's work. Rather unexpected is the execution of one of the miniatures in a manuscript of the French translation of Curtius' *Life of Alexander*, also owned by

135 Described and illustrated Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II*.

136 BN fr. 74.

137 Illustrated Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II*, fig. 29.

138 *Ibid.*, fig. 41.

139 Illustrated *Arturus Rex*, ill. 12.

Engelbert of Nassau and now at the Bodleian.¹⁴⁰ This is clearly related to the *Recueil* pictures of Diodicias' feast, but is here used to illustrate Alexander the Great's lascivious lifestyle, the four queens apparently now playing the role of ladies of easy virtue. This miniature indicates that not only text passages, but pictures, too, could be lifted and used in a different but related context.¹⁴¹

The main question is: did Wavrin merely copy the story of Albina? In this case from such an extended redaction of *Guiron*, which could have been composed much earlier than its two surviving copies? Or did the *Guiron* redactor copy this section from the *Recueil*, which is known to have been written ten or twenty years earlier than the surviving copies of this version of *Guiron*? Many sections in editions of *Guiron* were taken wholesale from other works. Did Wavrin who worked hard at collecting bits and pieces relevant to English history, serve as a gold-mine for other editors, including writers of romances? Or did Wavrin and the *Guiron* redactor both use the same source, an independent and interesting French redaction of the old story? This last explanation is the most likely, partly because such a method corresponds with Wavrin's method in other parts of the *Recueil*. It should also be remembered that none of the earlier surviving manuscripts of the romance of *Guiron*, not even those made early in the fifteenth century, have the Albina story.¹⁴²

Wavrin's use of this version of the Albina story provides some information about his method of work and is another bit of circumstantial evidence that suggests he shared sources with other writers and appears to link him very closely to the production of prose romances for the Burgundian court circle.

140 Oxford, Bodl.L. Laud Misc. 751, f. 127; illustrated Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II*, fig. 28.

141 The *Alexander* miniature is by the same artist as many of the *Recueil* pictures, the so-called Master of the English Chronicle at Vienna, see below, pt II, ch. 4. Scot McKendrick has pointed out that other miniatures in Laud Misc. 751 appear to be 're-cycled' or rather randomly chosen; McKendrick, 'Vasco da Lucena's translation'.

142 Lathuillère, *Guiron*, ch. 4.

has /

Part II. Chapter 3.

The *Recueil des Croniques dEngleterre*.

3. Wavrin's sources and how he used them: Volume 1, Book 2, to the end of Volume 5, Book 6 (Brutus to c. 1444).

The following section is heavily indebted to the exhaustive editorial work of Mlle Dupont, Wavrin's first editor, who searched the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale – her prevalent interest was the history of France itself⁴³ – and to the long introduction and notes of W. Hardy, who searched for sources in various places, including English libraries. The purpose here is to coordinate and make jointly available their findings, to which a little criticism and some theories will be added. Every section tempts one to study it further and to follow up every clue that might lead to solving the mystery of Wavrin's sources and his own contribution, but a compromise had to be made between looking at his work as a whole and studying in depth every chapter or group of chapters that seemed to contain a key to this mystery.

Detailed and close comparison of *Recueil* manuscripts to all manuscripts that may be similar or identical to Wavrin's exemplars has also not been attempted for all sections. The number of relevant texts, their copies and versions, extensions and abbreviations in innumerable manuscripts, is particularly daunting and the effort and expense of checking them all is unlikely to be justified by the amount of new evidence it might produce.

As we have seen the first book of Volume 1 presented a relatively straightforward and rewarding case: there can be little doubt that Wavrin used an existing, newly written romance, which treated the life and deeds of Britain's women founders in realistic detail and in a manner that would please his reading public. It is tempting to think that he had his tongue in his cheek when he included this romance in a full-length history of England, but it is probably not justifiable. The method he used and the choice he made in relation to the Albina section is suggestive of his overall attitude to his historical work.

The *Historia regum Britanniae*, Brutus to Cadwallader.

The second and third books of Volume 1 contain the *Historia regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth – British history from Brutus to Cadwallader – in a free French translation, or rather redaction, which includes additions and comments. Hardy compared this section of the

Recueil to two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 2806 and 5621,¹⁴⁴ which have the same text with some variant readings. Dupont had already used the same two manuscripts for comparison.¹⁴⁵ She also included the first half of fr. 16939¹⁴⁶ in this comparison and reached the same conclusion, i.e. that these manuscripts represent a separate work which Wavrin copied into his *Recueil* as Volume 1, Books 2 and 3.¹⁴⁷ Fr. 2806 and 5621 refer to their own text as *Histoires des Bretons* and mention Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the *Recueil* it is first called *la cronicque de Brutus*,¹⁴⁸ later *le livre de Brust d'Engleterre*,¹⁴⁹ Geoffrey being mentioned only at the beginning of Merlin's prophecies.¹⁵⁰ Wavrin tells us nothing about this French version of the *Historia* and the information we have is supplied by the original author and by the internal evidence of his text. As Mlle Dupont and others have pointed out the author was a native of the Bourbonnais, and by his references to the battle of Poitiers (1356), the devastation of France, the division of the *dyadesme royal en deux couronnes ou royaumes* and the French civil war, she dated his work to the time of Henry V and Charles VII, *vers le milieu du xv^e siècle*.¹⁵¹ Because of the vagueness of some of these descriptive references and particularly because the traumatic event of the battle of Agincourt is not mentioned it seems more realistic to assume a date late in the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century.¹⁵²

There is little doubt that Wavrin chose this work because it was the version of Geoffrey's text that suited his purpose best, more than any of the other versions of the *Historia* made during his lifetime. He did not employ for this section the French version of the English *Brut* that he must have known (see below), presumably because it was too plain and brief. He did not wish to use, or did not know, Pierre Le Baud's (died 1505) *Compillacion des Croniques et Ystoires des tresnobles roys et princes de Bretagne armoricque*, which went up to 1458 and contained an abbreviation of the *Historia* omitting the prophecies of Merlin.¹⁵³ Nor did he use the anonymous translation, called the *Histoire de Brutus, premier roy de Bretagne, a present dicte Angleterre, et ses successeurs*, which differs from both his own

144 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. lxiv, lxxi-ii, notes in vol. 1, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii, ccxvi and 508-601; app. F, 6, below.

145 Fr. 2086 is *Anc. fonds* 8387, fr. 5621 is *Fonds Colbert* 10210-3.3.

146 *Her St Germain* 93.

147 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 15-17.

148 At the end of 1, 1, 5, see above; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 35.

149 1, 2, 2.

150 1, 2, 55. The mention of the author of the prophecies was presumably also a feature of the translation, not an addition of Wavrin's; the prophecies long existed as a separate text and are an insertion in the *Historia* proper.

151 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

152 Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, p. 225, has 'perhaps no later than 1390'. Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. lxxviii-lxxii, assumes the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

153 BN fr. 8266 (*Anc. suppl.* fr. 67), mentioned Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 17n. Le Baud's work may have been written too late for Wavrin to know; it was dedicated in 1480.

version and Le Baud and appears to survive in one manuscript only.¹⁵⁴ Finally Wavrin ignored the translation by Jean Wauquelin, writer and scribe at Mons in Hainault (died 1452), who is better known for his *Chroniques de Hainaut* and who finished a translation of a Latin version of the *Historia* in 1444 at the request of Antoine de Croy.¹⁵⁵ In one of its surviving manuscripts it is called at the beginning the *Livre des rois de Bretagne, que maintenant on apelle Engleterre, commenchant a Brutus*, and at the end *Hystoire des Bretons*;¹⁵⁶ it is, again, different from the ones already mentioned. Philip the Good had a copy of Wauquelin's text, which later belonged to Engelbert of Nassau,¹⁵⁷ and the de Croys themselves must have had one. It is surprising that Wavrin did not care to use a text that had been produced in his country and his milieu and had presumably been finished shortly before he undertook his own great work; either it did not suit his purpose or it was not yet available when he was working.¹⁵⁸

The fact that Wavrin used this particular version of the *Historia* and the manner in which he used it are in line with the rest of his work and method. He consciously selected a text that was entertaining and rejected the plainer text of the *Brute* (which he must have had access to, see below). The style of the redaction is very similar to that of the Albina story and suited his requirements exactly; one modern commentator described it thus:

The style is that of the French prose romances. The author is prolix, vivaciously and delightfully garrulous and chatty, like a man who has all the time in the world himself and never imagines his readers might be in a hurry. He abounds in figures and imaginative touches. Like a modern novelist, he takes us with him into the confidence of the characters, ...¹⁵⁹

Not only the style of the work suited him, its subject matter also fitted perfectly into Wavrin's plan: it was after all a history of Britain and relevant to his chosen subject. The text was copied into the *Recueil* as it stood: there appears to have been no attempt at editing.¹⁶⁰ In spite of having, for example, inserted a whole book on the foundation and naming of Britain by Albina, Wavrin allowed the report that the island was called after its white cliffs to remain in his text without comment.¹⁶¹ He also left in criticism of the English which Edward IV, if he ever read his first volume of the *Recueil*, would not have appreciated:¹⁶²

De ces Saxons sont descendus les Anglois qui ancores saydent volentiers de sorceries et des arts magiques, et ce nest pas grant merveille silz scentent la nature de leurs

154 BN fr. 5622 (10211), mentioned by Wavrin-Dupont, *ibid.*

155 Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 446, and *Litt.*, p.

156 BL Lansdowne 214, ff. 85-193.

157 BR 10415-16, c. 1450.

158 Which would suggest that he did start writing in 1445, above, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1??

159 Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, p. 226.

160 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 36-501 and notes, for the variants and interpolations of the French author.

161 End of 1, 2, 1; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 39-40; above, pt II, ch. 3, sect 2.

162 See also below pt II, ch. 4, sect. 3.

ancestres qui conquesterent lisle de la Grant Bretaigne par la trayteuse maniere devant ditte, et nous meysmes avons veues leurs traysons et veons journelement, car onques ne tindrent loyaute ne verite ne chose quilz eussent promis ne feront jamais (1, 2, 53).¹⁶³

And again:

car en bonne foy je cuide certainement quil nest religion, veu, foy ne serment, ne paour de Dieu quy peust lyer ou contraindre la mobilite des Anglois ou est enrachinee la perfidie, mauvaiste naturelle de leurs peres Saxons ausquelz a seullement communiquee vertu et distribue seignourie, inhumaine cruaulte et perfidie proditoire, intolerable (1, 2, 56).¹⁶⁴

And again:

Des cellui temps cessa la puissance britonicque en lisle de la Grant Bretaigne totalement, car onques puis ne fut recouvre, ains la tiennent ancores aujourd'hui les Anglois, qui sortirent leur naissance des Saxons traytres et parvers par nature, inconstans et muables en volente, qui oncques foy ne aliance par eulx promise ou vouee ne garderent sans violence (1, 3, 52).¹⁶⁵

In view of these examples it is best to conclude that *none* of the authorial remarks in these two books (Vol. 1, Bks 2 and 3) are Wavrin's own, but merely copied from the exemplar. Wavrin must have liked the text as a whole and decided to include it as it stood. It is unlikely that he thought it necessary to oversee the copying in detail, let alone did it himself; it was done by a scribe or scribes who had been given the text as a whole to work with and did his or their job with professional automatism. Any evidence about Wavrin's attitude to life, politics or moral issues cannot be derived from this part of his work.¹⁶⁶ All one can say is that he chose this text because it suited his purposes perfectly and accepted its 'authority'; as this appears to have been done without any attempt to edit the details of the text, it is more realistic to draw no other conclusions. The text Wavrin used was probably rare and he wished his readers to be entertained by the whole story as he found it and he had not yet realised, as he did later, that he could not afford to include long texts in their entirety if he wanted his work to remain manageable and readable.

The *Brut* and the *Chronique de Normandie*, 689-1333.

The evidence is more complicated for the last three books (4, 5, and 6) of Volume 1 and though the text still appears to be not much more than a faithful transcript, there are signs of more active intervention by an editor.¹⁶⁷ These books cover the years from the death of Cadwallader and the expulsion of the Britons from their island in 689 to Edward III's invasion

163 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 219-20.

164 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 233.

165 End of 1, 3, 52; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 496.

166 Pace Ingledew, 'Book of Troy', p. 704.; compare Taylor, *Prophecy*, pp. 139-40.

167 Unless, of course, there was an edited version available, comp. Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. lxxiii.

of Scotland in 1332/3. From early in Book 6 text and events overlap with Froissart's chronicle, the whole of which was extensively used. Dupont was unable to find a possible source for the first twenty-seven chapters of Book 4 in the holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale, but noted the great similarity of Book 4, chapters 28-30 and 32-56, and Book 5, chapters 1-60 (from the first mention of William of Normandy to Magna Carta in 1215), to the *Chronique(s) de Normandie*,¹⁶⁸ especially to the edition printed at Rouen in 1487.¹⁶⁹ Hardy noted a similarity with BL Royal 20 A iii, ff. 121-236,¹⁷⁰ a French *Brute* made in the second half of the fourteenth century,¹⁷¹ and Royal 15 E vi, ff. 363-402,¹⁷² a composite book, put together in 1445, which contains among other texts a copy of the *Chroniques de Normandie*.¹⁷³

It is clear, however, from Brie's edition of the English text of the *Brut*, printed in 1906-08 and the only easily accessible version of the text, that Wavrin knew a (French) *Brute* that ran as far as 1332/33. Most of the chapters of the *Recueil* in Volume 1, Book 4, chapter 1 to Volume 1, Book 6, chapter 15, are to all intents and purposes the same as *Brut* chapters 102 to 202, though they include two series closer to the *Chroniques de Normandie* – 1, 4, 40 to 1, 5, 19 (William and Harold, William II and Henry I) and 1, 5, 25 to 48 (Richard I). In the rest of Volume 1, Book 6, all chapters that are not from Froissart's chronicles and printed by Dupont as *inédits* are – as Hardy noted – from a *Brute*.¹⁷⁴ They can be found in Brie's edition of the English *Brut*, containing virtually the same information and phrasing.¹⁷⁵ The conclusion has to be that Wavrin had access to a French *Brute*¹⁷⁶ which incorporated at least one other work, the

168 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. xxxvii, 29-38. Comparison to the partial edition in *Recueil des historiens*, vol. 11 (1767), pp. 320-43, vol. 12 (1781) and vol. 13 (1786, 1869), pp. 220-56, corroborates this; the similarity in phrasing and division of text is too great to be accidental, even though there are additions and omissions. It has to be noted that Arsenal 4095 has connections with the Lalaing family and therefore possibly with Wavrin; this 15th-c. ms. contains the same *Chronique de Normandie* but though the text is very close it is not identical with the *Recueil*, which has chapter headings and is in places more complete.

169 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. xxxvii.

170 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. lxxiii-xci.

171 Brie, *Geschichte*, p. 28.

172 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. lxxix-lxxxvi.

173 Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*.

174 Some authorial remarks, taken by Hardy to be Wavrin's own, are actually quotations from the *Brut Brute*, note 177, below.

175 Brie, *Brut*, chs 204-222.

176 Kingsford's remark that Wavrin must have known a *Brut* of the type of Harl. 53 was too vague and based on too little material, *EHL*, p. 136; Harl. 53 ends during the siege of Calais in 1436 and if Wavrin had known such a text he would not have said that no complete history of England existed. Similarly the vague and suggestive remarks by Matheson, *Brut*, p. 22, about Wavrin's use of *Bruts* in the ducal library and 'an English text of the type of BL MS Harley 53 and Lambeth Palace MS 6 (the latter of which was illustrated by a Flemish artist)' are unhelpful and all derived from Gransden, *Writing II*, even to the point of still calling BN fr. 71, 'ms. fr. 6761'!

Chroniques de Normandie,¹⁷⁷ and stretched probably from the foundation of Britain into the Plantagenet period,¹⁷⁸ where it could be linked up with Froissart's chronicles. Alternatively he himself mixed the *Brute* with the *Chroniques de Normandie*. The exact manuscript and scribal traditions of such texts are unlikely to be disentangled. Brie already expressed his lack of 'courage' to tackle the problem of *Brute* and *Brut* manuscripts.¹⁷⁹

Whatever his actual exemplar, the amount of 'romantic' detail in the text chosen by Wavrin for this section of his history, highlighted by Hardy in the extracts given in his introduction, again shows, like his choice of the Albina story and the *Historia* redaction, Wavrin's desire to have entertaining material of a kind that might please a reading public of his own class and background. Hardy printed the dramatic story of King Osbright and the wife of his vassal, Buerne Bocart,¹⁸⁰ as well as lively scenes from the battle of Hastings¹⁸¹ as samples. The Osbright story does occur in the *Brut* (ch. 103) as we know it, but is more elaborate in Wavrin's version; either he found an extended version, or he fleshed it out himself, though without adding anything of importance.

Jean Froissart's *Chroniques de France, d'Angleterre et des païs voisins*, 1333-1399.

With the year 1332/33, near the end of Volume 1, Book 6, Wavrin's *Brute* text had run out and he became strongly dependent on the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart. Froissart was the main, but not the only source from Volume 1, Book 6, chapter 16, to Volume 4, Book 5, chapter 13, which is over 40% of the *Recueil*. It is not known which manuscript(s) Wavrin used, but cursory checks indicate that his exemplar was close to, but not identical with, the Amiens manuscript as edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove. Dupont indicated that she had to use alternately the 'first' and the 'last' redaction of Froissart, as edited by Buchon in 1824 and 1838, for comparison; she assumed that Wavrin had *divers manuscrits* at his disposal.¹⁸²

177 The *Croniques d'Escoche* mentioned in 1, 6, 52, are not a source used by Wavrin himself but a quotation from the *Brute* he used; compare Brie, *Brut*, ch. 217, vol. 1, p. 256: 'chronicles of Engeland and of Scotland'. The references to events discussed earlier in the chronicle, 1, 6, 54, are also not Wavrin's own, as Hardy assumed (Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. xcvi), but translated phrases from the *Brut Brute* itself; see Brie, *Brut*, ch. 220, vol. 1, p. 262.

178 Probably to 1333 like so many *Brute* mss; there is no evidence in the *Recueil* of the use of a *Brute* text after 1332/33.

179 Brie, *Geschichte*, p. 39, for this ms and the many comparable and related ones. Recently Diana Tyson wrote that she was aware of her 'temerity' even in trying to make a list of the manuscripts of the French *Brute*, Tyson, 'Handlist', p. 333. Matheson, *Brut*, does not deal with the French versions.

180 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. lxxiv-lxxxvi; given as an example of the 'romantic legends' of the 12th century that were later used as 'historical records'.

181 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. lxxx-lxxxvi.

182 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. vii, xxxix, 99-100.

Differences between Wavrin's text and surviving Froissart manuscripts have various possible causes.¹⁸³ First of all, because Froissart himself used other authors, such as Chandos Herald, Jean Le Bel and the *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*,¹⁸⁴ and because others in their turn used or summarised his work,¹⁸⁵ we cannot even be sure whether Wavrin used only Froissart's own work or had recourse to his sources or redactors as well. Secondly, in order to use Froissart's *Chroniques* effectively Wavrin had to reduce a work of between 2 and 3 million words¹⁸⁶ to about $\frac{1}{4}$ of its length,¹⁸⁷ which meant huge editorial intervention during which many decisions to omit and summarise had to be taken. Thirdly, Wavrin probably based himself on a manuscript or even a redaction that does not survive and which had lacunae and additional material that we cannot check.¹⁸⁸ There are some additions, such as the passages noted by Dupont,¹⁸⁹ that have to be explained in this way. Wavrin also appears to have made conscious changes to modernise the text or make it clearer, while some variants may be the result of simple scribal error.¹⁹⁰ It also has to be noted that he could not and did not follow Froissart's chapter divisions, because he had to omit quite a number of chapters and usually ran a couple or more together, according to the extent of his summarising. His use of major divisions is arbitrary: between Volume 3, Books 5 and 6, for example, he followed Froissart's division of books, probably because there was also a change of subject matter, from Flemish affairs to those of Spain and Portugal, but the major break between Wavrin's Volumes 3 and 4 does not coincide with Froissart's, though it does fall at the point where the story moves from France to England.

Obvious alterations are the omission or summarising of chapters not concerned with English history. For example, a section on the wars in Hainault was left out and Wavrin added: *Qui en volra scavoit, ou livre de Froissart on le polra trouver*.¹⁹¹ Similarly, parts of the history of Gueldres and its dukes was summarised very briefly:

183 For a list of Froissart mss, Diller, *Attitudes*, pp. 164-69.

184 E.g. Palmer, 'Book I', in Palmer, *Froissart*.

185 E.g. Diller, *Attitudes*, pp. 23-24.

186 Diller's estimate, *ibid.*, p. 9.

187 This is a very rough calculation, assuming that the *Recueil* is about 1,500,000 words and Froissart's text takes about 40% (600,000 words).

188 E.g. 4, 2, 26, Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 159-60, appears to have an extensive passage that is missing (logically speaking) in Froissart's work.

189 E.g. 2, 4, 19, Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 100, on the burial of King John of France; 2, 5, 7, Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 109, a short passage of direct speech; 2, 6, 13, Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 115, a short passage of praise and regret for the death of the eldest son of the Black Prince; 4, 3, 19, Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 165-66, a conversation between the kings of France and England.

190 See Hardy's comments, Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. xcix, cxxv, cxxxii, cxxxiii.

191 2, 1, 13; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 88.

Pour ce que moy, acteur de ces Croniques d'Engleterre, ne veul pas prendre ne recoeillier au long les choses advenues en plusieurs lieux et divers, fort tant seulement des guerres de France, d'Engleterre, de Bretaigne, de Castille, de Portingal ou les Anglais, veul laissier du duc de Gherles, excepte en brief seulement, pour ce qu'il estoit prochain parent au roy d'Engleterre ..., comme en Froissart pourez veoir tout au long.¹⁹²

There is also a fairly long addition about the return of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to England in November 1389, which does not occur in Froissart according to Dupont, and which may be significant because it comes not only exactly at the point where Froissart's Book 3 ends and his Book 4 begins, but also where the variant redaction of the *Recueil* in fr. 20358 and 20359 has the beginning of one of its volumes.¹⁹³ It is possible that some scribal problem or intervention, or the accidental survival of one or more pages at the beginning or the end of a manuscript caused this coincidence.

A few unusual features of a more personal nature were pointed out by Dupont: Wavrin inserted praise of the courageous assistance that a bastard son gave to his father,¹⁹⁴ and added in the names of members of the Wavrin family.¹⁹⁵ She also noted one passage that appears to be identical with the relevant section of the *Chronique de Flandres* (3, 3, 3), but later scholarship has explained this by Froissart's own authorship of that chronicle.¹⁹⁶ Hardy, while discussing Wavrin's use of Froissart, spent much time expressing amazement at the cruelty of the executions of Hugh le Despenser and Roger Mortimer,¹⁹⁷ Hardy also went to great efforts to defend the reputation of Edward III in the 'affaire Salisbury'.¹⁹⁸

192 4, 1, 53; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 153; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. cxxxi-cxxxiii.

193 Fr. 20358, f. 1 (my italics; bold lettering marks a rubric in the ms.; capitals and punctuation modernised):

[E]n lan de lincarnation Nostre Seigneur mile iij^c iiij^{xx} et jx le roy Charles de France rechupt en sa bonne ville de Paris Dame Yzabel de Baviere, sa femme, des grans sollempnites des noeches et des festes et joustes qui y furent faittes a sa venue; ne veult tenir long compte mais procederay en la matere des croniques de Engleterre, dont pour le tamps estoit roy et possesseur Richart, filz au prinche de Gales.

Chy parolle comment le seigneur de Chastiaumorat lequel le conte de Saint Pol avoit laissiet en Engleterre retourna en Franche devers le roy et son conseil et monstra la charite de la trieve qui estoit donnee et scelee du Roy Richard et de ses alyes, laquelle devoit durer par terre et par mer troyz ans.

[A]pres celle grant feste de la quelle ie vous ay parle et que tous seigneurs et dames este y avoient furent retourmes ...

Fr. 20359 starts with the same events but is not identical.

194 2, 2, 23; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 97.

195 2, 3, 15, and 2, 4, 13; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 100 and 105.

196 On the relationship between Froissart and the *Chronique de Flandre*, van Herwaarden, 'War', in Palmer, *Froissart*, p. 175, n. 17; Diller, *Attitudes*, pp. 21-22.

197 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. xcii-xciv, xcvi-xcvii.

198 *Ibid.*, pp. civ-cxxiv.

Wavrin himself at times emphasises that Froissart is his source.¹⁹⁹ Probably because the actual writing of the *Recueil* was done by scribes/collaborators a few lines were copied from Wavrin's long dead predecessor without thought, e.g. when he seems to report his own quest for eyewitness accounts about events that took place in 1341, sixty years before he was born and a hundred years before he wrote.²⁰⁰

The *Traïson de Richart Deux* and the battle of Shrewsbury, 1399-1403.

From Volume 4, Book 3, chapter 21, Wavrin had yet another source at his disposal, the *Chronique de la traïson et mort de Richart Deux, Roy d'Engleterre*,²⁰¹ a prose text probably written by a Frenchman from Artois or West Flanders who had been at the English court during the crucial years and was particularly familiar with the Holland family, mentioning Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent and Duke of Surrey, with great respect. This again is a text that survives in at least four redactions and many manuscripts; all redactions except the first one depend to some extent on another account of Richard II's deposition, the so-called *Metrical History*, composed in 1401-02 by Jean Creton, a servant of Charles VI of France and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. It has been established that Wavrin used the second redaction,²⁰² of which several manuscripts made in his lifetime survive; availability should not have been a problem.²⁰³

After a number of chapters in which Froissart's chronicles and the *Traïson* were used more or less alternately or together (4, 3, 21 to 4, 5, 13) the work of Enguerran de Monstrelet –

199 3, 6, 13 and 4, 3, 7; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. cxxvii-cxxxii.

200 3, 5, 10 and 11; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. cii-civ, cxxv-cxxx.

201 No recent edition of the *Traïson* exists; it was studied in detail by Palmer, 'Authorship', on which the next paragraphs are based. Available printed texts are Wavrin's own and Williams, *Traïson*; Palmer, p. 145, n. 6, for references.

202 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

203 Doutrepoint, *Lit.*, pp. 405-07; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 166; *Dictionnaire*, s.n. 'Jean Creton'. The mss of the second redaction of the *Traïson* datable to the first half of the 15th century (Palmer, 'Authorship', p. 181) are: BN fr. 25270 (St Victor 904), ff. 2-47, early 15th c.; includes Seneca, *Des quatre vertus*, trans. Jean Courtecuisse. BR 4631 (12192-94), ff. 33-78v, 1400-1430, preceded by the chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin, followed by *La declaracion du droit que les Anglais*; owned by the duke of Burgundy? (BR 4632, formerly 21521-31, also has the *Traïson*, though in another redaction, and includes texts by the de Lannoy brothers and Chastelain, but is late 15th-c.). BL Add. 37013, ff. 127-67, early 15th c.; preceded by a history of the world and Pseudo-Turpin; no signs of 15th-c. ownership. BN fr. 1404 (7511²), ff. 147-190v; early 15th c.; the *Traïson* is the last section of a world history. BN n.a.f. 4514 (10212), ff. 1-38v; mid 15th c.; the only text. BN n.a.f. 283, ff. 1-32v; mid 15th c.; the only text in the ms. Paris, Institut de Paris 683, ff. 1-32v; mid 15th c. Leiden, UB, Scaliger 40, ff. 1-52v; mid 15th c.; 7 half-page mins; the only text in the ms.; names of French owners (?) unidentified. A ms., misleadingly called *Chronique d'Angleterre*, present location unknown, described in W.H. Schab, Catalogue 23 [May or June 1957], ff. 1-51, has a version of the *Traïson* followed by an account of the Nicopolis campaign, reflections on the murder of John the Fearless, a truce between Philip the Good and Charles VII (1431) and the peace of Arras (1435).

on which Wavrin is often assumed to have depended heavily – seems to make its first appearance (4, 5, 14).²⁰⁴ In fact, Volume 4, Book 5, chapter 14 does only partly resemble Monstrelet's very brief text. The chapter concerns the return to France of Richard II's widow, Isabel; Wavrin has an introduction which is more to the point than Monstrelet's and puts the event in context. A separate narrative survives of these events, describing the diplomatic negotiations and the young queen's actual return,²⁰⁵ and this, in one version or another, may have been the source of both Monstrelet and Wavrin, who used it in different ways.

The source of the next two chapters, the first two of Volume 4, Book 6 is unknown. They cover the origin of the quarrel between Henry IV and the Percies, the gathering of the rebels and the battle of Shrewsbury, episodes that were very briefly treated by Monstrelet (1, 7). The account of the quarrel with the Percies²⁰⁶ contains the episode of the *grant soufflet*, or 'gret buffet',²⁰⁷ as is it called in one of the few manuscripts of the English *Brut* that have a version of the story.²⁰⁸ In Wavrin the *grant soufflet* was given by Henry IV to Thomas, *recte* Henry, Percy, the son of the earl of Northumberland – also known, but not to Wavrin, as 'Hotspur' – because he refused to give up his prisoner, the earl of Douglas (see fig. 9, A and B). In one version of the *Brut*, the shortest, Percy is struck in the face by the king because he says Henry did not keep his word about his intentions when he returned to England, promising not to seek the crown.²⁰⁹

204 Implied by Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 175, who gives *Monstrelet, t. I, ch. iv* as reference for 4, 5, 14, without comment. Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, p. 53, n. 3: 'The incidents related in this chapter, though not apparently copied from Monstrelet, are also referred to by him.'

205 BN fr. 5624 (10212³, Colbert 5541), ff. 45v-47, printed by Williams, *Traison*, pp. 105-107; described *ibid.* pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi, and Omont, *Catalogue. Ancien petits fonds*, pp. 45-46; contains the *Traïison*, the arrival of Henry IV's queen, Joan of Brittany, in England, two of the letters exchanged between Henry IV and the duke of Orleans (5 Dec. 1402 and 26 March 1403), which also occur in Monstrelet and Wavrin (see below), an account of a battle between seven Englishmen and seven Frenchmen in the shape of a letter written 25 March 1402, and a *Histoire de Tamerlan*. The ms. belonged to Guillaume Juvenal des Ursins, chancellor of France since 1445, and was given to him in 1449.

206 The three Percies, Henry, first Percy earl of Northumberland (died 1408), his brother, Thomas, Earl of Worcester (died 1403), and Henry's son, Henry 'Hotspur' (died 1403), are consistently confused in the Gruuthuse ms., slightly less so in fr. 20358. Who was called Henry, who Thomas, which of the two was constable of England and accompanied Richard II's widow to France, and the Christian name of the earl of Northumberland's son who was struck in the face by Henry IV were all matters of conjecture.

207 Not in Monstrelet.

208 *Brut*, ed. Brie, vol. 2, p. 593, from Lambeth 84, f. 187. Kingsford, *EHL*, p. 137, assumes Wavrin had 'access to a version of the *Brut* of the type of Harley 53, whence he took the story of 'le grand soufflet' (Harl. 53, f. 153v), but the versions in Harley 53 and Wavrin are very dissimilar. Compare Matheson, *Brut*, p. 22.

209 Lambeth 84, f. 187, printed Brie, *Brut*, vol. 2, p. 593: Hotspur: 'Syr, this was not couienant nor promise'. 'What seyest thou, horsson?' quod the Kyng; & stert to hym & gaue hym a gret buffet. 'Wel,' quod Syr Herry Hotspur, 'this shal be the shrewdest bofet that euer thou yovyst.'

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Fig. 9 A and B
On the left Henry IV strikes
Henry Percy in the face; on
the right the battle of
Shrewsbury.
A. BN ms. fr. 81, f. 283;
B. Baltimore, Walters Art
Gallery MS 201, f. 283.

Fig. A.

Image removed due to third party copyright **Fig. 9 B**

In another text of the *Brut* the story is more elaborate; here Percy is offended because he had not received his wages for the keeping of the Marches. When the king gives him no proper answer, Hotspur reminds him he would never have become king without his help. This infuriates Henry and with his fist he strikes Percy on the cheek.²¹ Once again Wavrin not only found one of the most dramatic versions of the events, his story was also very elaborate.

& streyte he toke his horse, and rode home into his countre; & here-vpon began the batel of Srewesbury'.

210 Harl. 53, f. 153v: 'Sir Henry Percy said ... no had he ben he had never be kyng of Englonde. The kyng then with that word was sore mevyt and with his fist stroke Sir Henry Percy on the cheke.

Interestingly it is matched in its details and its tone by the narrative of the battle of Shrewsbury that follows immediately after (4, 6, 2). However garbled and inaccurate by the standards of modern historiography, this account of the battle is of special interest, because it does not resemble any of the other surviving narratives about the battle in English or Latin,²¹¹ and because, as if to make up for its thinness, it is fleshed out with a number of the standard descriptive phrases also found in the accounts of battles in the ‘historical novels’ in prose with which Wavrin is often associated.²¹²

The story first tells how the Percies allied themselves with the Welsh,²¹³ and the author takes the opportunity to explain how proud the Welsh were of their ancestors, the original Britons, and how much they hated the English who were descended from the foreigner, ‘Englist’ (Hengist), who peopled the island with Saxons, Germans, Flemings, Picardians, Normans and ‘others’. This historical excursion is accompanied by a reference to the story of Hengist in Volume One, *comme en cest histore est cy devant contenu ou premier volume*.²¹⁴ The Welsh and the Percies conclude their alliance by sealed letters and oaths taken *sur le corpus Christi*. The allies gather their troops, and are joined by the earl of Douglas²¹⁵ with his friends, who had been released by the Percies for the purpose ‘without ransom’. Numbering 20,000 archers and 2,000 lances they march along *en belle ordonnance*, plundering and killing on the way; in the end they number 80,000! Henry IV would have been lost if he had not had *amis couvers*. The story of his consultation with his lords is even more commonplace and contains no real data: it merely says that he was advised to muster troops and is aptly summarised by the standard phrase: *comme en tel cas apartient*. The royal army is said to have numbered 26,000 archers and 3,000 men-at-arms, eventually running to as many as 60,000 men.²¹⁶

-
- And then Sir Henry sore aggrevid said thes wordes unto the kyng: In faith this shal be the derrest boght buffet that ever was in Englund and with that word turned the bakke and toke his horse ...’
- 211 For a list, e.g. Priestley, *Shrewsbury*, pp. 22-23. Wylie, *Henry IV*, vol. 1, p. 359, was not impressed by the account: ‘[Wavrin’s] figures may be safely set aside as fabulous, together with the other details of the battle’.
- 212 For a list of these similarities, app. H, below. If one is tempted to look down on such ‘romantic’ and standardised descriptions of battles it is salutary to read Keegan, *Face of Battle*, ch. 1.
- 213 A fact known to Monstrelet, vol. 1, ch. 7.
- 214 Fr. 20358, f. 127v, has *comme en ceste ystoire est par chydevant contenu*; this shows that (the exemplar of) fr. 20358 did have a full text of the *Recueil*, starting with the early history of Britain, though with a different division into volumes and books.
- 215 A fact known to Monstrelet.
- 216 The information about the combatants is very garbled. The king’s army is led by the duke of York ‘his uncle’, the ‘young duke’ of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel (?Thomas FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, died 1415), Rutland (?Edward ‘of York’, who was actually duke of York since 1402, died 1415), Warwick (Richard Beauchamp’s presence at Shrewsbury is in the *Beauchamp Pageant* but apparently nowhere else), Exeter (?*d’Excestre/Sextre*), Somerset (?John Beaufort, Earl and Marques of Somerset, died 1410), and Lord Ros (?William, Lord

The description of the battle itself, even more than the account of the events leading up to it, consists of a series of commonplace occurrences presented in standard narrative phrases, only slightly adapted for the occasion. The armies approach each other with much noise and dust. The commanders placed their troops in battle order in the most advantageous position. We are told that Hotspur and his relatives, the earl of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Percy, harangued their soldiers, reminding them again of their British ancestry and encouraging them to get rid of *celle maudit nation Englesse* and this *Henry de Lanclastre*, the murderer of King Richard. These details, like the rest of the account, are said to be based (indirectly) on eye-witness reports:

Ainsi comme vous povez oyr admonesterent leurs gens au bien faire ceulz de Persy, et telement les encoragerent quil ny avoit celui qui neust le corage sy haultain que advis leur estoit que nulz fors Dieu ne les pouvoit nuyre; et a la verite, comme jay este informe par gens notables quy disoient avoir veu chevalliers et gens dauctorite qui ceste chose certiffioient avoir veue, ce fut la besongne non pareille quon ait oy en histoire.²¹⁷

More standard description follows: Henry IV hears mass, takes his *soupe en vin* and in his turn admonishes his troops, mentioning their *bonne cause* and *commun profit*. Correctly introduced here is the unfurling of the banners of St George, St Edward and France and England quartered.²¹⁸ The archers release a ‘thick cloud’ of arrows, the sun is blotted out and the dust rises. After the shot they take their swords and axes and the battle becomes very bloody. It is correctly stated that the earl of Douglas drives back the king’s vanguard²¹⁹ and the king’s party is in great danger. The author tries to convey the fierceness of the fighting by his personal comments:

... la pareille ne fut veue de longtempz en Engleterre,²²⁰ et ceulz quy vivans estoient mettoient paine de tout leur pouvoir a lun lautre occire; sicque horrible et espouventable chose estoit a veoir, ne il ny avoit si hardy, quy ne fremist de hide et paour; car, comme jay oy raconter par bouche, et par escript on ne trouve en nul livre de ceste cronicque, depuis la conquete du duc Guillaume, il eust ou

Ros, died 1414), which suggests confused but not entirely incorrect information was available to the author. Also named is *le enne duc de Sudrien*, i.e. there is probably confusion with Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent and Duke of Surrey (beheaded 1400), who had been given such a prominent role in the *Traison* (see above), used for the previous section of the *Recueil*. There was only an *earl* of Surrey at the time of the battle of Shrewsbury, who was also the earl of Arundel.

217 In W 201, f. 285v, this passage ends more simply:

Et au vray dire comme iay este informe par gens notables aians este a ceste besogne ilz estoient grant nombre et gens bien en point.

218 These banners occur in many battles in the *Recueil*: Agincourt, Cravant and Verneuil.

219 A fact known to Monstrelet, though Douglas is not named in this context. Compare Jean de Bueil, who also calls Hotspur *Thomas de Percy* and knows about Henry’s vanguard being broken and the king himself saving the day, *Jouvencel*, vol. 2, pp. 61-62.

220 *la pareille ... Engleterre*, not in fr. 20358, but see below.

royaulme d'Angleterre une sy horrible bataille,²²¹ ne tant de sang chrestien
respandu, comme en ceste dont nous parlons, ...²²²

There is no doubt that King Henry is the real hero of the battle – the prince of Wales is not mentioned at all until the victorious army enters London; even the fact that he was wounded was apparently not known. Henry IV himself saves the day after the defeat of his vanguard, he admonishes his troops again, he performs many deeds of prowess, *tant que des deux costes il fut tenu le plus vaillant chevalier* – as if heralds were judging the champion in a joust! – and ‘it is reported as true’ that he killed thirty men with his own hand. It is also said that the earl of Douglas unhorsed him three times,²²³ which may be an echo of the story that several of the king’s knights dressed in the royal coat of arms; three knights are traditionally said to have been killed while performing this loyal service.²²⁴

Hotspur’s death in battle, which changed the course of events, is not even mentioned,²²⁵ only the fact that one of the Percies was beheaded afterwards. Many words are used to describe how the king thanked God for his victory, had the dead buried and the wounded cared for, and then proceeded to London,²²⁶ dismissing his troops, *adfin que le pays ne feust foulle ne mengie*. He is joyfully and solemnly received in the capital, met by processions on the way, and goes into St Paul’s to say his prayers and make his offering. By barge he goes to Westminster,²²⁷ where various embassies are received and feasted, and

221 W 201, f. 286v, has:

comme jay trouve par bouche et escript on ne list en nul livre des
ces cronicques que depuis la conquete d'angleterre par le Duc
Guillaume il y eust oudit royaume une si grant bataille.

Fr. 20358, f. 129, has (Hardy’s spelling is not correct):

comme jay ouit raconter et comme jay veu par escript on ne treuve
point en livre ne en cronique depuis que le duc Guillemme conquist
Engleterre, on na point sceu ne trouve que ou royaume d'Angleterre y
ayt eu une sy tresgrant bataille ne sy horrible ...

Again fr. 20358 seems to make better sense.

222 Spelling taken from Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 186-87; punctuation mine. Compare *Gregory’s Chronicle*, ed. Gairdner, p. 103: ‘For hit was one of the wyrste batayles that evyr came to Ingland, and unkyndest’.

223 Monstrelet also knew this: the king

plongea vigoureusement dedans la bataille de ses ennemis, en laquelle il se
conduisit et porta si chevalereusement, comme il fut su et relate par plusieurs
nobles des deux parties, que ce jour il occit et mit a mort, de sa propre main,
plus de trente-six hommes d’armes, jaçoit ce qu’il fut par trois foiz, a coups
de lance, abbattu du comte Douglas (Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 13).

224 Priestley, *Shrewsbury*, pp. 12, 15.

225 In Monstrelet *Henri de Persiaque* and *Thomas de Persiaque*, son oncle are killed.

226 Both Wavrin and Monstrelet mention that the king sent some men at arms into Wales to besiege a town that supported the Percies; in Wavrin it is quickly taken.

227 Compare Henry V’s progress through London after Agincourt.

presented with rich gifts. Finally Henry is eulogised in what sounds like the peroration of the narrative:²²⁸

La renommee de luy, de son sens et de sa prudence sestendoit en plusieurs pays et diverses regions; il maintenoit et aimoit justice sur toutes riens, et avec ce estoit moult bel prince, sachant et eloquent, courtois, vaillant et hardi auz armes, et au brief dire, estoit raemply de toutes vertus, autant que paravant son temps eussent este nulz de ses predicesseurs.

The account of the battle of Shrewsbury is a mixture of fact and fiction and it is hard to decide its value, even harder to understand how it came into being. The impression is that a short and not-very-well-informed account did exist and that someone, not necessarily, but possibly, Wavrin, fleshed it out with standard phrases that could be used for any battle and which occur frequently in some of the Burgundian chivalric prose romances of the first half of the fifteenth century, such as *Gillion de Trazegnies*, *Gilles de Chin* and *Jean d'Avesnes*.²²⁹ When we compare the description of Shrewsbury to the style of the narratives of other major battles in the *Recueil*, such as Agincourt (1415),²³⁰ Cravant (1423),²³¹ Verneuil (1424)²³² and Le Patay (1429),²³³ there is little similarity. The accounts of these four later battles, which Wavrin participated in, but which he also described with his usual dependence on other authors only rarely employ the 'romantic', unspecific phraseology used for the battle at Shrewsbury; they are more detailed, providing unique descriptions and important insights, and they needed hardly any embellishment.

For the moment it may be concluded that Wavrin was not averse to using some of the 'romantic' descriptions available for battles: he used them a little even when he had been there, but he really needed them for the very meagre report or newsletter about Shrewsbury. Perhaps this report had been created by an English herald or royal clerk, who felt that high praise of the new king Henry IV was called for at a time when Henry's relations with France were very strained.²³⁴ The author was at least familiar with some details of the royal entry into the city, and with the fact that the main church of London was St Paul's and that one could reach Westminster Palace by river,²³⁵ and therefore another possible candidate for authorship – if not merely for conveying the narrative to the continent – would be a French-speaking ambassador

228 Compare the peroration of Edward IV's newsletter to Charles of Burgundy, Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 220-21.

229 App. H, below.

230 *Recueil*, 5, 1, 9-12.

231 5, 3, 17.

232 5, 3, 18-29.

233 5, 4, 12-14.

234 Nordberg, *Ducs*, ch. 5, and see below.

235 Moranvillé, 'Note', argues that Monstrelet had a Latin source, partly because he used the 'Latin' form *Persiaque* for 'Percy'. Wavrin has *Persias* once but usually (*ceulx de) Persi/y*.

who was present at the court during the victory festivities and who was half-informed or half-remembered what he had been told. He may have added the high praise for a king who had been generous to the visiting foreigners.

Jean de Wavrin, Enguerran de Monstrelet and Anglo-French relations, 1399-1404.

In the course of their study of the Gruuthuse manuscript of the *Recueil* both Dupont and Hardy, though to a different extent, came to the conclusion that Wavrin may not have been simply copying Enguerran de Monstrelet's two-volume *Chronique* for the years 1400 to 1444. Dupont explained that Wavrin borrowed from Monstrelet and Le Fèvre de Saint-Remy in turn and that he summarised their texts and added passages of his own.²³⁶ Hardy, always quick to defend Wavrin's originality, says he 'much consulted' Monstrelet, that he shared 'a common source' with him, but that he (Hardy) wished to 'contradict the notion that one was copied from the other';²³⁷ Hardy was probably right about the common source, but it is doubtful that Wavrin himself used Monstrelet, however much his later editors may have done so.

Relatively little has been written and published about Monstrelet and no proper survey of the sources he used is available.²³⁸ Monstrelet was about ten years older than Wavrin and died in 1453; he held official positions in the town of Cambrai and was a dependent of the Luxembourg family. His work, which he presented as a continuation of Froissart, covers the years 1400-1444 and is much admired by later scholars and usually regarded as original.²³⁹ Apart from Froissart, whom he mentions as a source for pre-1400 events, Monstrelet does not name his authorities. He did use heralds' reports, oral accounts, official documents and letters, but clear identification of, or information about, these is lacking.

Let us take a closer look at one section where the texts of Monstrelet and Wavrin can be compared and see whether this contains evidence of 'plagiarism' by the one or the other. The first section of the *Recueil* that overlaps with Monstrelet's text is Volume 4, Book 6, from chapter 3 on, immediately following the account of the battle of Shrewsbury and inserted chronologically in the wrong place. These chapters contain a number of separate documents:²⁴⁰

236 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. xxxix-xl.

237 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. cxxxiii-cxl.

238 Boucquey, author of a thesis on Monstrelet, seems to have published only his short 'Historien'.

239 *Dictionnaire*, s.n.

240 On these documents, Nordberg, *Ducs*, pp. 111 ff.; Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 51. For the whole episode, Wylie, *Henry IV*, vol. 1, pp. 322-36. The letters from Henry IV to Orléans were added in another hand at the end of Froissart's Book 2 in Leiden, UL VGGF 9 II.

- 1) A challenge from Louis, Duke of Orléans (died 1407), to Henry IV, 7 August 1402,²⁴¹ by which Orléans proposed to fight Henry, each accompanied by a hundred knights.
- 2) Henry's response, dated 5 December 1402;²⁴²
- 3) Orléans' instrument of a treaty between him and Henry when the latter was still earl of Derby, 17 June 1399;²⁴³
- 4) Orléans' answer to Henry's response, 26 March 1402/3;²⁴⁴
- 5) Henry's second and last answer to Orléans, undated;²⁴⁵
- 6) A challenge from Waleran, Count of St Pol, to Henry IV, 10 11 February 1402/3.²⁴⁶

In this curious collection of documents Henry is accused in an amazingly candid way by the duke and the count of usurpation, murder of his predecessor and cruelty to his predecessor's widow. The letters are genuine and they must have fascinated contemporaries as soon as they were made public. And they were made public: the English ambassadors asked questions about the Orléans letters soon after, wondering how seriously they should be taken and whether they infringed the treaty between England and France.²⁴⁷ The English were later to call them *litteras inhonestas* written by men 'in the instability and heat of youth'; they swore these letters were 'going to be published and made universally known'.²⁴⁸

Two things can be noted in this section in order to put Wavrin's reliance on Monstrelet in perspective. Firstly, the variant redaction of the *Recueil*, fr. 20358, has two extensive additional passages which explain clearly and in great detail how the various heraldic officers of the duke and the king carried the letters back and forth and were generously rewarded; these do not occur in Monstrelet.²⁴⁹ The Gruuthuse manuscript and W 201 have a similar excursion after the challenge of St Pol, which is also not found in Monstrelet. The fact that fr. 20358 ends abruptly after its second long addition, the one on Henry's first response, is unfortunate but does not contradict that this redaction of the *Recueil*

241 12 August in the Gruuthuse ms. (Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 67-69); 7 August in fr. 20358, f. 130v, in W 201, f. 288v, and in Monstrelet, vol. 1, ch. 9 (Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 16).

242 All copies agree on the date.

243 Not in fr. 20358; 17 June 1382 in the Gruuthuse ms. and in W 201, f. 290v. 17 June 1396 in Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 18. Henry's original Latin instrument is preserved in Paris, Archives nationales, K 55: 2, printed Douet-d'Arcq, *Choix*, vol. 1, pp. 157-60, has **17 June 1399**.

244 *le lendemain de Notre Dame* (26 March). Not in fr. 20358; 22 March in the Gruuthuse ms. (Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp 75-77) and in W 201, f. 292v. 26 March in Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 20. Nordberg, *Ducs*, p. 116, has 26 March.

245 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 75-77; Monstrelet-Douët, vol. 1, pp. 57-66.

246 11 Febr. in the Gruuthuse ms. and in W 201, f. 296v. 10 Febr. in Monstrelet. Nordberg, *Ducs*, p. 117. The rest of the chapter and their explanation and description of the event is entirely different in Wavrin and Monstrelet.

247 Nordberg, *Ducs*, p. 116.

248 Hingeston, *Royal Letters, Henry IV*, vol. 1, pp. 172-74.

was better informed on these documents and events than the Gruuthuse redaction, the 'Nassau redaction' (W 201) or, indeed, Monstrelet's work.²⁵⁰

Another matter to be considered is the separate existence and survival of some of these items. BN fr. 5624, a collection containing among other things a text of the early fifteenth-century fourth redaction of the *Traison Richart Deux*,²⁵¹ an account of the return of Richard II's widow to France,²⁵² and an account of the arrival of Henry IV's queen, Joan of Brittany, in England,²⁵³ also has items 3) Henry's first response, and 5) Orléans' answer; the manuscript was in existence before 1449.²⁵⁴ There is no certainty about the amount of publicity allowed these documents; many copies may have existed and each chronicler may have had his own version or choice of them.²⁵⁵

The text continues first with reports of attacks by French and Breton ships on English ships and coastal towns (4, 6, 9-10). Next a chapter telling the story of a curious French invasion which left the French and the English armies confronting each other without coming to blows for six days, which may have happened in 1403 (4, 6, 11), followed by two chapters concerning a French attack on the isle of Wight (4, 6, 12) which is supposed to have taken place in 1404.²⁵⁶

All these chapters (4, 6, 8-14) relate to attempts by individual Frenchmen to start a war with England and the text throughout seems to be based on separate documents: challenges, reports of invasion attempts and attacks on Calais. Though the subject is pursued briefly this section appears to be 'ended' in the Gruuthuse *Recueil* by: *Or laisserons le parler ceste matiere, et entrerons en autre a nostre proces servant*.²⁵⁷ The battle of Shrewsbury, which is treated by Wavrin before these events, actually fell right in the middle of them and its account is likely to have circulated as part of the diplomatic activities of these years.

Throughout these chapters and those that follow in Volume 3, and less so in Volumes 4 and 5, the close comparison that Hardy made between the texts of the Gruuthuse manuscript

249 Fr. 20358, ff. 130v and 131v-132; quoted Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 69 and 72.

250 The second addition announces the treaty between Henry of Derby, and Louis of Orleans, which follows next in the Gruuthuse ms., so the exemplar of fr. 20358 had been complete.

251 See above.

252 See above.

253 A story entirely lacking in both Wavrin and Monstrelet.

254 Omont, *Ancien petits fonds*, pp. 45-46.

255 Compare the letters between Philip the Good and Humphrey of Gloucester, challenging each other to single combat in 1425, *Recueil*, 5, 3, 33-36; they also occur in Monstrelet but with many variants: both 'collections' must have been based on the 'same' originals. For another example of the availability of several sources for one event, Gebelin, 'Entrée'.

256 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 52: December 1403. According to Guillebert de Lannoy, who took part in the expedition, it happened *apres la Toussains* (1 Nov.) 1399, Potvin, *Oeuvres*, pp. 9-10

257 W 201, f. 304: *Or nous souffirons de ceste matiere et entrerons en autres propos a nostre present process bien servant*.

and the printed Monstrelet editions led him to make comments such as: ‘The narratives differ materially’,²⁵⁸ ‘The texts here agree, excepting some trifling verbal variations’,²⁵⁹ ‘Monstrelet does not mention this’,²⁶⁰ ‘The fact is also mentioned by Monstrelet, but the narrative is altogether different’,²⁶¹ ‘What follows does not occur at all in Monstrelet’²⁶² etc. Hardy made valiant attempts to indicate Wavrin’s own text by larger print, but often admitted it was impossible. Dupont, who was more willing to assume Wavrin’s dependence on Monstrelet, only gives the corresponding reference to Buchon’s edition of Monstrelet for virtually all chapters, implying there was hardly any difference between them; she rarely prints a passage in full because it was unique to the *Recueil*. The accident that Monstrelet’s work had already been printed before Dupont made her Wavrin’s edition contributed in no small way to her ‘unfair’ treatment of the *Recueil*.

It should also be remembered that in these sections Wavrin nowhere says he used Monstrelet. If he did use him as extensively as Dupont suggests it is likely he would have said so somewhere, however briefly. He does refer the reader to the chronicles of St Denis as he had referred to Froissart and the *Brute*, but more clearly and frequently.²⁶³ His reliance on the ‘chronicles of France’ in this part of his book is openly admitted whenever relevant, for example (end of 4, 6, 19):

mais quy a plain voldra scavoier de ces matieres voye **les cronicques de France**; la porra trouver tant au long la maniere et comment pour lors les choses furent demenees et conduites tant de lune partie comme de lautre.

Or (5, 3, 7):

comme plus a plain est touchie **es cronicques de France**, qui de sa prinse et de son gouvernement parlent au long.

Or (5, 4, 23):

comme plus amplement est declare **es singulieres cronicques de France** qui tout au long en font mention, car le plus brief que jay bonnement peu men suis passe, fors de ce qui servoit a ma matiere, laquele je voeil parsievir ainsi et par la fourme que jay encommencie a traitier.

The *Recueil*’s only reference to Monstrelet’s work is late; if the words are really Wavrin’s they imply that he only came to know Monstrelet’s chronicle at a later stage – while working on his

258 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, p. 90, n. 4.

259 *Ibid.*, p. 101, n. 3.

260 *Ibid.*, p. 105, n. 1.

261 *Ibid.*, p. 110, n. 1.

262 *Ibid.*, p. 130, n. 3.

263 4, 6, chs 19, 24, 27 and 29; 5, 3, chs 7 and 38.

last volume in the late 1460s²⁶⁴ – and that he himself considered that he did not discuss *the same matters* in his own work:

ce fut cellui [i.e. Charles, Duke of Orleans] qui commença la guerre en France a lencontre du duc Jehan de Bourguoigne pour vengeance de la mort du duc Jehan [sic] dOrlyens son pere, laquele guerre dura plus de trente ans a si grant perte et depopulation du noble royaume que pitie seroit du recorder, comme on peult veoir par les croniques a plain que compilla Engueran de Monstrelet (6, 4, 33).

Fr. 15491, f. 158v, has a similar text and ends: *comme plainement on peut veoir par les croniques que compila Engeuran de Moustrelet [sic]*, but it may be very significant that the chapter that includes this text is not in fr. 20358, which is possibly based on an earlier redaction of the *Recueil*.²⁶⁵

The popularity and availability of Monstrelet's work and the extent to which it was 'copied' by others is difficult to measure. Wavrin's *Recueil* does not support the idea that Monstrelet was used particularly and perhaps the assumed 'plagiarism' by such men as Le Fèvre and Chastelain²⁶⁶ should actually be explained by several chroniclers sharing the same sources, which may have been short and quite numerous. The argument about the popularity of Monstrelet with other Burgundian historians is a vicious circle and there is no proof that his work was well known at the Burgundian court.²⁶⁷ No surviving manuscript of Monstrelet's text antedates the extant manuscripts of the *Receuil* and those that survive must all be sought in the inventories of the ducal library.²⁶⁸ His work was, of course, known to the Monstrelet-continuator, whose text was used extensively by Wavrin, but by the time the continuator was

264 Hardy's idea about the relation between the Gruuthuse and the Nassau redactions and Monstrelet's work, as evident from his comments in his notes, imply that Wavrin *corrected* his work using Monstrelet. It is possible that *someone* did, even if not Wavrin himself, considering the late date of the surviving mss.

265 *Recueil*, 6, 4, chs 31-33, are an 'excursion' about Burgundian matters (the affair of the bastard of Rubempré, and other troubles between Burgundy and France) which occurs right in the middle of Edward IV's activities in 1464, breaking up the narrative. The section is also remarkable for mentioning Olivier de La Marche, who occurs nowhere else, for sounding slightly hostile to the de Lannoys, and having long sections of direct speech; it could well have been added later.

266 Small, *Chastelain*, p. 133.

267 E.g. Zingel, *Frankreich*, pp. 56-57.

268 There is no Monstrelet text in the 1474 inventory of Gabrielle de La Tour, which may not be significant because she had virtually no history, Boislisle, 'Inventaire'. Margaret of Austria's inventories do not contain a Monstrelet; she did own history books: Froissart, Wavrin and Molinet, Debae, *Bibliothèque*. Vienna 2545 and 2546, owned by Jean III de Glymes-Berghes, Lord of Bergen op Zoom, and Leiden, UL Vossianus Germano-Gallicus F2, owned by Engelbert II of Nassau, contain merely a summary of Monstrelet and are very late, 1480s or 1490s. BN fr. 2680, Volume I of Monstrelet, owned by Louis of Gruuthuse, can be dated to the 1470s (illumination related to Vienna 2534). No Monstrelet is known to have belonged to Anthony of Burgundy; there is none in the 1528 inventory of the library of Philip of Cleves, none in the early Croy library, nor in the inventories of the Savoy library. Compare Carrier, *Si vera*, pp. 663, 667.

writing Monstrelet's chronicle is also likely to have been known to Wavrin. This was 'too late', because Wavrin had already written up the years 1400 to 1444 which Monstrelet had covered.

It is likely that the work of Monstrelet, who served the Luxembourg family and did not belong to the milieu that Wavrin and Le Fèvre knew so well, only became known at the Burgundian court, and to Wavrin, a dozen years after the author's death in 1453. The problem of whether he was highly appreciated from an early date is exacerbated by the existence of many printed editions of his *Chronique* and the admiration he received from readers in later centuries.

Jean de Wavrin, Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy and the Gascon gentleman, 1415.

The picture of Wavrin as a slavish copier of other people's texts is further emphasised by Dupont's comparison of his text with Monstrelet's and Le Fèvre's on the Agincourt campaign (*Recueil*, 5, 1, 7-14). By its lack of information Dupont's edition creates a simplistic picture of Wavrin's method, implying that he copied virtually everything from the two other men, except for two brief passages. In reality the situation is much more complicated. We know that Wavrin knew some version of Le Fèvre's account of events, because he says so, but it is unlikely, as argued above, that he saw Monstrelet's work in time to use it. Too many passages in the latter do not occur in the *Recueil*, and in this instance it is, again, possible that both men, or all three, used the same sources.

It should first of all be mentioned that both Le Fèvre and Wavrin were present at Agincourt; this does not necessarily make their testimony entirely trustworthy, but it does make it likely that they felt obliged to give as true an account as they could. In 1415 Jean Le Fèvre was nineteen years old, an heraldic officer in the service of Henry V, watching the battle with the heralds from both parties.²⁶⁹ How he came to be in the English army, before the actual alliance between England and Burgundy that followed the murder of John the Fearless four years later, is not clear. All we know is that he was born in Abbeville, in the centre of the area where the Agincourt campaign was enacted. It was probably only after 1462 that he finally wrote up his memoirs in the shape of a chronicle covering the years 1408 to 1436. When he started on his book he must have known that Wavrin had already done a lot of work; perhaps the two men can also be linked via their (?) work on the life of Jacques de Lalaing.²⁷

Wavrin was also present at Agincourt – *je vey lassamblee d'Azincourt*. He was fifteen years old, even younger than Le Fèvre, and probably in the retinue of his father, the lord of

269 Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 1, pp. 242, 247, 251, 267.

270 Above, pt II, ch. 2, sect. 1.

Wavrin, perhaps also watching with the heralds. Monstrelet, though older than both Le Fèvre and Wavrin and also a native of Picardy, is not known to have been at the battle, and the episode focussed on here shows clearly that there is no question of personal involvement in his work.

To try and unravel their possible relationship (or lack of it) an attempt will be made here to compare the three chroniclers' narratives from the time Henry V left Harfleur, which he had recently captured, to the evening of the day that Agincourt was fought, Friday 25 October,²⁷¹ with particular reference to the curious episode of the Gascon gentleman, 'without whom the battle would not have taken place'.

Describing Henry's march from Harfleur through Normandy only Wavrin has the battle order and the commanders of the English in detail. All three chroniclers agree on the episode outside the walls of Eu, when a Frenchman and an Englishman killed each other in single combat. In this passage the Gruuthuse manuscript resembles Le Fèvre, and the Nassau manuscript resembles Monstrelet. When Henry arrives at Blanche Taque, where he hoped to cross the Somme, all mention his great-grandfather Edward III, but there the resemblance ends. Monstrelet merely says that the English could not cross because there was a large French force guarding *le passage*; Wavrin and Le Fèvre have the – in their eyes apparently crucial – episode of the Gascon gentleman. To take Le Fèvre first, because the information almost certainly came from him:²⁷²

... quant il vint a deux lieues pres, ou environ, dudit passage, les gens davant-garde, ainsi comme [gens] s'espandent parmy le pays, prinrent ung gentil homme, natif du pays de Gascongne, serviteur de messire Charles de Labreth, lors connestable de France. Mais, de ce gentil homme ne sçay que doyt dire, pour la malle et doloureuse adventure qui advint; car, ce icelluy gentil homme ne eust esté prins à ceste heure, le roy d'Angleterre fust passé ladicte Blance Taque, sans empeschement ne contredit; et, par ainsi, lui et ses gens povoient aller franchement à Callais, et n'eust point esté ceste maleureuse et doloureuse journée des François, qui fut à cause de la bataille d'Agincourt, comme cy après sera dit.

Wavrin in the Gruuthuse manuscript:²⁷³

... quant il [Henry V] vint environ a deux lieues dudit passage, ainsi que me raconta ung gentil homme quy depuis fut roy darmes de la Thoison dor ..., lequel, comme il disoit, avoit este tout au long de ceste chevalcie, et mesmes grant cause de destourber au roy Henry de non passer par illec, advint ce quy sensieult. Ainsi donques que le roy d'Angleterre et son armee venoient le plus droit quilz povoient vers la Blance Tache, les gens de lavant garde sespardirent parmy le pays et prindrent ung gentil homme natif du pays de Gascongne, serviteur de messire Charles de Labrech pour lors connestable de

271 *Recueil*, 5, 1, 7-14, Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 189-230, Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 199-201; Le Fèvre, chs 67-74, Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 1, pp. 231-69; Monstrelet, bk 1, chs 152-155, Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), pp. 370-80. Curry, *Agincourt*, pp. 144-68, where the same basic attitude, that Monstrelet's text is superior, prevails.

272 Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 1, p. 232.

273 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 189-99.

France: **lequel gentil homme estoit gentement monte et arme, si sambloit bien estre homme de grant facion en maintien et contenance**, mais je ne scay que jen doy dire pour la male et dolloureuse adventure quy sen ensievvy, car se a ceste heure le gentil homme neust este prins, le roy dAngleterre eust passe a la Blanch Tache sans empeschement ne quelque contredit pour saulvement aller a Callaix, et neust point este ceste malheureuse journee pour les Francois quy fut a cause de la bataille dAzincourt, comme cy aprez sera dit.

And the same episode in the Nassau manuscript:²⁷⁴

... quant il vint environ a deux lieuez prez dudit passage, comme je lay oy certiffier ung noble homme, qui a ce jour fut cause de destourber au roy dAngleterre le passage; lequel gentilhomme fut depuis nomme Thoison dOr, roy darmes de la noble ordre que le duc Phelippe de Bourgoingne pere du duc Charles establi premierement; lequel gentilhomme dont je parle, qui pour son sens et preudhommie fut comme jay dit esleu roy de la dicte ordre, estoit pour le tempz de la journee dAzincourt en leage de .xix. ans, et de la compaignie dudit roy dAngleterre en toutes les besongnes de ce temps, et moy acteur de ceste presente euvre, estant lors en leage de .xv. ans, estoie en larmee des Francois. Si nous sommes acointies et trouvez depuis ce temps ensamble ledit Thoison dOr et moy, et convenu de ces presentes matieres en passant temps; ... Or donques pour rentrer en nostre matiere et poursievir le voyage que fist le roy Henry aprez la prise de la ville de Harfleur, et conter des adventures quil eut a venir dela jusques a Callaix et cheminant vers Blanche Tache, voullant illec passer la riviere de Somme. Sen allerent estradant aucuns chevalcheurs de son advantgarde, lesquelz prindrent un gentilhomme natif du pays de Gascongne, serviteur de messire Charles de Labrech pour lors connestable de France: **lequel gentil escuier estoit gentement monte et arme, si sambloit bien estre homme de grant facion en maintien et contenance**, mais je ne scay a droit que jen doy dire pour la male et dolloureuse adventure quy en advint, car se neust este la prise de dit gentilhomme a ceste heure, le roy dAngleterre et son ost feussent passez a la Blanch Tache sans empeschement ne quelque contredit et allez francement luy et tous les siens a Callaix, et ne feust pas advenue la malheureuse journee dAzincourt.

This Gascon gentleman convinced Henry and his commanders that the crossing was heavily guarded. After a two-hour deliberation the English decided to continue their journey eastward along the river in the hope of finding another place to cross; had they decided otherwise the battle of Agincourt would not have taken place, for there was no French army near. Reading Wavrin's text, in both versions, Le Fèvre himself seems to have played a part and was 'even an important reason why the king turned aside'.²⁷⁵ Hardy, in his introduction on Wavrin's sources,²⁷⁶ assumed that the scribe of the Gruuthuse manuscript had garbled his text and that no blame could be attached to Le Fèvre, or was so attached by Wavrin. At the time of his writing, however, Hardy did not yet know the Nassau manuscript, which has the same evidence. Hardy may well have been right, and the scribes of the two versions were no longer aware which *gentil homme* they were writing about. On the other hand, the texts of Wavrin in both redactions do connect the 'turning aside' of King Henry to Toison d'or, and the text also

274 The Hague, KB 133 A 7^m, ff. 11v-12; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, p. 189, n. 2.

275 *destourber*, hinder, prevent??, *destourner*, turn aside??; obviously that scribes could have confused *destourner destourver destourber*.

says that the Gascon seemed to be a man of honour and substance: *homme de grant facion en maintien et contenance*. It sounds like an excuse, an excuse that Le Fèvre does not include in his writing, but that may have occurred to Wavrin to explain why Le Fèvre and the whole of the English party believed the Gascon, with such dramatic consequences. It is possible that fifty years after the event Le Fèvre was still fretting over the fact that he, as a local man, added his voice to those that warned the king of England to turn aside. He mentioned it in his draft version of his memoirs and told Wavrin about it, but did not include it in his full-length work. Both Wavrin and Le Fèvre conclude by saying that the French later wondered whether the Gascon had been the devil himself, who made the *malle et douloureuse aventure* of Agincourt inevitable.²⁷⁷

As said before Monstrelet has no inkling of this ominous episode. Both redactions of the *Recueil* are so close to Le Fèvre in their choice of words that it is difficult to believe that one was composed *before* Wavrin knew at least some written work by Toison d'or (if only a draft version), and the other *after*. The personal details about the two elderly chroniclers meeting is an embellishment that was added (or perhaps removed), but which does not add (or take away) anything essential to the story. Its real merit is that it gives us Wavrin's year of birth with some exactness.

From this point all three accounts vary for a while in their details about names of places and what happened there, Wavrin having more detail than the other two. When the English pass Nesle Wavrin and Le Fèvre have the curious story that the people of the town hung their walls with 'mainly red coverings', *couvers leurs murs de couvertoirs la pluspart vermaulz*; was this to honour Henry or to warn him off? The eventual crossing of the Somme by the English a mile and a half beyond Nesle on the day after St Luke (19 Oct.) is in all three authors, but Wavrin and Le Fèvre give many more descriptive details than Monstrelet. Wavrin alone, in both redactions, says that the arches of the bridge remained and that the English soldiers stripped the nearby houses of every piece of wood to make a temporary bridge across them. Le Fèvre has the *eschielles, huys et fenestres*, but mentions no ruined bridge to put them on. The logistics of the actual crossing are given by both, Wavrin being a little more elaborate. A long section on the sending of heralds back and forth between the English and the French, an interchange that made clear to both parties that a battle was now inevitable, follows; it is not found in Monstrelet and was probably based on Le Fèvre's information.

276 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. cli.

277 Le Fèvre's (and Wavrin's) sensitivity about this event is curiously confirmed by Burne's disbelief: 'Waurin .. asserts that the statement was not true and that the ford was unguarded, but modern writers discredit this. It is unthinkable that the English king should abandon his plan on the unchecked statement of a prisoner', *Agincourt War*, p. 55, n. 3.

The account of how the French nobility gathered and held councils of war is essentially the same in all three texts, but Monstrelet and Wavrin provide more names and facts and resemble each other more closely. All agree on the desire of the count of Charolais, later Philip the Good, to be present at the battle, and how his father objected and made it impossible for him to go. Le Fèvre alone added that Philip, at the age of sixty-seven,²⁷⁸ still regretted he had not been there, *fust pour la mort ou pour la vie*.

It is remarkable that throughout the story the three authors differ in the names they give of the villages where the English army camped for the night. This is not a question of error or ignorance – rather to the contrary – but appears to be caused by their choosing different names from the group of villages where the English did in fact bivouac.

It may be remembered that Le Fèvre himself says in his prologue that he had written

aucunes petites recordacions et memores, esquelles sont continues, en cheefz, plusieurs choses advenues, desquelles j'ay poeu avoir cognoissance; et, ce fait, les ay envoyes au noble orateur, George Chastelain, pour aucunement, a son bon plaisir et selonc sa discretion, les employer es nobles histoires et cronicques par luy faictes; ja soit ce que la chose soit de petit fruit au regard de son oeuvre, synon tant seulement par maniere d'avertissement.²⁷⁹

As in the case of the life of Jacques de Lalaing²⁸⁰ Le Fèvre was apparently happy to write up relatively short, knowledgeable reports – which he says was his duty as officer of the order of the Golden Fleece²⁸¹ – and put them at the disposal of others. Le Fèvre, like Wavrin, mentions his ‘colleague’ by name, though he does not explain the nature of their relationship: *Le sçay, pour vérité, par messire Jehan, le bastar de Wavrin, seigneur de Forestel; car, en ceste assemblée, estoit du costé des François, et j'estoye de l'autre costé des Anglois.*²⁸² The cross-reference to each others’ texts by Wavrin and Le Fèvre and their meeting and discussing matters does not help to put together an accurate chronology of the production of the surviving manuscripts, but it does at least put their awareness of each other’s work beyond doubt and offers a partial explanation of the great similarity of much of the section. It is conceivable that Le Fèvre first wrote his short reports between *circa* 1429, when he became Toison d’or, and *circa* 1465 when he began writing his longer text. Wavrin, who was probably writing up the material for his fifth book towards the end of this period,²⁸³ may have used these reports – as

278 It is curious that Le Fèvre should mention the same age for Duke Philip fretting over his absence at Agincourt as for his own starting to write his chronicle; it is possible they were exactly the same age: Philip was born on 30 June 1396, Le Fèvre was 19 in October 1415.

279 Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 1, p. 2.

280 Above, pt II, ch. 2, sect. 1.

281 Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 1, p. 2.

282 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 247.

283 Above, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1.

Chastelain was able to do – in the way they appear in the Gruuthuse manuscript. Later the old soldiers *cum* historians discussed their work and perhaps decided to coordinate their accounts still further. It may be so that the result appears more or less in the surviving copies of Le Fèvre's *Chronique* and in (the exemplar of) Wavrin's Nassau redaction. Monstrelet had no 'personal' information on Agincourt and the preceding campaign; his account was presumably wholly based on widely available sources, which were also used by his two colleagues. Whether his text influenced scribes of individual late copies of the *Recueil* is (probably) impossible to establish.

Wavrin himself, 1416 to 1436.

In an attempt to understand – not for biographical reasons, but for literary ones – Wavrin's own involvement in what he recorded, the next section will take a closer look at those chapters in which he mentions his own presence at an event. Considering the length of the period during which he was active as a soldier, serving with the English-Burgundian and other armies, and as a servant to the dukes of Burgundy these references to himself are very few. About Agincourt we know that he refers to his presence in the chapters that describe the battle – though only in one of the surviving manuscripts, the Nassau redaction²⁸⁴ – and again later, when he compares Verneuil to Agincourt (5, 3, 29).

After Agincourt the first occasion on which he admits to being present, at least in the *Recueil* text as it survives, is one of the papal and imperial campaigns against the Hussites of Bohemia. This is usually ~~taking~~ to have been the first 'crusade' against Prague, the one of 1420, and the placing of the story in the *Recueil* appears to confirm this, but Wavrin's description actually proves that it is the German campaign of August 1427 he is referring to. This is obvious from his mention of Nuremberg, the army's route through 'the forest', i.e. the Bohemian Forest, after which it entered the prosperous area of western Bohemia, as well as by the anecdote of the furious Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who was present in this campaign only. The town of *Souch*, which the invaders besiege, may be Stribo, on the road to Prague.²⁸⁵

e n /

284 See above.

285 E.g. Heymann, *Zizka*, pp. 461-62; the first crusade is described pp. 110-47. Holmes, 'Beaufort' pp. 721-24. To the anecdote of Beaufort stamping on his banner in anger and frustration (Heymann, *ibid.*), can be added Wavrin quoting him as claiming that with ten thousand English archers he would have easily destroyed the whole enemy army (or restored order among the allied troops – it is not quite clear what is meant).

The similarity of Wavrin's text in this short chapter (5, 2, 2),²⁸⁶ which could be truly called an 'excursion' or *incidence* and may well go back to a separate report, to that of Le Fèvre has given rise to comment. Monstrelet's story, on the other hand, is less than half as long as Wavrin's, focusses on the *mauldīs hérétiques* and is altogether different.²⁸⁷ Morand, Le Fèvre's modern editor, who took for granted that Wavrin copied from Le Fèvre and who was only looking for more proof of his conviction, wrote *comment il [Wavrin] s'est approprié ce qu'il prenait à Saint-Rémy, avec dissimulation, se révèle surtout dans ce présent chapitre, où il se pose en témoin de ce qu'il raconte de manière à faire croire que le récit est de lui*. The possibility that the authors shared a common source is not mentioned and Wavrin is pictured as consciously plagiarising a fellow historian for the sake of obtaining literary esteem; Morand even seems to doubt that Wavrin took part in the expedition. Though she did print the whole chapter, implying that it had not been published before, Dupont suggested something similar: *Wavrin, qui fait parti de cette expédition, copie néanmoins mot pour mot Saint-Rémy, en intercalant dans le récit les passages (que nous imprimons en caractères italiques)*. Hardy did not give his opinion explicitly, beyond saying – in his general introduction – that Wavrin's 'narrative ... is altogether fuller than that of either Monstrelet or Saint Remy',²⁸⁸ and suggesting comparison of the text to Monstrelet's and Le Fèvre's.

The similarity to Le Fèvre's account is undeniable, but especially the quite separate mention of the Savoyard army by both men is curious, because Wavrin wrote that he served in that army and gave the names of six of its commanders – Le Fèvre has only three. Why does Le Fèvre mention the Savoyard army separately? It would be too much of a coincidence if he did this in his original text, which Wavrin then 'copied' while he also 'happened' to have actually served in that army. Going by the texts of the two men alone it is much more likely that Le Fèvre used Wavrin's story as a basic text and omitted the personal aspects and some details that he did not consider essential.

The problem also remains – here and everywhere else – that part of the differences may have been caused merely by scribal intervention and error. Wavrin's text, for example, has 60,000 as the grand total of the allied army's troops, Le Fèvre 400,000; the first is the more likely but the value of any such figure is very small if it was the product of scribal imagination.²⁸⁹ Wavrin's variants are made clear by Dupont's printing them in italics. The

286 Monstrelet-Douët, vol. 4, ch. 259, pp. 86-87 (under 1422); Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 518 (under 1421); Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 2, ch. 112, and pp. 448-50; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 205-08; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 324-26.

287 Monstrelet's story is so vague that it could refer to any or all of the campaigns.

288 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. xxviii.

289 Le Fèvre-Morand has *C. L. mil* (?)

most revealing addition in the *Recueil*, and one which cannot have been caused by scribal intervention alone, is the one which follows the reference to a report by other people:

Et a la verite, comme pluseurs notables personnes racontaient, et aussi selon ce que je povoie veoir et ymaginer, quant nous venismes en une grant plaine ...²⁹⁰

Clearly Wavrin did not wish to deny that he was using someone else's report and was happy to use it because it was accurate. His addition merely confirms its accuracy: he knew that the report that circulated, and that Le Fèvre presumably also used, if he did not copy Wavrin, was correct and he could testify and did testify to its truthfulness – which Le Fèvre could not and did not. Wavrin, in this instance, had no literary pretension beyond telling people what had happened and he had no desire – as someone of a different calibre, such as Chastelain, apparently had – to embellish the facts by verbal flights of his own fancy. He, better than most people, knew what an embarrassing disaster the campaign had been, and did not want to go into more detail, apart from the few pieces of factual information that he had. His 'slavish' use of an existing text may seem strange to modern eyes, but other instances, where the source is better known, such as the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* or the signet letter from Edward IV,²⁹¹ show clearly how he and others utilised a non-literary source. Above all, it would probably not have occurred to someone as dedicated to chivalric themes and principles as Wavrin to display somebody else's plumes as his own, especially when the work and person of Le Fèvre were well known in the aristocratic circle that made up Wavrin's audience. A common source, especially of an isolated, military 'event' like the Hussite campaign, is the likeliest explanation for the mystery of two authors sharing so many words and phrases.

The next reference by Wavrin to his own presence and chronologically the first after Agincourt, comes at the end of a series of chapters (5, 3, 12-17, esp. 17) telling the story of the desertion of the Savoyard, the Bastard of La Baume, to the party of Charles VII and the consequent capture and loss of the town of Cravant by this party. In both Monstrelet²⁹² and Le Fèvre²⁹³ the text about Cravant has the battle only and is so brief that no comparison is possible: in the *Recueil* the story of the capture and recapture of the town and castle of Cravant that led to the battle of 31 July 1423 is one of the liveliest and most entertaining in the whole work. The description of how two Burgundian leaders favoured, trusted and loved the Bastard *en tel maniere que sil eust este leur filz* introduces his treachery to them. There are sections of direct speech in which the Bastard explains his various clever plans, and lively details such as the ruse of the cake, *la meilleure que jamais ilz mengaissent*, by which a conspirator gets

290 The variants of the Nassau redaction are given by Hardy but do not change the sense or the facts.

291 See below, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4.

292 Monstrelet-Douët, vol. 4, ch. 10, pp. 157-63; Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 547.

293 Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 2, ch. 33, pp. 76-79.

himself invited into the guarded tower of Cravant, and which leads to the adventurous recapture of the place by the Burgundians. None of these narrative details ~~have~~ been found anywhere else, and if the story was not composed by Wavrin himself – which for once seems a distinct possibility – he managed again to find an entertaining, ‘novelistic’ account to use in his chronicle. has

It is only after its conclusion that Wavrin mentions his own presence, during the campaign into the Mâconnais:

Tantost aprez le exploit de ceste bataille de Crevent le conte de Suffort alla a segier le chasteau de Coussy, qui se rendy a luy aprez certains jours ensievans; et dillec sen alla ou pays de Masconnois, ou il mist en lobeissance du roy Henry de France et d'Angleterre pluseurs foetresses qui y tenoient les Francois pour le roy: en laquele chevalchie moy acteur de ceste euvre fuch tout au long.

This appears to refer only to the latter campaign, not to the adventures at Cravant, as Dupont and Hardy both assumed without hesitation.²⁹⁴ The word *chevalchie* is more appropriate to the reducing of a *number* of fortresses in the Mâcon area than to the fight for Cravant, but evidence of Wavrin's being there need not only be sought in the character of his narrative: at the end of his description of the battle of Verneuil he not only reminisces about Agincourt but also about Cravant (5, 3, 29). n /

Just as in the narrative about the various captures of Cravant we – *possibly* – have the best example of Wavrin's talents as a story-teller, in the military and chivalric details of the battle of Verneuil, 17 August 1424 (5, 3, 28-29) we certainly have a very rare instance of his real involvement and admiration:

estoit moult belle chose a veoir, car sans faulte moy acteur de ceste euvre navoie jamais veu plus belle compaignie, ne ou il eust autant de noblesse comme il avoit la, ne mieulz ordonnee ou moustrant greigneur samblant ou voullente de soy combattre: je vey lassamblee d'Azincourt, ou beaucop avoit plus de princes et de gens, et aussi celle de Crevent, quy fut une tres belle besongne; mais pour certain celle de Verneuil fut du tout plus a redoubter et la mieulz combatue.²⁹⁵

Wavrin served under Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury (died 1428), but it is John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, who is praised and admired throughout: he is a *prince de moult grant vertu*, who spends the feast day of the Assumption of Mary in her honour and is prepared to leave the outcome of the battle in God's hands. Bedford is dressed for his uniquely crucial role of representing both the English and the French crown in a blue mantle with a large white

294 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. xxiv; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. xxix.

295 KB 133 A 7^{III}, f. 130v: *estoit moult belle chose a veoir, car sans nulle faulte moy acteur de ceste histoire navoie jamais veu plus noble compaignie en armes ne mieulz ordonnee depuis les journees d'Azincourt et de Crevent, qui furent perilleuses; mais sans doute celle de Verneuil dons nous parlons fut plus redoubtable et mieulz combatue.*

cross for France, with a red cross for England on top,²⁹⁶ like an early version of the Union Jack. Wavrin takes obvious pleasure in describing all the English banners, including those of St George and St Edward, all carried by *chevaliers de grande renommee*. Both armies are large and *en moult belle ordonnance*, the men are *de bonne estoffe*, and a few of the ‘romantic’ but nonetheless authentic phrases that were also in evidence in the description of the battle of Shrewsbury²⁹⁷ are used to good effect: *y eut grant noise et grant huee avecques bruit tumultueux des trompettes et clarons, si estoit la huee tant horrible, quil nestoit homme tant feust hardy ou assuree quy ne doubtast la mort, ilz sentredonnerent de grans copz et mortelz horions, horreur estoit a les regarder, le sang des mors estendus sur terre et des navrez couroit par grans ruisseaulz parmy le champ*, etc. Wavrin says he can bear witness to the fact that Salisbury performed miracles and without him and the men who fought under his command *la chose* could have gone the other way. Bedford, like the true hero of a romance, fought *comme celluy quy estoit grant de corpz et gros de membrez sage et hardy en armes*.

In this section, too, is one of the very rare instances of Wavrin actually saying what he did: he was so busy defending himself that he could not see everything that happened around him: *je ne povoie tout veoyr ne comprendre, comme pout moy mesmes deffendre je feusse assez empescie*.²⁹⁸ If this was a commonplace it is one that the *Recueil* has nowhere else.

In the summer of 1428, a year after the Hussite campaign, Wavrin was in Holland, serving in Philip the Good’s army under Antoine de Toulangeon, Marshal of Burgundy (died 1432). He witnessed the last stage of Philip’s acquisition of Holland and Zeeland and the political and military defeat of Jacqueline of Bavaria, which ended in the peace of Delft on 3 July. The success of the campaign was not particularly due to Philip’s military actions, but Wavrin avoided going into detail and he wrote he was not describing all that took place (5, 4, 3):

les courses, escarmouches, assaulz et bollewers quy se fyrent entre La Laye [The Hague] and La Gaude [Gouda], combien que a tous yceulz moy acteur de ceste euvre estoie ... et maintes belles apartises darmes quy longues seroient a raconter et fort allongeraient nostre matiere principalle, pourquoy au present men passeray adfin de conclurre la fin desdites guerres, et retourner aux fais de France et dAngleterre.

There is no attempt to present the events in a proper chronological order and comparison with Monstrelet and Le Fèvre is difficult; there is no similarity of detail between the texts. In the *Recueil* as well as in Monstrelet and Le Fèvre the description of the series of events concerning

296 *une robe de drap de veloux asur, et pardessus avoit une grande croix blanche, par deseure laquele avoit une grande croix vermeille* (Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 3, p. 101); I am assuming that *dessus* means ‘on’ the mantle, and *deseur* ‘on top’ of the other cross, not ‘above’ it.

297 Above pt 2, ch. 3.

298 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 3, p. 114.

Philip, Humphrey of Gloucester and Jacqueline of Bavaria is too long and complicated to be discussed here. The same is true of the very interesting section on Joan of Arc and the siege of Orléans, found in the same three authors and Vienna 2545, one of the 'pirated' copies of the *Recueil*.²⁹⁹

Philip the Good's attempted siege of Calais³⁰⁰ in July 1436 and its immediate aftermath, Humphrey of Gloucester's raid through Flanders, were the last events that Wavrin witnessed as a soldier. His account of the episodes takes many pages (5, 5, 34-37) and most of his text is very close to Monstrelet's, suggesting they used the same reports. Wavrin's tone does seem to indicate a greater involvement in what happened, but this cannot be proved except for a few sections that can only be found in the *Recueil*.³⁰¹ This involvement is apparent from his including, for example, references to the presence of his nephew, Waleran de Wavrin,³⁰² and positive remarks about the military competence of the English.³⁰³ His most important contribution to the story of the siege is his description of the deliberations that took place before and during the siege on the advisability of fighting the English and the undertaking itself, with all the insurmountable problems it presented to the besiegers:

Car a la verite dire se ilz [the pro-war party] eussent bien tout pese il ne leur estoit ja besoing de bouter si legierement leur seigneur en guerre si pesante: et touteffois ladite enterprise sambloit a pluseurs nobles hommes en telz manieres connoissans moult haultaine et forte a achever.³⁰⁴

Nowhere is Wavrin's 'chivalric' neutrality³⁰⁵ as obvious as in the section describing Humphrey of Gloucester's atrocities in Flanders: throughout the campaign *moy acteur de ceste histoire estoie avec la compaignie*, the English put village after village to the torch and the sword, and yet Gloucester and his captains *acqueroient honneur et loenge* because they are so well organised that they cannot be touched by the Burgundian army!

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- 299 Both sections deserve separate and detailed attention which cannot be given to them here.
 300 For the siege Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 75-85; Paviot, *Politique*, pp. 69-83; Doig, 'New source'.
 301 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 4, most of pp. 156, 185 last paragraph, 186 first paragraph, p. 187 last paragraph, p. 188 first paragraph, all of pp. 193-94, p. 195 first paragraph, pp. 200-08.
 302 Including an anecdote about Waleran lending *une barrette vermeille* and *une haguenee grise* to the lord of Croy to disguise him and help him ride unrecognised through the army of the rebellious Flemings (Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 4, p. 185).
 303 They act *comme gens de guerre quilz estoient* (*ibid.*, p. 153), *le duc de Clocestre et ses capitaines cheminerent par si bonne ordonnance que nul dommage ne luy peusmes porter* (*ibid.*, p. 202), *le duc de Clocestre et ses capitaines se gouvernerent et conduirent si sagement quon ne les scavoit pas par quel moyen sourprendre, anchois se gardoient si dilligamment de tous perilz que ilz en acqueroient honneur et loenge* (*ibid.*, pp 204-05).
 304 *Ibid.*, p. 193, and comp. pp. 127-31; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 171.
 305 Iorga, *Voyageurs*, p. 11, notices a similar 'fairness' in Waleran's attitude to the Turks: 'jamais un mot de blâme à l'égard de l'ennemi ... les ennemis se respectent.'

Part II. Chapter 3.

The *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre*.

4. The end: contemporary newsletters.

By 'newsletters' are meant narratives written to describe an event with the express purpose of recording it for the benefit of people who had not been present; such reports, whether personal or official, were not consciously trying to 'make history' in a literary sense, but they were no doubt meant to be accurate and trustworthy. Surviving newsletters record journeys and campaigns, battles and sieges, as well as civic, religious and chivalric ceremonies. They were written to inform acquaintances or employers, and often they were preserved because people realised that they would provide useful precedents for future reference. The authors were often friends or servants staying abroad, many of them were secretaries or heralds.³⁰⁶

In the last volume of Wavrin's work, covering the years 1444-71, several newsletters can be identified. Most famous, and longest, is the report by his nephew Waleran, Lord of Wavrin, about the expedition of 1444-46, which was meant to prevent the Turks from crossing to Europe and in which he commanded the Burgundian fleet.³⁰⁷ This expedition, which in the end consisted mainly of acts of piracy against ships both Christian and heathen, reached the Black Sea, sailed up the Danube and had some minor successes against the Turks while trying to help the Hungarians who were recovering from their disastrous defeat at Varna on 10 November 1444, when their king, Wladislaw I, had been killed.³⁰⁸

His nephew's taking part in this adventure was the closest the chronicler Jean de Wavrin ever got to a real crusade – if we overlook the Hussite expedition, which was futile

306 Several survive in letter collections such as the Pastons', Richmond, 'Hand and mouth'. See also the correspondence of Charles the Bold, Paravicini, *Briefwechsel*. Good examples are Gerhard von Wesel about Edward's campaign of 1471 and the battle of Barnet, Adair, 'Newsletter' and *Hanserecesse*, vol. 6, pp. 415-18; the lord of Créquy about the battle of Montlhéry to Duke Philip, Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Lettres*, vol. 1, p. 50; Margaret of York about Barnet to her mother-in-law, Namur, Archives de l'Etat, Registre aux reliefs du souverain baillage 1467-77, ff. 72-73v, Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 210-5; John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, about the battle of Othée to his brother Anthony, Duke of Brabant, Fairon, *Régestes*, vol. 3, pp. 106-09; Carrier, 'Si vera'. Haynin's memoirs show the good use to which such letters could be put, above pt I, ch. 1, sect. 4. Not much has been written about newsletters, Fris, 'Onderzoek', on Du Clercq's use of them; Goodman, *Wars*, p. 11; *Richard III's Books*, pp. 177-78; Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir'; Small, *Chastelain*, pp. 136-38. More has been done on the heralds' role in the recording of events, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 178-80; *Manual*, vol. 8, pp. 2700-20, for English texts. The diplomatic dispatches of the Milanese ambassadors to their duke are famous, e.g. Kendal and Ilardi, preface and introduction.

307 Wavrin, *Recueil*, 6, 1, 2-19 (i.e. almost the whole of 6, 1); Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 5-119. Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 12-162; she also printed ff. 127-29 from the Lannoy collection, BN fr. 1278 (see below), in her vol. 3, pp. 151-59, a parallel account of the expedition focusing on Geoffroi de Thoisy.

even in his own judgment (5, 2, 2)³⁰⁹ – and he could not resist including it, at length, in his history of *England*. This was doubtless done to please himself as well as his nephew and patron, and he felt the need to explain himself. He gives two reasons for its inclusion: I will include at the beginning of my sixth book ‘*une notable incidence qui en ce temps advint en sarrazine terre; laquele, a mon semblant, debvra grandement plaire a tous, pour recreer les esperitz, comme je ne la sache recitee en quelque autre volume*’.³¹⁰

It may be assumed that Waleran himself wrote a report of his campaign for Duke Philip;³¹¹ he may have given a more detailed and circumstantial account to his nephew. Wavrin appears to be the only chronicler who used it – he thought so himself – but it is likely some version of the story became more widely known.³¹² For example, reference is made to it in BN fr. 1278, a collection of political and military documents, many of them associated with the de Lannoy family, covering mainly the years 1417 to 1475.³¹³ Among them is an account of the battle between the Hungarians, led by János Hunyadi, the ‘voivode’ or military governor of Transsylvania, also called *le blanc chevalier* or just *le blanc*,³¹⁴ and the Turks in 1448,

uncle

308 Held, *Hunyadi*, pp. 107-11, and *passim*.

309 Above, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 3.

310 Above, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1. The report of the expedition does not occur in Harl. 4424, nor in fr. 88, nor in fr. 15491 (which does not cover this period), nor in fr. 20358. On the expedition, Paviot, *Politique*, pp. 113-23, and references given there; Iorga, ‘Aventures’, *passim*, and *Voyageurs*, pp. 14-15, Hintzen, *Kruistochtplanen*, ch. 4; Vanderjagt, ‘*Qui desirent*’, p. 32; Degryse, ‘Expéditions’; Le Brusque, ‘Chevaliers’. Some modern commentators, such as Iorga, have found the account very interesting, but de Belleval, *Gauvain*, p. 28, has: *une expedition aussi peu profitable aux intérêts de Jean Paléologue qu’a l’honneur du nom bourguignon. Elevée par le chroniqueur Jean de Wavrin au rang d’événement important, elle semble s’être concentrée toute entière dans les longs récits. A l’exception de Wavrin, qui s’en était constitué l’historiographe, car c’était pour lui comme une affaire de famille, la publicité de l’histoire lui a fait presque complètement défaut. En récompense d’un sterile dévouement le sire de Wavrin n’obtient que l’oubli de la postérité*; comp. Paviot, *Politique*, p. 123.

311 *Recueil* 6, 1, 19: *et sen retourna en son pays, devers son prince le tres noble duc Phelippe de Bourgoigne quil trouva en sa bonne ville de Lille, duquel aprez quil luy eut raconte leffect de son voyage ainsi comme il est cy dessus amplement declare, il fut honnourablement recheu et festoie de bon voullois*

312 Compare Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. cliv-clv.

313 There are also documents concerning 1306, 1369 and 1490, but the bulk of the collection had been compiled by or shortly after 1475. *Catalogue des mss français, Ancien fonds*, vol. 1, p. 207, describes the ms. as *recueil de pièces historiques sur les affaires de Bourgogne, de 1306 à 1490, composé pour l’usage des ducs de Bourgogne*, but Potvin, who analysed the documents, assumed a link with the de Lannoy family, *Oeuvres*, pp. 475-505, and claimed some copies were made for Hugues de Lannoy and others testify to the crusading interests of Guillebert de Lannoy. Ff. 127-129 were printed in Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 151-59, and Iorga, ‘Aventures’, pp. 30-35, ff. 130-132(v) in Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 2-11, and Iorga, ‘Aventures’, pp. 35-42. Also Champion, *Flavy*, pp. 142-48, 155-60.

314 *blanc* is a scribal error. Iorga, ‘Aventures’, p. 9, mentions *le Blaque*, i.e. *le Valaque* (Jean Hunyadi).

including the major Christian defeat at Kosovo-Polje on 18 to 20 October.³¹⁵ Waleran de Wavrin had met Hunyadi personally in 1445 and the Hungarian hero occurs several times in the Burgundian report. In the de Lannoy collection a contemporary hand made a note in the top left corner of the first page of the 1448 account: *Il fault relier³¹⁶ ce coier³¹⁷ cy avoecq le voiage de monseigneur de Wavrin.*³¹⁸ Mention of Hunyadi in this account about events in 1448 reminded the maker of the marginal note – the owner or the scribe of the manuscript – of Waleran’s 1444-46 report, and he planned to have the two reports bound together. He must have owned a copy of some version of Waleran’s report or known that one was around, even if the plan to bind them together was never carried out. It was probably a physically separate copy and not just the story as part of the *Recueil*, though it might have been. Jean de Wavrin is the only person known to have made extensive use of his uncle’s fascinating account, but he was perhaps not the only one to be aware of its existence and the text may have led a separate life as well.

Of equal interest is another contemporary ‘crusading’ story that Wavrin included and which undoubtedly had its origin in a newsletter.³¹⁹ In August 1471 Alphonso V, King of Portugal, and nephew of Isabel, Philip the Good’s duchess and Charles the Bold’s mother, captured the North African city of Arzila. The report of this event, again in fr. 1278, reads:

Les joieuses nouvelles de la glorieuse nouvelle victoire du roy de Portingal, naguaires contre les Sarazins obtenue, a qui plus que vous appartient de les savoir, prince tresvictorieux [i.e. Duke Charles], affin que vous, le non pareil en haultes emprinses, vous resjoissiez des glorieux fais dun roy a vous de sang tant prochain et de ceur tant samblable, et luy soit rendue pareille affection en vostre court a ses victoires comme a la sienne est impartie aux vostres. Pour laquelle cause ma tresredoubtee dame, madame vostre mere, et pour vous aussy faire part de sa joie, les me fist mettre par escript,

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- 315 BN fr. 1278, ff. 138-139; the document is very much separate: f. 137 is blank, f. 139 v contains only the words *des batailles du blanc alencontre des turs* written across the page at an angle (like the address on a letter) as if it was kept separately for a while; the document was printed in d’Escouchy-Du Fresne, vol. 3, pp. 341-46, and among the *Documents* of Iorga, ‘Aventures’, pp. 42-45. For the battle Held, *Hunyadi*, pp. 132-34.
- 316 Not legible on the microfilm and here inserted on the authority of Potvin’s analysis, *Oeuvres*, p. 496; compare the next notes.
- 317 Or *coier*?
- 318 These words are followed by the date of the document that starts on the page: *lan mil iiif xlviiij*; whether this is actually a mistake and the writer meant to give the date of Wavrin’s account is not clear. The 1448 document is headed: [*Coppye dunes lettres escrip]tes en constantinople le vij^e de decembre lan xlviiij*; again quoted from Potvin, *Oeuvres*, p. 495, as these words are partly illegible in the microfilm, because the page has been cropped (since?). D’Escouchy-Du Fresne, vol. 3, p. 341, has *Coppye de certaines lettres escriptes en Constantinoble, le vii^e jour de decembre, l’an xlviii*. Iorga, ‘Aventures’, p. 42, has: *Coppye d’unes lettres escriptes en Constantinoble, le VI^e jour de decembre l’an XL VIIJ* and *Il faut mectre ce corier-cy avecq le voiage de monsseigneur de Wavrin, l’an mil III^e XL CIIJ*.
- 319 Worth mentioning is the widely known letter of Dec. 1456, reporting on an earthquake in Italy, which was sent to the marquis of Ferrara staying at the Burgundian court, *Recueil*, 6, 4, 7; fr. 15491, ff. 114v-115v; Harl. 4424, f. 128r-v; not in fr. 88; not in fr. 20358; Small, *Chastelain*, p. 137.

ensieuvant la teneur dunes lettres a elle apportees contenans la some de pluseurs nouvelles d'Auffrique envoyees a la fille du roy a la cite de Lixbonne, et a aultres. Lesquelles, mon tres redoubte seigneur, se je ne furnis de tel langage come a vostre haulteur appartient, il me sera pardonne par vostre accoustumee benignite, qui les choses faictes affin de bien scavoit prendre a la milleur part.

~~Mon tres redoubte seigneur~~³²⁰ le .Ioesdi .xxj jour de mois daoust de ceste present annee³²¹ le roy de Portingal dessendi en Auffrique devant³²² Arzille ville danchiennete ...³²³

It is clear that reports of the capture were sent to the daughter of Alfonzo V and others at the court in Lisbon; these were summarised, presumably in Portuguese, for Duchess Isabel, Alfonzo's aunt. She knew that her son, addressed as *mon tresredoubte seigneur* by the author of the French text, would be interested and she had it translated.³²⁴ In the copy of the *Recueil* owned by Louis de Gruuthuse – the one edited by Dupont and Hardy – most of the main text about the capture of Arzila is identical with the version of the story in the de Lannoy manuscript. The chapter is headed:

Comment le noble et tres chrestien roy de Portugal prinst par assault la ville de Azille ou pays d'Auffrique (6, 6, 24).

The informative, but non-narrative introduction about the Portuguese letters given in fr. 1278 was understandably omitted in the *Recueil*, and another introduction, mentioning the youth and great courage of Alfonzo, was used. Neither the introduction nor the chapter heading occur in the variant redaction of the *Recueil*, fr. 20358,³²⁵ which does have the main narrative about the capture. This lack of the introduction shows up the break between the introduction and the main text, which is corroborated by the evidence of the de Lannoy collection. Also missing in fr. 20358 is the very end of the story as given in the Gruuthuse *Recueil*, the section which begins: *Ancores, aprez ces nouvelles,*³²⁶ This contains another exchange of news and appears to be a slightly later, additional account on the aftermath of the capture of Arzila. This, too, occurs in fr. 1278, on a separate page, immediately after the main report.³²⁷

320 These last four words are crossed out in the ms.

321 *mil iiij^e lxxi* written in the left margin.

322 The words underlined here are underlined in the ms. by a contemporary hand.

323 BN fr. 1278, f. 261; printed in Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, p. 86n. The text as a whole is on ff. 260-264v; printed Paviot, *Portugal*, pp. 515-20. There can be no direct connection between the Wavrin/Hunyadi documents and the Arzila one as both Hugues (died 1456) and Guillebert (died 1462) were dead by 1471.

324 If Charles had Portuguese – there is no certainty about this – the fact that the letter was translated is another indication that such 'ducal' letters were meant for more general use. – The letter is not mentioned in Schulz, *Andreaskreuz*, and Müller, *Kreuzzugsplane*. Sommé, *Isabelle*, p. 446, inexplicably assumes Duchess Isabel commissioned the story of Arzila from Wavrin.

325 Above, pt I, ch, 1, sect. 1, and app. F, below. Fr. 15491 does not have the Arzila narrative at all (nor the account of Edward IV's return).

326 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, p. 95; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 639.

327 BN fr. 1278, f. 264v.

The combined evidence of these manuscripts thus shows that there were three pieces of text, of which one, the longest and central one, was the best known. All three were run together seamlessly and silently in the Gruuthuse *Recueil*, and all occur as separate sections in the de Lannoy collection. In the latter the introduction about Alfonzo's courage is headed (capitals and punctuation are mine!):

*Incidence. Comment le noble puissant et treschretien roy de Portingal prist par assault la ville de Arzille ou pays d'Aufrique, lan mil iiij^c lxxj*³²⁸

The text continues for seventeen and a half lines and at the end of the half line, after the words ... *il descendi en Aufrique devant*, is a scribal mark, composed of an inch-long horizontal line crossed in the middle by two short vertical strokes; the rest of this very torn page is blank and so is its verso side. The next recto page has the informative passage about the letters quoted above, the underlined sentence also quoted above, ending ...*en Auffrique devant*, with the same scribal mark opposite in the left margin – to indicate where the introduction on Alphonso should be inserted – and the rest of the main text, which begins, as quoted above, with the name of Arzila (and is not underlined).

To complicate matters further there is a different version of the text in fr. 88, a manuscript of the work of the Monstrelet-continuator.³²⁹ Here the chapter is headed:

Cy fait mention daucunes villes prises par le roy de Portugal sur les Sarrasins. Et dautres besongnes advenues entre le roy de Portugal et les Sarrasins.

There is no introductory text and the chapter is only a summary of the main text of the story (there is also no trace of the third piece). For example, Alfonso's page-long exhortation of his troops as it occurs in the 'original' letter,³³⁰ in fr. 20358³³¹ and in the Gruuthuse *Recueil*,³³² in fr. 88 is reduced to: *Le roy .. fist ancores plusieurs belles remonstrances*³³³ This chapter is the last one in the manuscript; it is preceded by Edward's letter to Bruges (see below) and followed merely by *Explicit*. The scribe/author must have had the main text of the Arzila story to hand, but chose to summarise it for reasons that cannot now be gauged.³³⁴

The information provided by these manuscripts allows of several hypotheses. The makers of fr. 88 and 20358, though intelligent compilers, who put the Arzila report after the narratives of Edward IV's return, i.e. in correct chronological order, did not have the

328 *Ibid.*, f. 260; these words are underlined in the ms.

329 Fr. 88, f. 261r-v. The story does not occur in Harl. 4424, another indication that (the original of) Harl. 4424 preceded that of fr. 88; see also app. E.

330 Fr. 1278, ff. 261v-262.

331 Fr. 20358, f. 252v.

332 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 88-89; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 633-34.

333 Fr. 88, f. 261.

334 If merely the *Recueil* and fr. 88 had survived (without the newsletter) one could be led to suspect that Wavrin made up speeches for his protagonists, as has been claimed in other instances.

introduction about the courage of Alfonzo V to hand, nor did they have the slightly later additional report on the aftermath of Arzila. It is of interest that fr. 20358 still preserves a sentence from the original letter to Duke Charles, that actually refers to the letter itself; it was no longer suitable to a continuous narrative text like the *Recueil* and omitted in the Gruuthuse redaction.³³⁵ It is another indication that the text of fr. 20358 was composed earlier than the Gruuthuse *Recueil*, which had more pieces of the story at its disposal and was better edited.

As said above the Lannoy papers have all three pieces of the story, but the leaf with the introduction about Alfonzo was clearly inserted in the manuscript later than the main text.³³⁶ It is too fragmentary to have had any independent value and it is possible that this passage was actually copied from a version of the *Recueil* in order to fill a gap in the information of the Lannoy collection; this possibility is strengthened by the opening word, *Incidence*. This ‘technical term’ is used in the *Recueil* and other Burgundian chronicles³³⁷ to indicate a chapter or chapters containing extraneous matter, often events in the East, falling outside the natural order of the narrative. For example, when Wavrin in the first chapter of his sixth volume has dealt very briefly with the deaths of Humphrey of Gloucester in 1447 and the duke of Suffolk and the bishop of Salisbury in 1450,³³⁸ he ‘apologises’ for giving the story of Waleran’s expedition next by saying:

Or vous lairons ung petit des besongnes dAngleterre esqueles nous renterrons au commencement du second livre, si traiterons une *incidence* dun voyage quy environ ce tempz fut fait par le seigneur de Wavrin en terre de Sarrazins ainsi que vous orez.³³⁹

The possibility that the first section on Arzila, the introduction on Alphonso, was taken from a chronicle is supported by the inclusion of a number of chapters from Monstrelet’s *Chronique*³⁴⁰ in the de Lannoy collection, but contradicted by the fact that the information

335 F. 252; also Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, p. 88n.

336 As proved by the caret mark and its use, the overlap of the two texts and perhaps also by the state of the folio with the introduction (f. 260r-v): it appears to be very torn and may have been ‘scrap’ paper.

337 *Recueil*, 5, 6, 6, an excursion on Breton matters; 6, 4, 5 (fr. 15491, f. 109v): *Incidence du temps de lors ...*, on the *Grand Turcq* and Hunyadi. In *Recueil* 5, 3, 7, occurs *une incidence recreative (par maniere dincidence)*. Comines uses the phrase *Icy parle par incident* for the whole section on England in his narrative of the events of 1470-71, Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, p. 190. Basin usually tried to avoid *incidencia* and if he could not he was as brief as possible, Basin, *Louis*, vol. 3, pp. 122-23: *Hiis hujus temporis incidenciis, ..., quam brevior potuimus narratione perstrictis*; Guenée, *Eglise*, pp. 309, 311.

338 The events referred to are the deaths of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and William Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1447, and of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, in May 1450. These deaths are often mentioned together in contemporary lists of ‘disasters’ and may have reached Burgundy in a similar format, *John Vale’s Book*, pp. 114-15, 178.

339 6, 1, 1; the word is not used in the chapter heading. See also e.g. 5, 6, 20, quoted above; 6, 4, 5, another piece about Johannes Hunyades.

340 Book 1, chs 177-182, 183 incomplete, 184; Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), pp. 403-17; Monstrelet-Douët, vol. ..., chs 170-77; in fr. 1278 they are numbered *vij^{xx}* (i.e. 170) etc.

about the origin of the letter is missing in the *Recueil* and could not have been lifted from it. It is most likely that Wavrin had another collection of documents at his disposal, similar to the de Lannoy papers.

The events at Arzila became famous so quickly that very shortly after, probably *circa* 1475, tapestries were made at the well known workshop connected with Pasquier Grenier in Tournai depicting the story in detail. Four scenes survive: the Debarkation before Arzila, the Siege and the Capture of the town, and the Occupation of Tanger.³⁴¹ Modern scholars have attempted to find portraits of the protagonists in the scenes, assuming that the original pictures were designed by a Portuguese court painter. There is no evidence that such an artist was involved, however, and the existence of the French report at the Burgundian court may have allowed a Flemish or northern French artist to base his work on its data, without the help of a Portuguese designer or artist.³⁴²

Contact between the Portuguese and Burgundian courts was very close³⁴³ and this representation in an artistic, visual form of events described in a newsletter was due to the keen interest taken in these events by people who habitually patronised artists of all kinds and who wished – and had the means – to have these events celebrated and remembered. The Arzila tapestries may be compared to the illuminated manuscripts of the report of Edward IV's return to England made for Burgundian courtiers (see below).

English newsletters: the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* and Edward IV's *memoire en papier*.

The first separate contemporary report of English origin that can be identified with some degree of certainty in the *Recueil* is Warwick's 'Apology', which may have been written for Burgundian use by a servant or secretary of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, at his master's command, and became more generally useful as an account of English events between *circa* 1455 and 1460. It has already been discussed.³⁴⁴

There is little doubt about the origin of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*. One copy of its English version survives separately and it was presumably at one time a

341 They are now in the collegiate church of Pastrana, Guadalajara, Spain. See dos Santos, *Tomada de Arzila*, and 'Tapeçaria de Tânger'; *Tapisserie de Tournai*, pp. 140-45; Weigert, *Tapisserie*, p. 53. For the events e.g. Lopes, *História*, pp. 34-56, which only mentions later sources.

342 Heraldry is used to identify people and the 'Saracens' wear exotic dress, but the human figures are not meant to be portraits, whatever modern commentators would like to believe; compare Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Knave', *passim*.

343 E.g. Paviot, *Portugal*; Sommé, *Isabelle*.

344 Pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1, above.

separate document. Its authorship is also to some extent known:³⁴⁵ it was based on – and still more or less reads like – a running report or diary composed in Edward IV's entourage to record the king's actions in March 1470, when he found himself facing several rebellious groups of subjects. These rebels were probably acting at the instigation of his brother, George, Duke of Clarence, and his cousin, Richard, Earl of Warwick, but Edward appears not to have realised that for some time.³⁴⁶ The actual events and their context are only relevant here in so far as they help to answer the questions of who wrote the *Chronicle* and why, and how and in what format did it reach the court of Burgundy? Was it sent to Wavrin, who appears to be the only user of the document, or is it legitimate to assume, in view of what is known about other newsletters, that the duke of Burgundy was the intended recipient and that more copies existed, having been made during his lifetime and at his instigation?

The *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*, as it was called by its English editor, is an account of the events of March 1470 set within the framework of Edward IV's itinerary and reported from the limited viewpoint of a servant who travelled with him. Some modern historians insist on calling the text 'propaganda' and 'Yorkist' with overtones of righteous disapproval, assuming that because it emanated from government circles – about which there is little doubt – it must be more partial than other written sources.³⁴⁷ Rather than 'judging' the account it is necessary to try to analyse what internal information it actually provides, and to look for other material that can throw further light on it.

The *Chronicle* was based on the work of someone who personally wrote, copied and read royal letters, and was well informed about letters received by the king. Both the diarist and the chronicler – if they were not the same person – may have been clerks to the keeper of the privy seal, Thomas Rotherham,³⁴⁸ or clerks of the signet, working for the king's secretary,

345 Ed. Nichols, 1847; *Manual*, vol. 8 [69].

346 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 510-17; Gransden, *Writing II*, pp. 261-63; Holland, 'Rebellion'; Knapp, 'Rebellion'; Goodman, *Wars*, pp. 69-73; Gillingham, *Wars*, pp. 166-76; Kendall, *Warwick*, pp. 255-59; Hicks, *Clarence*, pp. 65-74, and, *Warwick*, pp. 282-86.

347 Richmond, 'Propaganda', pp. 15-16: 'Because it is history commissioned by the government, the *Chronicle* breaks new ground ... The author was a skilful tamperer with the facts; a propagandist of the highest calibre, he distorted times and places only marginally, doing just enough to make his version a compelling one. He had been helped by the king's execution of the main protagonists: those who might have had other versions to tell were no longer around to do the telling. ... the lengths to which Edward's hard-pressed and probably paranoid government was ready to go'. Holland, 'Rebellion', p. 850: 'unashamedly a work of propaganda'. *John Vale's Book*, p. 47: 'Edward could compose his own version of events without fear of contradiction. The 'Chronicle' and the 'Confession of Sir Robert Welles' are propaganda of a novel kind: these documents seem to usher in the modern age.' *Manual*, vol. 8, pp. 2702-03: 'Yorkist propaganda to show that Clarence and Warwick had conspired to start the rebellion.'

348 Emden, *Cambridge*, pp. 489-91, and *Oxford*, pp. 1593-96.

William Hatcliffe.³⁴⁹ Clerks of the signet, writing warrants for the privy seal, would also be knowledgeable about privy seal documents, and as the diarist at least accompanied the king during the whole of his journey from London to York (6-26 March 1470) this would normally point to the signet, the king's personal seal which he usually had with him.³⁵⁰ It appears, however, that during the whole of the crisis Edward had the great seal with him as well,³⁵¹ which again widens the number of personnel that could be behind the creation of the diary and/or the *Chronicle*, and makes Richard Freston or Fryston a possible candidate for authorship. He was the clerk of the 'petty bag', who 'day by day ... had diverse charters, letters patent, commissions and writs sealed according to the king's command' from the time the king set out from London until the great seal was returned to the chancellor on 10 May.³⁵²

The relevant events of every day were recorded as they happened: where the king was, what information reached him and how, and how he responded to it. This diary, that allowed the full narrative of the *Chronicle* to be put together, was full of circumstantial detail: the king was riding between one village and another and the messenger was 'a childe'; the king wrote a letter 'of thanke of hys own hande'; the king was about to mount his horse when he was brought 'pleasaunte writings'. A long angry speech of the king is given in which he complained that Clarence and Warwick wanted 'so large a suretie' to come to him as 'his auncient enemyes of France wolde not desire' and warned them that if they lied and proclaimed that he would 'not abide by his ... pardon late graunted' he would prove his good faith 'in his own personn, as j knight'.³⁵³ Every single day letters were received and sent, most of them sealed with the privy seal, some taken by the hands of heralds; letters became the *Leitmotiv* of the eventual narrative, the *Chronicle*.

The scribe of the diary not only carefully recorded in his own words whatever he could, he also kept or obtained copies of everything that provided clear evidence of the rebels' activities, Clarence's and Warwick's involvement and the king's forbearing attitude. The chronicler was able to report that the contents of the proclamation posted up on churchdoors by the king's rebels 'appereth by the copie of the same';³⁵⁴ that a letter which the king received

349 Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 292.

350 Otway-Ruthven, *Secretary*; Visser-Fuchs, 'Harpisfeld'.

351 *CCR Edward IV*, vol. 2, 1468-76, no. 509, pp. 129-30, the great seal was put into a leather bag on 6 March in a small chapel in Westminster palace and the king received it into his own hands, keeping it with him in the care of Richard Fryston, clerk, until it was delivered back to the chancellor, Robert Stillington, on 12 May.

352 *Ibid.*; Storey, 'Gentleman-bureaucrats', p. 122.

353 Compare the proclamations issued during this period (see below)!

354 This proclamation is confusingly said to be 'in the kinges name' as well as in Clarence's, Warwick's and Welles'; this is Henry VI and indicates some rebels had Lancastrian leanings, even if in a later section of the *Chronicle* (p. 11) and elsewhere (in the confession of Sir Robert

reporting the number of rebels gathering against him 'is redy to be shewed'; that the incriminating communications which were found in a casket carried by a rebel killed in battle were also 'redy to be shewed'.³⁵⁵ In the end a considerable collection of documents was 'redy to be shewed', among them a letter from Edward to Clarence which the *Chronicle* quoted in full and apparently verbatim.³⁵⁶ It charged the duke to come to the king humbly and 'mesurably accompayned' or any blood of the king's subjects that might be shed would be on his hands. It epitomized Edward's attitude throughout the events and gave clear proof of the king's attempts to be reasonable. The author of the *Chronicle*, writing after the events, was not only able to choose the best text in the available collection for quotation, he could also run ahead in his narrative, warning the reader of what was to come and what people were up to: 'as clerely may appere by the warkes aftre'.³⁵⁷

Modern historians have complained that Edward IV is presented in the *Chronicle* as almost naive and entirely unsuspecting of his brother and the earl of Warwick, whereas his actions suggest that he knew very well who the real traitors were. The chain of events is seen as staged by Edward in order to rid himself of Clarence and Warwick: the narrative, it is said, has been engineered and the documents that corroborated the government's view were at least partly forged.³⁵⁸ Others, however, have indicated more credibly that the events as represented in the *Chronicle* match the facts supplied by other, independent, documentary sources.³⁵⁹ The text is 'slanted', everything has been done to put Edward in a favourable light and depict him as unsuspecting and unprepared. It is also openly assumed that God was on his side, inspiring his more decisive actions. This no doubt represents the author's genuine feelings: he, or rather the author of the diary, and Edward himself, had indeed been bemused, at least for a while, by what was happening, their knowledge being restricted by lack of communication and information. In spite of all the letters exchanged between the protagonists the actual development of events, let alone people's real motives, were very confusing: people appeared to be starting rebellions in different areas, armies and commanders were approaching each

Welles, *ibid.* p. 21, n. 11) it is stated that Clarence and Warwick at least intended to make Clarence king; compare Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 442.

355 This evidence was probably not fabricated; compare the documents found in the luggage of Edward of Lancaster after Tewkesbury and sent on to the duke of Burgundy, Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 174-75. For an example of the very useful contents of such a casket, *Jean de Reilhac*, vol. 1, pp. 104-07.

356 Acc. to the subscription in the *Chronicle* this letter was given under the signet, but according to the introduction to the quoted text, and in the French version, it was under the privy seal.

357 Not before 25 March, when John Neville, formerly Earl of Northumberland, was created Marquess Montague, an event mentioned in the text (Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 12; the sentence could have been inserted much later, however, and see below.

358 Oman, *Warwick*, p. 196; Holland, 'Rebellion', p. 849, and *passim*; Richmond, 'Propaganda'.

other and retreating, changing direction according to their own elusive plans, or when informed about the movements of others. Most of the time the participants were following events rather than creating them, and when – with hindsight – this appeared not have been the case, God was seen as the instigator of action. It was with hindsight that one of the clerks in Edward's entourage – who may have been the diarist himself – put together his 'remembrance', as the *Chronicle* is called in the surviving English copy; this still breathed the uncertainty and confusion of the past weeks, but it also attempted to make sense of the events as the author knew them.

Straightforward or not, for whom was the *Chronicle* put together? How and in relation to whom may a full-length narrative, that could not be nailed to a church door or read out aloud in the market place, but needed careful reading, have served Edward IV's aim of making it known that he was a just and benevolent ruler and his brother and Warwick dangerous and scheming traitors? Whom did he hope to reach and who would want to know so much detail? One thing that needs to be remembered is the close resemblance in general tenor, composition, style and details of phrasing between the *Chronicle* and the proclamations that Edward ordered to be made between 13 and 31 March, particularly the longer ones of 24 and 31 March that declared Clarence and Warwick traitors.³⁶⁰ Chronicle and proclamations – the one of 31 March is used for comparison here, but the two long ones are virtually identical – both start with a reminder of the pardon given to Clarence and Warwick for all crimes committed before Christmas 1469,³⁶¹ which Edward granted (*Chronicle*): 'trusting that therby he shuld have coraged, caused, and induced theym from that tyme furthe to have been of good, kynd, and lovyng demeanyng ayeinst his highenesse',³⁶² or (proclamation:) 'trusting thereby to have caused theym to have shewed unto hym theyr naturall love, ligeaunce, and duetee, and to have assisted his Highnesse ...'.³⁶³ Both texts then move to the activities of Robert Welles in Lincolnshire, after which the *Chronicle* continues to give the events in detail in chronological order; the proclamation naturally does not repeat them. Both texts put great emphasis on God's

359 Implied by Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 510-18, and Gillingham, *Wars*, pp. 166-76; and argued by Hicks, *Clarence*, pp. 65-66.

360 The relevant proclamations are: Close Rolls, PRO C54 322 8d, Stamford, 13 March 1470 (*CCR 1468-76*, p. 134 has 16 March, but on that day Edward was at Newark), printed Warkworth, *Chronicle*, pp. 52-53; *CCR 1468-76*, no. 528, pp. 134-35. C54 322 7d, Newark, 16 March, not in Warkworth; *CCR 1468-76*, no. 534, pp. 137-38. C54 322/7d, York, 24 March 1470, printed Warkworth, pp. 53-56; *CCR 1468-76*, no. 533, p. 137. C54 322/8d (*CCR 1468-76*, p. 136, has 15d, which must be an error), Nottingham, 31 March 1470, printed Warkworth, pp. 56-59; *CCR 1468-76*, no. 529, pp. 135-36. Comp. Allan, 'Propaganda', pp. 148-50.

361 The 'saide rebelles' pardoned are not the men of the North, *pace* Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 19, n. 1, but the 'grete rebelles George duc of Clarence, Richard erle of Warrewike' as well as 'othere' mentioned in the introductory title of the *Chronicle*, *ibid.*, p. 5.

362 Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 5.

intervention on Edward's behalf in the battle against young Welles, without which divine help the king would not have defeated these rebels and not have learned about the involvement of Clarence and Warwick, who would have been able to join forces with them; both texts emphatically mention the displayed banners of the rebels.

The confessions of Robert Welles, Thomas de La Lande, Richard Waryng and others are mentioned in similar words by both sources: the *Chronicle* says they 'uncompelled, not for fere of dethe ne otherwyse stirred, knowleged and confessed ... openly byfore the multitude of the kinges oost',³⁶⁴ the proclamation states they 'openly confessed and shewed before his said Highness, the Lordes of his blode, and the multitude of his subgietts attending upon him in his host at this time ... uncompelled, unstured, or undesired soo to doe'.³⁶⁵ Both sources emphasise several times the 'nygheness of bloode' that Edward was willing to remember in his brother's and his cousin's favour, the 'love and affeccion' / 'love and favour' he had 'long tym' / 'aforetyme' felt for them, how 'glad' he would be to take them back into his 'grace and favour' and how he 'wolde have mynistred to theym rightwyseness with favour and pite' / 'wold have ministred to theym ryghtwyssely his lawes with favour and pitee shewyng',³⁶⁶ if they complied. Both texts record that Garter was sent with privy seal letters to Clarence and Warwick summoning them to come to the king (*Chronicle*:) 'mesurably accompanied',³⁶⁷ (proclamation:) 'resonably accompanied',³⁶⁸ but (*Chronicle*:) 'presumptuously refusing' they 'withdrew theymself and their fellship into Loncastre shire',³⁶⁹ (proclamation:) 'presumptuously refused, and withdrewewe themselfe, and fled with their felaship into Lancashire'.³⁷⁰ More examples could be given.

Both texts clearly originated from the same governmental department. It is likely that both the *Chronicle* and the proclamations were based on the diary and on the documents that were collected while the diary was being made.³⁷¹ Both kinds of text needed the basic order of events as well as the evidence contained in the documents. The copy of the proclamation 'in all the churches' of Lincolnshire proved that Sir Robert Welles called himself 'Grete Captayne of the commons of the ... Shire of Lincolne',³⁷² the confession of Welles made clear that the

363 Warkworth, *Chronicle*, pp. 53, 56.

364 Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 11.

365 Warkworth, *Chronicle*, pp. 54, 57.

366 All Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 15, and Warkworth, *Chronicle*, pp. 54, 55, 58.

367 Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 13.

368 Warkworth, *Chronicle*, pp. 54, 57.

369 Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 16.

370 Warkworth, *Chronicle*, pp. 54, 57.

371 As said above the proclamations are identical, except for the fact that on the 24th there was still a theoretical hope that the rebel lords would come to the king by the 28 March; on 31 March they were officially declared traitors.

372 Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 6; Warkworth, *Chronicle*, p. 56.

rebels intended to make Clarence king and the document itself proved that Welles put his sign manual to it. Both authors followed the same overall scheme and order, but each did so for his own purpose. The maker of the proclamations shaped and, above all, abbreviated the material to highlight its most convincing aspects, such as the existence of written evidence, and used clear, persuasive language, so that the information could be proclaimed by word of mouth – as usual the proclamations carried the final clause that nothing in them should be omitted. The author of the *Chronicle* was at liberty to leave in the descriptive details included in the original diary, which had their own persuasive force, and selected a particularly convincing text for quotation in full. The proclamations – without any doubt – were made to be heard by a large English-speaking audience; the French narrative text – by analogy with the *memoire en papier* that Edward wrote to Charles of Burgundy a year later (see below) – was to be read by a small French-speaking public: the duke and his court and whoever else he thought should be informed of the facts. Later, perhaps much later, the French text of the *Chronicle*, like the *memoire en papier*, was discovered in the English royal archives, translated back into English and included in an heraldic miscellany; it survived because it was of interest as an independent historical document.

Three copies of the French version of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion* and one of the English have been found. The copy of the English text that survives is very late, late sixteenth to early seventeenth-century, and appears in a composite manuscript in which it seems to have no connection with the other contents.³⁷³ The copies of the French text are all part of redactions of Wavrin's *Recueil*: the Gruuthuse manuscript, fr. 15491 and fr. 20358.³⁷⁴ The fact that the French text survives in three manuscripts does not mean that more French copies were around originally for they all go back to one exemplar: they are too similar to allow of any other explanation. In the case of the *Chronicle* it is very likely that the text was written in French, like the so-called 'short version of the *Arrivall*', the newsletter which undoubtedly originated from Edward IV's signet office only a year after the *Chronicle*, and was composed in French from the first (see below). The very lateness of the surviving English copy is a partial argument for this version *being* late. The French text of the *Chronicle* also reads better than the English, though the inadequacy of the English text *may*, of course, be due to its being made by a copyist with no knowledge of the actual events. Though the French texts are very close in date to the original they, too, betray the fact that they are copies of copies and that their scribes were

373 London, College of Arms, Vincent 435, art. 9; Campbell, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 297.

374 Halfway 6, 6, 3 to the end of 6, 6, 9. Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 8-27; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 588-602. Fr. 15491, ff. 228-236; fr. 20358, ff. 227-32v.

ignorant of English and English names. Placenames are misspelled and some dates are slightly wrong, but these are mere scribal errors and to be expected; they also occur in the English text. Mistakes because of picking up the exemplar after the same word in the wrong place (homoioteleuton) occur in all French copies, but together they supply a complete text and it may be assumed that the original French version was good.

The French text is very close to the English but not identical. It is slotted into the main text of the *Recueil* without showing the break between itself and the previous section. It includes by way of introduction some facts from the proclamation made by the rebels, mentioning details not found at this point in the English copy of the *Chronicle*, such as the name of Welles' father and the rebels' claim that the king was planning to rob the people of Lincolnshire of their *terres et possessions* (*terres et seignouries* in fr. 20358). Perhaps copies of the documents that had been 'redy to be shewed' were included – in translation? – and the full 'package' reached the continent.

Minor differences between the 'original' *Chronicle* – i.e. as it survives in the English version – and the text in the *Recueil* include the following: instead of 'as apperethe by the copie of the same' [i.e. of the rebels' proclamation] the *Recueil* has *La copie desquelles lettres de proclamation fut aportee au roy*, which is a perfect adaptation for a continuous narrative; other instances of similar adaptations occur. The next letter that 'is redy to be shewed' is described as *comme par lesdites lettres pouvoit (plus clerement) apparoir*.³⁷⁵ A small but important variant of the *Recueil* text is that some of the rebels conspired in the house, *en lhostel*, of Lord Welles, while the English text – that is the English translation of the original French report – is defective and merely has (my italics) 'it was knowleged that *in the lorde Welles* alle such counceilles and conspiracions were taken'. The same omission occurs in fr. 20358, which is generally the 'better' copy in that it is closest to the 'original' version; this suggests that the original had this omission and that it was corrected in the Gruuthuse redaction of the *Recueil*, but not by the sixteenth/seventeenth-century English scribe. In a few places the *Recueil* also has phrases such as *comme dit est*, *comme jay touchie cydessus*, and *vous avez bien oy cy dessus comment*, which do make the account easier to read. Sometimes the order of events was slightly changed in the *Recueil*, again to improve the readability of the story.³⁷⁶ Among the additions that point to the *Recueil* version being consciously adapted is the fact that Edward celebrated his victory in *la grant eglise* of Stamford, a detail omitted in the English

375 Fr. 20358 omits *plus clerement*.

376 E.g. in the battle of Empingham the fact that the rebels cried 'A Clarence' and 'A Warwick' is worked into the description of the battle, not left as a separate bit of information at the end. The story of the casket with the incriminating documents was left at the end, because it was found

text; that Clarence is usually referred to by his name, not just ‘the said duke’, and that *le seigneur de Strop* (John, Lord Scrope of Bolton) is further identified as *portant la Iarretiere*.³⁷⁷

Evidence of the arrival of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion* in Burgundy is hard to find. Mid April 1470 is the most likely date for its reception; in May Charles was in his turn warning Edward about Warwick’s schemes.³⁷⁸ The fact that most of the events, up to Edward suspecting that Warwick would attempt to enter Calais and forestalling him in mid-April, were already known in outline and included in the work of the Monstrelet-continuator, one of Wavrin’s main sources,³⁷⁹ suggests there was an earlier report and gives a possible *terminus post quem* for the arrival of the *Chronicle*.³⁸⁰ Already known were the defeat of the *comte de Willebic*,³⁸¹ *lequel ce comte de Warewic avoit fait mal du roy* and his beheading; the rebel lords preparing for battle and Warwick’s insistence on a safeconduct, to which the king had dramatically responded by asking whether he was English, Scots or French, for if he was Scots or French he would send him *ung saulfconduit comme a son annemy; mais sil estoit Anglois quil venist vers luy, et lui feroit raison et justice*. After this exchange Warwick prepared himself for battle, but in the night one of his captains, *qui avoit este filz de Thalbot, en son tempz si renomme*,³⁸² deserted him with about 3,000 men; Warwick fled the country and Edward sent men to Calais.³⁸³ At this point the text of the Monstrelet-continuator is interrupted by a section about Duke Charles, which may mean that the report on England ended here.³⁸⁴ In the context of newsletters it is of interest that Edward also wrote to Charles about the English victory over

after the battle was over; Nichols, *Chronicle*, p. 10; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, p. 15; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 593; fr. 15491, f. 231v; fr. 20358, f. 229.

377 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 11, pp. 544-45.

378 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 523, n. 2.

379 Harl. 4424, fr. 88 and the so-called *Histoire de Charles*, fr. 724; above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1, and app. F, 5, below.

380 This account was left in in the Gruuthuse manuscript and in fr. 15491; it may represent the limited information that the Burgundian court had before the *Chronicle* became known. In the *Recueil* this short text merely repeats the information, to the Monstrelet-continuator (Harl. 4424, f. 258v-259; fr. 88, ff. 243v-244) it was all he knew. Goodman, *Wars*, pp. 166, 173, refers to the source of some information as ‘Waurin’, though it was actually from the Monstrelet-continuator.

381 The elder Welles, Richard, was Lord Willoughby by right of his wife, and referred to as *Welles de Willoughby*, which may have made the continental chronicler pick up the second part, *Complete Peerage*, vol. 12/2, pp. 666-67.

382 David Morgan suggested that this was Humphrey Talbot (died 1493), son of the famous first Talbot earl of Shrewsbury (*en son temps si renomme*) by his second wife, and a Calais man long before he became Marshal of the town in 1480; his Calais background may connect him to Warwick.

383 Harl. 4424, f. 258v-259; fr. 88, ff. 243v-244. Also *Recueil*, 6, 6, 10; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 27-29; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 602-03; fr. 15491, f. 236r-v; not in fr. 20358.

384 The author was writing this section not long after 30 June 1470, as he was unable to say whether the newly born son of the king of France *vit ou sil est mors*; Harl. 4424, ff. 260v-261; fr. 88, ff. 245v-246.

some ships of Warwick in June: *ceste victoire rescripvit le Roy Edouard au duc de Bourgogne, qui en fu moult resioy.*³⁸⁵

There may be a reference to the *Chronicle* and its use in the work of Adrian de But, monk at Les Dunes abbey.³⁸⁶ When he has described how Warwick fled to France (May 1470) and managed to re-obtain the loyalty of the people of Calais, which included the famous changing of badges, from the rose of York to Warwick's ragged staff, so ingeniously described by Philippe de Commines,³⁸⁷ de But continues:

King Edward, who saw how the common people were stirring and murmuring, quelled them as best he could; he informed his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, of all he had learned about the duke [*sic*] of Warwick's attempt at treason, sending his herald³⁸⁸ with secret messages (*secreta oracula*). The herald arrived in Ghent where the duke of Burgundy was staying and revealed to him *the whole treacherous business*. After that he [Edward] presented the duke of Burgundy with the most precious symbol of brotherhood [i.e. the Garter] and asked him for his assistance against those rebels already mentioned, which he [the duke] through the said herald faithfully promised to do.³⁸⁹

The date of Garter King of Arms' known visit in early February, during which he did offer the Garter to Duke Charles, precludes his revealing Warwick's treasonable activities of March,³⁹⁰ but it is possible that de But ran several visits together; he was usually well informed, but often formulated his information rather cryptically. In itself asking for help seems a perfectly good reason for giving the duke all the details about Warwick's treason. Charles also needed to be warned against Warwick and what he might do in France; only a little later Charles was better informed about the threat that Warwick posed and started to warn his brother-in-law in his turn. The duchess of Burgundy, Edward's sister, Margaret of York, was no doubt also very interested.

Most Burgundian and French chroniclers know that Warwick fled, or was 'banished' from England, but mention no other detail.³⁹¹ Georges Chastelain reports that when Louis XI had received Clarence and Warwick at the French court in May 1470, many of the French courtiers greatly objected:

385 Harl. 4424, f. 260; fr. 88, f. 245v; compare *Recueil*, 6, 6, 11, Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 604.

386 For de But, above pt I, ch. 1, sect. 9. No other chronicler has been any help. Comines who emphasises Charles' help to Edward in 1469, has no relevant facts, Comines-Calmette, vol. 1, p. 193. Jean de Haynin mentions no event that relates to the rebellion of March 1470.

387 *Mémoires*, bk 3, ch. 6.

388 *heraldum suum* rather than 'a' herald may mean de But knew it was Garter himself.

389 De But, *Chronicon*, p. 501.

390 There were, of course, other activities of Warwick during the previous year to report on, but these would have been reported earlier as the previous crisis had resolved itself by mid-October 1469. Charles did not leave Flanders until 4 April, Vander Linden, *Itinéraires*, pp. 20-21.

391 Basin, *Louis*, bk 3, ch. 1, knew Warwick had stirred up rebellion but had been forced to give up; above, pt I, ch. 1, sect. 2. Jean de Roye, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 238.

in the first place because they were Englishmen, France's old enemies; secondly because they were criminals, cowards, men without honour or shame, and publicly proved traitors against their king, the one being [the king's] ~~cousin german~~, the other [his] brother by the same father and the same mother, and desiring to destroy his brother in battle, from which they had to flee defeated.³⁹²

first cousin

Edward IV's efforts had been successful, and not only in England, for it was probably Duke Charles who spread the news further to blacken Warwick's reputation in France at a time when Burgundy's very existence was threatened by Warwick's proposed Anglo-French alliance. Unfortunately no other copy of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* appears to survive among ducal administrative documents, nor was it used by any other contemporary chronicler.

There is no doubt that the publication of another 'English' newsletter, which became much more famous and was widely used in its own time and later, did not depend on Edward IV, but on the activities and interests of his brother-in-law of Burgundy. It is the last newsletter that Wavrin was able to include in his history of England. There is convincing evidence about its origin and history and it has been studied in detail elsewhere and here only the essentials and its use by Wavrin will be discussed.³⁹³

This newsletter, usually and misleadingly called 'the short-version of the *Arrivall*', was undoubtedly a document produced by the signet office of Edward IV, composed and signed by a French speaking clerk, Nicholas Harpissfeld,³⁹⁴ to report to Charles of Burgundy on the successful return of Edward and his recovery of his crown in the spring of 1471.³⁹⁵ The much longer and better known *Arrivall – The Historie of the Arrivall of King Edward IV A.D. 1471*,³⁹⁶ which has been frequently used to show what a clever propagandist Edward was – owes its existence and much of its reputation to its smaller counterpart.

Edward's exile in Holland and Flanders, from October 1470 to March 1471, has also been described elsewhere³⁹⁷ and of interest here is only the fact that he had reason to be especially grateful to two prominent individuals and one group of men. The first, of course, was his brother-in-law Charles of Burgundy, the second was Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, who actually welcomed, housed and entertained Edward. Finally there was the town and council of Bruges, who harboured Edward and no doubt had to show their hospitality

392 Chastelain-de Lettenhove, vol. 5, p. 463. The 'Chronicle of Flanders' also says that Warwick was banished, above, pt II, ch. 1, sect. 7.

393 For a detailed discussion and everything that follows, Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir'.

394 Visser-Fuchs, 'Harpissfeld'.

395 Paravicini, *Briefwechsel*, no. 1866.

396 Ed. Bruce.

in many small but costly ways. Duke Charles, Gruuthuse and the notables of Bruges all received letters from Edward after his return, but only the one to Duke Charles was accompanied by a written report:

Et pourceque nous creons de vray quil vous sera a bien grant plaisir et reioissement destre veritablement acertene du bon estat de nous et de noz affaires et expedicion, plaise vous savoir que nous vous envoyons par le porteur de cestes une *memoire en papier* contenant tout au long nostre conduite et bonne fortune depuis le temps de nostre departement [de] vostre pays jusques a maintenant.³⁹⁸

On the day Bruges received the news, together with Edward's letter of thanks, a bonfire was lit in front of the aldermen's house to celebrate his victory and the messenger who brought the news – but no *newsletter* – was rewarded: 'Item, paid by command of the council, to a messenger who had come from and was sent by the king of England to the council of this city; because of the good and happy news he brought he was given 25s.'³⁹⁹

The duke of Burgundy was well aware of how his own position had been saved by Edward's return to power, and he used the *memoire en papier* to justify his actions in the eyes of his subjects and strengthen his political and diplomatic position by emphasising the benefits of his alliance with the again powerful king of England. Philippe de Commines was to write years later, referring to the duke's reaction to Edward's success: 'he took advantage of it and had the news widely published'.⁴⁰⁰

Wavrin used several sources for his description of Edward's return, and one of them was certainly a version of the 'memoir on paper'. This was not a mere copy of the memoir, but a redaction that has been called the 'Burgundian version', because it has a peroration that markedly celebrates Charles' help to Edward; it is found in the work of the Monstrelet-continuator. It clearly echoes the signet letter, but it was edited: sentences, words and expressions were altered and a few short passages added. In view of the great similarity between copies in the surviving manuscripts of the Monstrelet-continuator's work it is fairly certain that – like the French texts of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* – they go back to one exemplar. Close comparison of the copies of the signet letter in the *Recueil* and in the Monstrelet-continuator, shows that Wavrin need not have seen the original document and

397 Huizinga, 'Eduard IV'; Obermann and Schoorl, 'Edward IV'; Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard in Holland, 1470-71', and 'Lion'.

398 BN fr. 3887, f. 116v. The letter to Bruges has no mention of a written report; the letter to Gruuthuse was lost at the time and no copy of a subsequent letter appears to survive.

399 *Hanserecense 1431-1476*, vol. 6, p. 242, n. 7; compare the poems on Warwick's death, pt I, ch. 2, above, particularly the 'Ghent song'.

400 Commines-Calmette, vol. 1, p. 215. The news became known from Rotterdam to Dijon, Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir'. It must be stressed that the signet newsletter was *not* 'mass-produced' by Edward IV, as e.g. Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 28, still seems to believe; it was the duke of Burgundy who found it useful and had it published widely.

apparently accepted the ‘Burgundian’ version as trustworthy. He follows it very closely: in his choice of words and expressions he is closer to this redaction than the redaction is to the original.

Wavrin did not only use the ‘Burgundian’ version of the signet letter, but also a longer text, usually assumed, without further consideration, to be the *Arrivall*. In fact both the *Arrivall* and Wavrin’s narrative have a much more complicated scribal history than simply copying one document. Apart from a number of additions and minor omissions there is one particularly notable difference between the *Recueil* and the *Arrivall*: Wavrin’s sudden reversion to the redacted ‘Burgundian’ version towards the end of the narrative as a whole, when only three-quarters of the story has been told and the Bastard of Fauconberg’s attack on London is still to come.⁴⁰¹ The resemblance to the Burgundian text in this section is striking and there is no similarity to the *Arrivall* from that point on. Why should Wavrin, who usually copied almost verbatim, suddenly have stopped copying a far more detailed ‘English’ source if it was available to him? It is possible that he died while working on this his sixth volume and that this was the cause of editorial problems,⁴⁰² but it is far more likely that it was not the *Arrivall* itself that he saw. He and the author of the *Arrivall* did not use each other but had a source in common, one which they both copied, added to and elaborated on. The *Arrivall* as we know it is also a composite work; it contains evidence of four different elements and three or four stages of composition. Comparison shows that the signet letter was a source for the *Arrivall*, though probably only indirectly. Elimination of the data given by the signet letter *and* of the material that occurs only in the *Recueil* appears to leave us with two more sources for the *Arrivall* itself.

The story shared by the *Recueil* and the *Arrivall* (the ‘second’ stage, i.e. after the signet letter or memoir) looks like another newsletter written for a foreign audience, more especially the court of Burgundy, perhaps Margaret of York herself. The details of Edward’s devotion to St Anne – a special favourite of the duke and duchess of Burgundy – and her miracle, and the fortunate change of heart of the duke of Clarence, Edward and Margaret’s brother – who deserted Warwick at a very late stage – may have been included to please *la tres haulte et puissante princesse la ducesse de Bourguoigne*, who is the only person apart from Edward to be mentioned with such respect. Not even the duke himself is so honoured in the perorations of Wavrin’s own and the ‘Burgundian’ version, which are otherwise very flattering to him. Margaret would not have needed explanatory phrases such as *une bonne ville, forte et bien muree, une grande seignourie appartenant a la ducie d’Yorck*, but these may have been

401 Visser-Fuchs, ‘Memoir’, p. 217, n. 166.

402 After all the return of Edward is completely lacking in fr. 15491.

included by an author who realised he was writing for other ‘foreigners’ as well. In fact, the source that reached Wavrin may have been an extension of the original newsletter, produced in the signet office, perhaps by the same author, and taken across the sea by an embassy in the summer of 1471. A second, longer newsletter as another source for Wavrin is an essential requirement if we want to understand how his text was composed.

Wavrin had even more information at his disposal, however, which he inserted into his redaction of the signet letter plus the longer newsletter. As so often in the *Recueil* he managed to enliven the text with, perhaps fictional, details, or he was able, as he did for other sections of his work, to find a very personal and dramatic version of the events: his additions are ‘romantic’ and full of fictional commonplaces. The *amoureuuses parolles* between Edward and his queen when they meet again for the first time (6, 6, 27); Edward speaking to his men before the battle of Barnet (6, 6, 28); the horrifying number of Yorkist slain and the courage of Gloucester, Rivers, Hastings and Montague (6, 6, 28); the grief of the countess of Warwick when she hears of her husband’s death (6, 6, 29); the fate of Margaret of Anjou (6, 6, 32), all are emotional rather than factual details or have emotional overtones. Only the stories of Martin del See’s opposition to Edward (6, 6, 25) and Margaret of Anjou’s treatment are necessarily based in part on fact, on tales circulating in Flanders, officially and unofficially, during the years following Edward’s return.

The author of the *Arrivall* also made his own additions, or he had other, perhaps later, sources: first an (oral?) eye-witness account on military matters – hardly found in Wavrin’s version – which may have constituted a separate, possibly English, source and added later to the newsletters when they were translated from the French. The apparently heartfelt exclamations here and there – not found in Wavrin – point to someone either deeply involved or of a ~~rhetorical~~ turn of mind. Noticeably these parts of the story contain the kind of language that made historians call the *Arrivall* a ‘good vigorous piece of English prose’.⁴⁰³ What is then left of the *Arrivall* is very likely to have been based on the re-writer’s own personal knowledge, especially about London events. These betoken a close acquaintance with what actually happened in the city. Some of this knowledge is shared by later London chroniclers. The comparison of Edward’s landing with the arrival of Henry Bolingbroke at Ravenspur in July 1399 could have occurred to anyone with a little historical knowledge, then or later. The reflections on people’s motives, which are not in any way unique and similar to the ‘excursions’ of Wavrin, might also for the greater part have been added by later writers without specific knowledge. Some of them amount to no more than an extension of, or philosophising on, data already contained in the newsletter(s), or widely known rumours.

rhetoric

It has to be concluded that it is very likely that the *Arrivall* was not a direct product of any governmental department of Edward IV and not a propagandist paper, it was just another text that used Nicholas Harpissfeld's newsletter from the signet office, the later newsletter, which had also been in French, and various less prestigious sources. Its author had the sense – like the Lannoy archivist – to see the historical value of these documents and the urge and energy – like Jean de Wavrin – to use them by putting them into a proper continuous narrative.

Because of Duke Charles' interest in its contents the original signet letter was included in Burgundian administrative documents. It survives separately among the collected papers of the scribe of the bailiff of Dijon,⁴⁰⁴ and in another administrative collection.⁴⁰⁵ Preserved in such archives it could attract the attention of chroniclers: it was translated into Flemish for the 'Chronicle of Flanders',⁴⁰⁶ edited and used by the Monstrelet-continuator and Wavrin, and amalgamated into the Latin works of Adrian de But and Thomas Basin. Eventually, its general historical, political and military interest caused it to be produced in illuminated editions for the ducal court after Charles' lifetime; one was owned by Philip of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein, a book collector and himself author of a military treatise, another perhaps by Louis de Gruuthuse, though his copy ended up in France and his ownership is hypothetical.⁴⁰⁷ The execution of the two surviving illuminated booklets suggests that several more may have been made in the same workshop. In the case of the English signet letter Jean de Wavrin was only one among many 'users'; like the tapestries of the capture of Arzila by the Portuguese, Edward's 'miraculous' return to power was of the greatest interest to the members of the Burgundian court and worthy of being preserved. The *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* was not in the same league and did not inspire independent historic or artistic interest, but it does give another indication of how these written reports existed and moved around.

Chroniclers of Wavrin's day very rarely mention their sources; usually only major authorities such as Froissart are, occasionally, named. Nonetheless modern commentators have made various attempts to identify their subjects' sources, including any contemporary ones. It has been established, for example, that Enguerran de Monstrelet used princes' letters, papal

403 Kingsford, *Literature*, p. 175.

404 BN ms. fr. 3887.

405 BN ms. fr. 11590.

406 For the mss of the 'Chronicle of Flanders', app. A, above.

407 For these mss Visser-Fuchs, 'Memoir', pp. 186-203; the hypothesis that the Besançon ms., which bears the arms of a family connected with the French court, belonged originally to Gruuthuse is not stated there, but is based on the fact that his mss ended up in French royal hands and the book is identical in appearance to many of his.

acts or heralds' reports, as well as oral testimonies.⁴⁰⁸ Of Georges Chastelain it is known that he used heralds' reports, both oral and written, ambassadors' speeches, which were probably also recorded on paper, newsletters – among them some on the activities of Johannes Hunyades in 1456 and one on Philip the Good's visit to the Empire⁴⁰⁹ – and other letters. Because he was the 'official' chronicler of the duke in Chastelain's case some more formal channels of communication and information have been assumed.⁴¹⁰ A little more is known about the methods of Jean Molinet, Chastelain's successor as official chronicler. Molinet's competent summarising of recorded speeches and accounts of ceremonies, his clever, unnoticeable insertion of newsletters, reports and even poetical works, and his refusal to copy any source slavishly, has been noted.⁴¹¹ It is possible that some chroniclers had formal channels of information, but to someone of Wavrin's status and background it may not have been essential, because publishing documents, whenever it seemed to be useful and beneficial to their own image and policy, seems to have been a habit of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, and partly as a consequence exchange of information at the highest level was a standard activity at the Burgundian court, as it was in a smaller way in any other social circle at the time.⁴¹²

Because of the scarcity of chroniclers of the same kind in England it is more difficult to find English examples of the use of newsletters and other documents, but an interesting instance of one man's attitude to information found in documents of his own time and his appreciation of their 'historical' potential is the large archival collection put together by John Vale, clerk and administrator in the service of Sir Thomas Cook, mayor of London 1462-63. The manuscript book he wrote contains material obviously culled from Thomas Cook's personal papers, as well as some literary / political texts; more relevant in the present context is the considerable number of entries that can also be found, verbatim, in contemporary London chronicles, where they were integrated into a longer text. The arbitrary lay-out of Vale's material indicates that it was not transcribed *from* such a chronicle, but rather shows how such chronicles came into being. John Vale's book is but one step removed from *becoming* a full-blown historical work. His book is hardly likely to have been the only collection of its kind; it is probably only the tip of an iceberg, and suggests how much material may have been available.⁴¹³

408 Boucquey, 'Enguerran', pp. 121-23.

409 Paravicini, 'Philippe en Allemagne'.

410 Small, *Chastelain*, pp. 130, 136-43.

411 Devaux, *Molinet*, pp. 153-68.

412 Richmond, 'Hand and mouth'.

413 *John Vale's Book*, pp. 112-16.

With reference to the spreading of news and information in late medieval England Colin Richmond has concluded that the ‘fifteenth-century English political community was a small world’.⁴¹⁴ One of the items in John Vale’s book, however, illustrates that this ‘small world’ sometimes included the Burgundian aristocracy as well as the English ruling classes. The terms under which the town of Meaux, dep. Seine-et-Marne, was surrendered to Henry V in May 1422 were copied into his collection by John Vale together with similar documents of the same period.⁴¹⁵ They were also included by the composer of the *Great Chronicle of London*,⁴¹⁶ presumably a London citizen like Vale. On the continent they were used by Enguerran de Monstrelet,⁴¹⁷ and in Wavrin’s *Recueil* (5, 2, 23),⁴¹⁸ and finally they are also part of the de Lannoy family papers, where they follow closely after the terms of the surrender of Melun of November 1420, which in their turn were also known to Monstrelet,⁴¹⁹ and Wavrin.⁴²⁰

Such examples, together with the letters discussed above, prove that there was lively ‘traffic’ of such papers among the members of prominent circles and among historians. Written originally just to bring ‘mere’ news to the leading members of society, many of them gained a wider importance and were used for very different purposes, often not by the people who wrote or first received them. Jean de Wavrin was very much part of Burgundian court circles, he did not need privileged access to the ducal archives, for these documents were all around him, and he hardly needed to be unusually ‘historically minded’, for many of his acquaintances were well aware of the value of such records, for legal purposes if nothing else; and they were all great readers of history: in the libraries of most of them history books predominated.⁴²¹ What Wavrin did do that was unusual was make good use of them, gathering them together, competently and seamlessly inserting them into his long history.

414 Richmond, ‘Hand and mouth’, p. 246.

415 *John Vale’s Book*, p. 176, ff. 107v-108.

416 *Great Chronicle*, pp. 120-22.

417 Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), p. 521.

418 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 212 (not printed); Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 404-06.

419 Monstrelet-Buchon (1875), pp. 492-93.

420 5, 2, 5; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 210 (not printed); Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 341-42.

421 *Richard III’s Books*, p. 153n, and references given there.

Part II. Chapter 4.

The manuscripts of the *Recueil*.

1. The manuscripts of the *Recueil*.

The only complete set of the six volumes of the *Recueil* that survives¹ is the one made for Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (fr. 74-85). Two other copies of Volume 1 are in manuscripts of the same library (fr. 71 and 2807), as well as two manuscripts containing just one book of Volume 1 (fr. 2806 and 5621). The Austrian National Library in Vienna and the British Library both have one copy (ÖN 2534 and BL Royal 15 E iv). There are thus five extant copies of the whole of Volume 1 in all.

Of Volume 2 five manuscripts survive; three in Paris (Gruuthuse's and BN fr. 72 and 87); one in the Huntington Library, San Marino (HM 28562), one partly in the Bodleian (Laud. Misc. 653) and partly in the Royal Library in the Hague (133 A 7¹). Volume 3 is extant in Gruuthuse's copy at Paris, Edward IV's in the British Library (Royal 14 E iv) and in The Hague (133 A 7^{II}). Of Volume 4 only two complete copies are still around: the one made for Gruuthuse and one in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W 201); two other manuscripts, in the Bibliothèque nationale (fr. 20358 and 20359), have parts of the text.

Of Volume 5, too, only two complete copies survive: Gruuthuse's and one in The Hague (133 A 7^{III}); BN fr. 20358 and 20359 have long sections of this volume. The important and interesting volume 6 merely survives as a whole in the set made for Gruuthuse, but BN fr. 23058 and 15491 contain large parts of the text, which are crucial to the study of this volume.

If the rate of survival is at all related to the number of manuscripts produced in the fifteenth century and consequently to the popularity of the text and its various sections, it has to be concluded that more copies of Volumes 1 and 2 were made or that many people were interested in the earlier two volumes only, or that they lost interest after seeing those two. There are signs, however, that the *Recueil* was often produced as a full set: first, Gruuthuse had all six volumes; secondly, even if the four manuscripts at The Hague (plus Oxford) and the Walters Art Gallery do not all belong physically together it is still certain the Nassau library had all six volumes in 1572; and thirdly it is almost unimaginable that Edward IV was not presented with a full set eventually, or at least a continuous series of all three first volumes.² ÖN 2534, Volume 1, and BN fr. 87, Volume 2, are very similar in style, and BN fr. 71 and 72

1 For details of all mss, app. F, below.

2 In 1535, when the first inventory was made of the royal library at Greenwich Vol. 2 was already missing, however, Omont 'Richmond', nos 12, 45.

presumably went together. Some of the copies at the Bibliothèque nationale show that cheaper manuscripts were produced as well.

Apart from Gruuthuse and Edward IV the text was probably acquired – at least in part – by Anthony of Burgundy, the Great Bastard, by members of the Nassau family, perhaps by Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, by a wealthy Lombard family living in Bruges, and a (so far) unidentified noble family of France. Among the owners of the variant and 'pirated' editions were members of the Croy family and the lord of Bergen op Zoom. That these copies survived is partly due to their magnificence and partly to the fact that some of them went to relatively 'safe' libraries: Gruuthuse's books were absorbed by the French royal library, Edward's by the English royal library, and the Nassau volumes passed into the collection of the Princes of Orange and so to the Dutch Royal Library. The single copies as well as the errant pages used as flyleaves in other manuscripts suggest how much has been lost. The history of the library of Orange-Nassau affords enough evidence to show how difficult it was even for luxurious manuscripts to survive.

The most important extant manuscripts of Wavrin's historical work are the full set of six volumes made for Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, and Earl of Winchester³ by the creation of the grateful Edward IV, who had been welcomed and looked after by Gruuthuse during his months of exile in October 1470 to March 1471. Louis de Bruges is still waiting for a full-length, comprehensive biography, but many scholars have researched his life to some extent, especially his famous collection of books.⁴ Until the death of Charles the Bold he had an exemplary court career, which included diplomatic visits to England and Scotland, but from 1477 his life became entangled in the complicated politics and side-takings of Maximilian I's early years. Because of his diplomatic activities and his hospitality to Edward IV it is likely that Gruuthuse was interested in England and its history, but there are no signs of an exceptional interest in his collection of books. Apart from the usual romances containing 'matter of Britain', such as Round Table and Grail-stories,⁵ he had copies of the very long *Guiron le Courtois*⁶ and *Perceforest*⁷, both set in Britain. More remarkably he had a copy of a

3 Madden, 'Narratives'; St John Hope, 'Grant'; Watson, 'Two earls'.

4 The only full but out of date study is van Praet, *Recherches*; also Delisle, *Cabinet*, pp. 140-46, 'Livres de Louis de Bruges'. The catalogue of the exhibition at the Gruuthusemuseum in 1981 had much new information, *Vlaamse Kunst*; the catalogue of the exhibition to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Gruuthuse's death (1992) contains new research, but retains some traditional 'facts', *Lodewijk*. Also Vale, 'Nobleman' (1995); Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Choosing' (1995); Lemaire, 'Bibliothèque' (1996); *Des livres et des rois*, pp. 193-95. Martens, 'Louis de Bruges', in De Smedt, *Chevaliers*.

5 BN fr. 103, 122-123, 749.

6 BN fr. 356-357 and 358-363; *Guiron* tells the story of the fathers of the Knights of the Round

treatise that rejected English claims to the crown of France and is usually called after its first words *Pour ce que plusieurs*.⁸ Gruuthuse's copy is in one volume with the *Vraie cronique d'Escoce*, a very short and tendentious history of Scotland from its origins to 1463.⁹ Both these texts have been studied and in both cases one of the conclusions was that these short treatises were made for participants of the diplomatic conferences between the English, French, Burgundians and Scots at St Omer in 1463-4.¹⁰

The other manuscript in Gruuthuse's library that concerns English affairs is a late fourteenth-century collection of mainly legal Latin documents: the *Modus tenendi parliamenti*¹¹ and other tracts that are often found with it, such the coronation order of Richard II and a very brief history of England from Noah to Richard II. Other known near-contemporary owners of the same version of the *Modus* in comparable collections are Thomas Mowbray (died 1399?), Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal,¹² John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Constable of England,¹³ and Sir John Fortescue.¹⁴ Their ownership and the nature of the contents of Gruuthuse's copy appear to imply an interest in either legal matters or courtly ceremony, but the book also contains an account of the Scots expedition of Edward I in 1296 written in French by an eyewitness, which was the best 'travel guide' to Scotland available in French at the time,¹⁵ documents concerning the treaty of Brétigny (1360) and a version of the famous list of names of the 'Companions of the Conqueror', here arranged according to their ending.¹⁶ Taken together it is a rather random collection, which might or might not have been acquired in England, but does not prove that the owner was a committed anglophile. Wavrin's *Recueil* is the only other 'English' book in Gruuthuse's surviving library.¹⁷

The magnificent volumes of BN fr. 74-85 offer a complete text, but the style of the miniatures suggest they were made partly in the 1470s, partly in the 1480s, and that Gruuthuse

Table. See also above, part II, ch. 3, sect. 2.

- 7 Alexander the Great in England, BN fr. 345-348, vols 1, 2, 3 and 6 in 3 mss.
- 8 BN fr. 5058. The text is said to have connections with Sir John Fortescue and the circle of Lancastrian exiles in France in the early 1460s, but it rejected *any* English claims to the French crown. C. Taylor, 'Fortescue', dates *Pour ce que plusieurs* to 1464, 'a manual for French diplomats at the negotiations at St-Omer'. Its usual companion text, the *Vraie cronique d'Escoce*, also occurs in fr. 5058.
- 9 Daly, 'Vraie cronique'.
- 10 These texts often appear together (BN fr. 5058, BN n.a.fr. 6214 and 20962, BR 9469-70), which may indicate their 'common' origin.
- 11 BN lat. 6049; recension B, Pronay and Taylor, *Texts*, ch. 2, esp. pp. 21-22.
- 12 BL Cotton Nero D vi, owned by Sir William Dethick, Garter King of Arms.
- 13 BL Cotton Tib E viii.
- 14 Bodl.L. Rawl. C 398.
- 15 Stones and Blount, 'Surrender'; perhaps Gruuthuse acquired it for his journey to Scotland in 1464, see below.
- 16 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III's books: VIII', pp. 297-99.
- 17 Perhaps the illustrated account of Edward IV's return, Besançon, BM 1168, was made for

did not acquire them all at the same time. Moreover, the fact that he owned a full copy of the *Recueil* becomes less remarkable when one realises the size of his surviving library, among Burgundian courtiers second only to that of the dukes themselves, and the apparently indiscriminate inclusion of everything available at the time.¹⁸ On the other hand he is also one of the owners of the *Recueil* who figures in the text himself. Apart from incidental mention of Gruuthuse's name in lists of noblemen commanding the Burgundian army during a particular campaign,¹⁹ there is an elaborate but vague report of his embassy to the queen mother of Scotland, Mary of Gueldres, in 1460-61.²⁰ This account is based on Gruuthuse's own report to Philip the Good, who had sent him to persuade the Scots queen to give up her alliance with the newly defeated Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, but unfortunately contains nothing of interest. It consists merely of standard phrases describing the courtesies exchanged between the two parties and the eloquence of Gruuthuse. He is described as *le seigneur de La Gruthuse, prince de Stemhuse*, [sic] *ung noble et puissant baron de la nation de Flandres, sage et prudent* and he is feasted *tant pour lamour du bon leal prince duquel il portoit lordre de sa Thoison comme aussi pour lhonneur et recommandation de sa personne a tous reverente et agreable*. His mission is depicted as a complete, though temporary, success.

Lesqueles choses adcomplies, le seigneur de La Gruthuse moult joyeulz de son bel exploit, aprez congie prins a la royne et aux seigneurs et dames de sa court, il se party dEscoce et revint en Flandres devers le duc de Bouguoigne son seigneur, auquel il **raconta tout au long la maniere de son expedition ainsi que cy dessus est contenu**, de quoy le duc et ses consaulz furent moult contentz, car trop plus amoit le duc la partye du roy Edouard bonne, que celle du roy Henry quy peu ou neant luy avoit este amis, ains tousjours, par lenhortement de la dite royne sa femme et de ceulz quy le gouverneiont, avoit este contraire audit duc Phelippe et a ses pays et fait moult de grans dommages.²¹

This embassy is also mentioned in the work of Jacques Du Clercq and the Monstrelet-continuator, but much more briefly and more to the point;²² all that is different in the *Recueil* is an even more positive description of Gruuthuse's role and the reference to his own report. It is

Gruuthuse.

- 18 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Choosing', pp. 73, 80. A connection between Wavrin and Gruuthuse as book owners may be found in Arsenal 4798 which has the arms of Gruuthuse overpainted with a layer of blue and the *ex libris* of Wavrin, app. D, nos XIV-XVIII, below.
- 19 6, 5, 14; 6, 6, 20.
- 20 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 115-16, 134-45; Ross, *Edward*, pp. 45-46; Dunlop, *Kennedy*, pp. 214-17.
- 21 End of 6, 4, 3; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, p. 356; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 2, p. 304.
- 22 Du Clercq-Buchon, bk 4, p. 120: *ung chevalier de Flandres tres noble et sage, nomme le Sr de Grutuse*; Harl. 4424, f. 159r: *le seigneur de Gruthuse*; fr. 88, f. 148v: *le seigneur de la Gruthuse*. Fr. 88 was also owned by Gruuthuse, see below. Fr. 15491, f. 108r-v, is as detailed as the Gruuthuse *Recueil*: *le sr de la Gruthuse, prince de Steenhuse, ung noble et puissant baron de Flandres et prudent*. Fr. 20358, ff. 214v-215, has: *le seigneur de Grutuse, grant baron en Flandres*, but leaves out the section where Gruuthuse is said to make a great effort for love of his prince and his own honour.

possible that his copy was adapted for him, but the indications are few and one may wonder why, for example, *Steenhu(i)se* was not spelled correctly if the scribe knew the patron well.

More remarkable is the ownership of one of the other *de luxe* illuminated volumes of the *Recueil* preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 87. It belonged to members of a wealthy Lombard family, Pietro and Claudio de Villa, who had settled as large-scale pawnbrokers in Bruges and other Flemish, Hainault and Brabant towns by the early fifteenth century.²³ In 1457/59 they and other Lombards gained control of two pawnbroker's offices, the *Grote Caorsijnen*²⁴ and the *Pauw* in Bruges, paying the vast sum 13,000 lb. gr. for the two.²⁵ The members of the de Villa family appear to have been extremely wealthy and art-patrons in their own right. They did not forget their origins and particularly the town of Chieri near Turin, where they came from.²⁶

Fr. 87 is very similar in execution and size to the Gruuthuse set. It is illustrated with twenty-two 'full-page' and seventeen one-column miniatures. The de Villa arms²⁷ and the mottoes *Priere valle* and *Droi(c)t et avant* appear on many folios. This manuscript could possibly be a companion volume to Vienna, ÖN 2534, or both mss could have belonged to very similar sets from the same workshop. The Vienna manuscript contains Volume I; it is illustrated with twenty-one 'full-page' and twenty-three one-column miniatures; there are no indications of ownership. Additional evidence that BN fr. 87 and ÖN 2534 are connected is to be found in the unusual black borders around some miniatures, which occur in both manuscripts but are otherwise rare. The provenance of ÖN 2534 is not known; it has been

23 For all information about de Villa I am deeply indebted to Mme M.-H. Tesnière of the Bibliothèque nationale, and to Dr Noel Geirnaert of the Town Archives, Bruges. Also de Roover, *Money*, pp. 116, 117, 135, 141, 146, 147, and his Part 2 on Lombards and pawnbrokers generally. Destrée, 'Altarschrein'; Bigwood, *Régime*, pp. 251-53.

24 Gilliodt van Severen, *Cartulaire Estaple*, vol. 2, pp. 73-74.

25 Nicole Machet, Guillaume Bay, Jorge Solari and Mathieu Dodele; the partnership called itself the 'Company of the Sword'. They paid 13,000 lb. gr. for the *Grote Caorsijnen* (Lange Rei) and the *Pauw* (Garenmarkt 17) and obtained control of them for fifteen years, d'Hooghe, *Huizen*, pp. 88-89; Marechal, *Bijdragen*, pp. 96, 103, 110-12 and *passim* for the de Ville a family.

26 Claudio, perhaps Pietro's brother, commissioned in the 1460s the great Brussels altarpiece, formerly in Chieri Cathedral, now in the Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels, e.g. Destrée, 'Altarschrein', *passim*; Jacobs, *Altarpieces*, pp. 188-90; van der Velden, *Donor's Image*, pp. 267-68, figs 125-26. The altarpiece has the arms of Claudio, and the motto *Droi(c)t et avant*, both also in fr. 87. In old age Claudio commissioned a painted altarpiece, now in the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne. The de Villa wealth appears to have been also based on trading in cloth, de Roover, *Money*, p. 146, nn. 134, 135. Other mss owned by the de Villa family are BN fr. 9136 and 12326. The first contains *Le livre des simples medicines* (a translation of Matthaeus Platearius' *De simplici medicina*), a lapidary and various recipes in Flemish and French; the ms. is illuminated and also bears the arms, emblems and motto of Gruuthuse. Fr. 12326 has Jean d'Outremeuse's *Trésorier de philosophie naturele des pierres précieuses*, an immense lapidary; at the head of each book is the motto *Priere vaille* and the coat of arms; *ex inf.* Mme M.-H. Tesniere.

27 Bendy of 6, gules and or, on a chief azure three stars argent.

suggested that it may have come from the library of the dukes of Burgundy via their Habsburg heirs, but over the centuries manuscripts have reached Austria via other routes and items originally owned by, for example, Baudouin de Lannoy, Philip of Cleves and Jean III de Glymes-Berghes, are also to be found today in the National Library of Vienna.

The Bibliothèque nationale has three other, less impressive manuscripts of volumes of the *Recueil*: fr. 71 and 72 have Volumes 1 and 2, and fr. 2807 contains Volume 1. Potentially fr. 71-72 were as magnificent as the Gruuthuse manuscripts, but their illumination, planned on a very grand scale, was never filled in. It has been suggested that these two manuscripts belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours (died 1477), because its first flyleaves are fragments of the same manuscript that supplied flyleaves to Volume 4 of the romance *Perceforest* that did belong to the dukes of Nemours. Interestingly these scrap leaves are from the first book of the first volume of the *Recueil* itself, the Albina story.²⁸ Fr. 2807 has one grisaille illustration at the beginning and is written on paper; unfortunately it has no marks of ownership whatsoever, but its artist is clearly close to those who worked on other more colourful copies of the *Recueil*.²⁹

The holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek also contain evidence of the survival and use of the *Recueil* in other formats. They do not necessarily go physically together, but ÖN 2545 and 2546 and BN fr. 15491 together form a 'pirated' redaction of the *Recueil*. These three manuscripts contain a history in three volumes put together in a workshop that had access to an abbreviation of Monstrelet's chronicle and to a version of the *Recueil*. The composer was content to rely wholly at first on the Monstrelet abbreviation, but at some point he decided more was needed and started to 'mix' the text with a *Recueil* version. The scribe or redactor did not know – or did not want to know – the author of the *Recueil* sections.

The Vienna manuscripts had been made for and/or owned by Jean III de Glymes-Berghes, Knight of the Golden Fleece from 1481 and Lord of Bergen op Zoom from 1494. Jean's grand-mother on his mother's side was Jeanne de Wavrin, one of Jean de Wavrin's two legitimate half-sisters.³⁰ The owner of fr. 15491 is unknown.

28 See app. F; this theory may spring from the French bibliophile habit of having one's own books bound 'at home', in a personalised binding. It is likely these flyleaves came from the workshop of the binder and/or illuminator and/or scribe; the contents of the leaves do not overlap so they *could* be from one (planned) copy. A similar ms., of Jean Du Chesne's translation of Caesar's *Commentaries*, BL Royal 16 G viii, also has a defective leaf of its own text as flyleaf.

29 Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II*, fig. 41.

30 App. C, below.

There are two other manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 20358 and 20359,³¹ containing what could be called a ‘pirated’ version of parts of the *Recueil*, although their text is close to the Gruuthuse ‘edition’ and often seems to be more correct; perhaps ‘variant’ version is a more accurate description. Both manuscripts have strong connections with the Wavrin family itself and the de Croy’s who inherited the Wavrin possessions and titles. Fr. 20358 and 20359 are both signed *Au duc d’Arschot. 1584*; 20359 also bears the *ex-libris* of *Monseigneur Charles de Croy, Prince de Chimay*.³² The latter is the Charles de Croy, Comte de Chimay (died 1527), who became prince in 1486 and was the son of Philippe de Croy, whose sister married Philippe de Wavrin (died 1500). This first prince of Chimay inherited the book collection of the Wavrin family and from him it passed to his grandson, Charles, Duke of Aerschot (died 1612). This connection between the libraries of the Croys and the Wavrins is further demonstrated by the manuscript of *Olivier de Castile*, BN ms. fr. 24385, which belonged to Jean de Wavrin, bears his arms in its first initial, and has the same *ex libris*: *Au duc d’Arschot. 1584* and *Monseigneur Charles de Croy, Comte de Chimay*.

The manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale clearly do not stand on their own and those kept elsewhere need to be included in this survey. The four volumes of the *Recueil* in the Royal Library in The Hague, the Bodleian in Oxford and the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore are assumed to come from one set, of which the first owner was either Engelbert II of Nassau or his nephew and heir, Henry III.³³ Volume 1 of the set is missing, the text of Volume 2 is now in The Hague and some of the full-page illuminated folios of its magnificent scheme of decoration are now in the Bodleian, bound together and a gift from Archbishop Laud (died 1645) in 1636. Volume 3 is also in The Hague and still has its six full-page miniatures. Similarly, Volume 4, now in the Walters Art Gallery still has its original illumination, six full-page miniatures, one at the beginning of each book. Volume 5 is also in The Hague and its six full-page miniatures also survive intact. None of these manuscripts bear L S clear marks of ownership and no two of them were decorated mainly by the same artist, though all the artists are closely connected. Volume 2, divided between Oxford and The Hague, is the most interesting as it has the partly painted-over emblems of Anthony of Burgundy, the *Grand Bâtard*, and an erased coat of arms, supported by two surviving lions and surrounded by an erased collar of the Golden Fleece.³⁴ The lions resemble the supporters used for Anthony in other manuscripts, but they could have been the supporters of the arms of Edward IV, who was also a member of the Fleece. One of the artists who worked on this book is clearly the same as

31 App. F, sect. 3, below.

32 For what follows esp. van Houtryve, ‘Manuscrit de l’Histoire’.

33 Randall, *Manuscripts*, vol. 3, pp. 390-91.

the one who did most of the miniatures in Edward IV's Volume 3, now in the British Library, and it is therefore possible that this Volume 2 is the one missing in the English royal library. There is also a definite resemblance between the border decoration of Edward's Volume 3 and the The Hague/Oxford manuscript.

It is known that in 1572 the library of William the Silent of Nassau still contained all six volumes of the *Recueil*, but the history of the surviving manuscripts is too complicated to establish with certainty whether the copies really are the ones Engelbert or Henry of Nassau ordered or whether some of them are the remnants of other sets, Anthony of Burgundy's for example.

Edward IV's copy of the *Recueil*, that is, his surviving manuscripts of Volumes 1 and 3, presents many problems. It is usually taken for granted that these are part of the actual set presented by the author to Edward shortly after, or even during, the latter's exile in the Low Countries. In keeping with this theory the presentation miniature, showing a king on his throne, surrounded by a few courtiers and being offered a book by a kneeling author, became a depiction of this event. It has even been assumed that the scene is Bruges and that the various people in it are identifiable.³⁵ The author's preface and the text itself appear to support the time of the presentation, the preface referring to the divine provision which has reinstated Edward in his proper position which was *jadis inhumainement usurpe*, the text ending with Edward's letter to the town of Bruges thanking its inhabitants for their hospitality during his exile.

In fact nothing in Edward IV's volume of the *Recueil* is straightforward. Its scheme of illumination shows very little sign of being specially made for him. The presentation scene and the dedicatory prologue were inserted separately and the rest of the manuscript could have been made for any patron: there is no heraldry or other personalisation in the decoration. The presentation miniature is a standard one and shows the limitations of Flemish illuminators of the period. Its presence, however, is unique: no other surviving manuscript of the *Recueil* has one. The dedication to Waleran, Lord of Wavrin, is the usual introduction to the text, but no surviving copy of the book has a visual representation of that dedication. In Edward IV's manuscript the dedication to Waleran has simply been left out and a new prologue, this time dedicating the work to the king of England, inserted in its place; no other text of this prologue survives and probably none ever existed.³⁶ The new prologue is in a convoluted style totally unlike any part of Wavrin's other work. Mlle Dupont, Wavrin's first editor, described it as

34 *Ex inf.* Scot McKendrick.

35 For this and what follows Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III and the Knave', *passim*.

36 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. xlvi-xlviii, n. 47; Wavrin-Hardy's edition, vol. 1, pp. 608-11.

emphatique, boursouflé and *amphigourique*, and felt incapable of interpreting its meaning.³⁷ It does not give the author's name or any personal detail, as the original prologue had done quite emphatically. The maker of the new prologue avoided Wavrin's name on purpose, but did repeat the lack of general chronicles of England, though with far less emphasis.

The dedication to Edward can be dated to after 1471 as it refers to the recent usurpation of his throne and his successful return to power. In view of its harping on a military alliance between the princes of Burgundy and England, the most probable date for its production is early 1475, when Edward's and Charles the Bold's planned joint campaign against Louis XI of France presented a perfect opportunity for the gift of this particular book. A date before January 1477, when Charles was killed, is likely because of this emphasis on the brotherly love between the lion of Burgundy and the leopard of England. Edward and Charles, of course, were not only brothers-in-law, but also brother knights of the orders of the Garter and the Golden Fleece. It is possible that the manuscript was produced, or 'converted', as part of Maximilian I's efforts to enlist the military help of the king of England in his struggle with the king of France, after the death of Charles the Bold and before the peace of Arras in 1482.³⁸ It is almost certain that Wavrin was dead by 1475 and this, together with the scribe's uncertainty about the king to whom the dedication was addressed (called Edward V instead of IV)³⁹ and about the number of volumes that the work contained (seven when it should be six), again suggests that the original author had no hand in this production or this presentation. Wavrin did not live to see how his work was hurriedly adapted/used as a public relations present. Land

The other surviving volume of Edward's set of the *Recueil* is Volume three (Royal 14 E iv). These two manuscripts are no close companion volumes in their script and illumination, but Volume 3 does contain personalised decoration throughout: coats of arms and roses with suns in splendour. It is possible that the first volume was made for Edward as a suitable gift on the occasion of the joint Anglo-Burgundian campaign against France. The book was prepared

37 Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. xxxv: *Le style si emphatique, si boursouflé et si amphigourique qu' affectaient d' employer les chroniqueurs de ce temps dans leurs dédicaces ne permet pas ici d' oser interpréter le sens de ce Prologue.* Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. ccxiv, n. 2: 'It cannot be known who was the author of the prologue'. Le Fèvre-Morand, vol. 2, p. 439: ... *ce prologue est tellement éloigné de la manière et du style de Wavrin que j' hésiterais fort à admettre qu' il fût de lui.*

38 Part of the text reads, in translation: 'I know that the blood of the lion and the leopard is united by brotherly associations of noble alliances and daily flows like rivers in unison through the veins; and if loyally maintained these said animals, by their ferocious nature mixed with prudence and tempered and refreshed by the potion of inseparable love, joined with rightful government, accompanied by martial study and warlike diligence will correct the bad blood and tear up the thorns that have taken root among the fruitful olive trees'.

39 Above, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 1.

as a gift rather hastily and some hack writer wrote a new prologue pretending that the work had been actually composed for the king of England; the scribe was badly informed and made a hash of the factual details of the dedication. The illuminator of this 'personal' section used a standard presentation scene; he put in standard figures in standard poses with identical faces, and sketchily 'Englished' the king and his courtiers by adding English lions and garters to their dress. In the marginal decoration the royal coat of arms, surrounded by the garter and supported by two white lions and a man of arms bearing a standard of blue and murrey with the garter motto were inserted. Some time later it was followed by a more carefully produced sequel, Volume 3, but probably also Volume 2.

Part II. Chapter 4.

The manuscripts of the *Recueil*.

2. The Masters of the *Recueil*

It is impossible to disentangle the artists that illuminated the surviving copies of the *Recueil* in a few pages. A few general remarks can be made, but it must be emphasised that all observations that follow here are tentative and based on relatively superficial research. It is more interesting and profitable to establish the circle of book owners that these craftsmen to whom the *Recueil* was just another job – worked for than to try and ascertain which particular (section of which particular) miniature was executed by which artist. The identities of the ‘Masters of the *Recueil*’ may or may not be separate, they may have been men at different stages of their life; they may have been master and pupils, or collaborators of equal status. Over the years art historians have been forced to give them many *Notnamen*: the masters ‘of the Golden Fleece’, ‘of Margaret of York’, ‘of Louis de Bruges’, ‘of Anthony of Burgundy’, ‘of Edward IV’, ‘of the English Chronicle in Vienna’, ‘of the Froissart of Comines’, ‘of the Dresden Prayerbook’, ‘of 1482’, or ‘of the White Inscriptions’. This particular group worked at Bruges and Ghent from the late 1460s, some surviving into the 1490s. They collaborated on individual manuscripts and even miniatures, they used the same or similar models, and they were a limited group employed by a relatively circumscribed circle of well known, high-status patrons.⁴⁰ In the context of other work produced by them they have been described as:

a distinctive group of anonymous Bruges masters. Apart from the Master of Margaret of York and the Master of Louis de Bruges, ... we have to include in this group the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook and the Master of the English Chronicle at Vienna. The dominant figure of this group was however the Master of Anthony of Burgundy, that is to say: Philippe de Mazerolles. ... it is not always easy to tell which artist painted what ... for they often worked on the same manuscripts.⁴¹

Philippe de Mazerolles, no longer generally assumed to be the Master of Anthony of Burgundy, may have been the key figure among these craftsmen. Several manuscripts have been ascribed to him, but all have been subsequently rejected.⁴² A Frenchman by birth he was in the service of Charles the Bold from 1467 as *valet de chambre et enlumineur*. He was paid in 1475 for a large commission from Charles of twenty-one copies of the duke’s military ordinances.⁴³ In early 1479 a Philip de Maysertuell, merchant stranger, was paid £80 in part payment of £240 for books supplied by him to Edward IV by an indenture, which does not

40 Wolff, ‘Sources’, pp. 595, 596.

41 De Schryver, ‘Oeuvre’.

42 Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II, Text*, pp. 33-35, 36-38.

43 De Schryver, ‘Oeuvre’, pp. 141-43; Kren, *Painting*, pp. 13-16; Smeyers, *Miniaturen*, p. 367.

survive.⁴⁴ Both his service with Charles the Bold and the large commission from Edward show the scale of his operations: he was a ‘merchant’, a painter-entrepreneur who put out work and employed many others. Whether he painted much himself during his later career is doubtful, but he may still have been the organising or ‘dominant’ force behind many of the acquisitions of Edward IV, both before he died in 1479 and perhaps also for sometime afterwards, as the order worth £240 was gradually completed. Edward, however, was just one member of a circle of Burgundian and English noble and gentry patrons who commissioned work from this workshop.

One of the main artists of the ‘Mazerolles workshop’ as far as the *Recueil* is concerned was the so-called Master of the English Chronicle at Vienna, named after the copy of Wavrin’s Volume 1, ÖN 2534. His work is identifiable by his very tall, thin human figures with spidery limbs, which look particularly beetle-like when in armour. Men are often depicted in a wide-legged stance and wear tall hats, while women have tall headdresses that appear too small for their heads. The Vienna Master’s landscapes are filled with rocks, often pink, and over-tall trees with few branches. His buildings are childish and awkward and his interiors frequently contain odd, empty spaces, such as wide stretches of tiled floor or large bare walls; his figures are often grouped on one side. Most remarkable, however, are the black borders that sometimes occur around his work – and some of his colleagues’: margins painted wholly black for contrast and only then decorated with the conventional bright, colourful fruit, flowers and animals of the period. This black is balanced by the black of the knights in armour in battle scenes, and the impressive *clair-obscur* of the night scenes. The over-all effect of this work is decorative and colourful.

The known work of the Vienna Master to date consists of (participation in) six copies of Vasco de Lucena’s translation of Curtius’ *Life of Alexander*, two *Histoires Troyennes* by Raoul Lefèvre, one copy of St Augustine’s *Cité de Dieu*, one copy of Froissart, one copy of Chastelain’s *Temple de Bocacce*, one abbreviated version of Monstrelet’s chronicles, one Aquinas *Government of Princes*, and one or two illuminated copies of Edward IV’s newsletter to Duke Charles, the so-called ‘short version’ of the *Arrivall*.⁴⁵ Known owners of these books, original and later, include, Philip the Good, Gruuthuse (3x), Philip of Cleves, Engelbert of Nassau and members of the Flemish and

44 PRO, E 403 848, m. 11 (1479 April 1); another copy of this account survives at E 404 76 4, no. 135. McKendrick, ‘Lodewijk’, pp. 153, 159. Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 2, p. 433.

45 Partial lists in Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II, Text*, p. 45, and Le Guay, *Princes*, p. 32; to which can be added: BL Burney 169, Curtius, *Alexander*; BN fr. 1727, Pierre de Nesson, *Neuf leçons de Job*; Ghent, UL 236, Edward IV’s newsletter to Charles of Burgundy; Besançon, BM 1168, same text; Sotheby 18 June 1991, lot 140, hours; Sotheby 17 Dec. 1991, lot 30, one leaf.

Zeeland gentry. The fact that the Vienna Master only appears to have worked on the first two volumes of the *Recueil* may be accident or it may indicate that he is one of the earlier illuminators to work on the text. His hand can be seen in ÖN 2534 (Volume 1), after which he was named, but also in BN fr. 74-77, the first two volumes of the Gruuthuse set, where

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his presence is particularly marked, and BN fr. 87 the copy of Volume 2 owned by the de Villa family. He also did the grisaille illustrations of the relatively cheap edition of Volume 2, Huntington 28562.

Many of the surviving illuminated volumes of the *Recueil* seem to have been made after Wavrin's death, but because Jean Du Chesne mentions the edition in 'six beautiful volumes' in 1473 or 4 he must have seen at least one copy at that time, i.e. before Wavrin died. Some of the illustrators of the manuscripts Du Chesne produced are related or identical to some of the craftsmen who worked on copies of the *Recueil*, so he was close to 'the source'. His information proves that a copy of the *Recueil* existed before 1475, and its illustrators may have been the Master of the English Chronicle of Vienna and the craftsmen he collaborated with, such as the artist of the frontispiece of ÖN 2534 and the maker of all its small miniatures – all the large illustrations/except the frontispiece and one other having been made by the Vienna Master himself.⁴⁶ The frontispiece is particularly attractive and was apparently also appreciated by fellow artists as it inspired several other main illustrations (figs 8, 10).⁴⁷ Its maker was a prolific artist, of whose hand many samples survive, and the mere fact that he has been called the 'Master of Louis de Bruges', 'of Anthony of Burgundy', and 'of Margaret of York',⁴⁸ all with equal conviction, illustrates the confusion about this artist and his patrons, as well as the high status of the latter.

The third illuminator of ÖN 2534⁴⁹ is also very well known, though not by name. He is usually called the 'Master of the Froissart of Comines', because of the splendid copy of Froissart's chronicles that he illustrated and which bears the historian's arms.⁵⁰ In this manuscript the artists' roles were reversed, the Vienna Master doing some of the smaller pictures and Comines Master all the main ones. He, too, was of French origin; his work is highly decorative, showing a preoccupation with colourful heraldry and ornate tapestries. He, too, did a number of frontispieces in manuscripts mainly illustrated by others and he, too, did many commissions for Gruuthuse.

Edward IV's Volume 1, which may be dated to late 1474 or early 1475, was decorated by at least two artists, one of whom is very unusual and whose work is difficult to find

46 Smital, 'Meister'.

47 Bodl.L Laud misc. 751, f. 127, BN fr. 74, f. 1 (both by the Vienna Master) and BN fr. 2807, f. 13. In the first of these the wedding of Diodicias' daughters has become a feast given by Alexander the Great, Diodicias' four wives having been turned into ladies of easy virtue to indicate Alexander's life style.

48 Respectively by Smital, 'Meister'; Pächt and Thoss, *Schule*, II, Textband, p. 44; Smeyers, *Miniaturen*, p. 408, fig. 75, p. 416, n. 107 (by implication).

49 On their collaboration and this artist, Le Guay, *Princes*, pp. 32-34; Visser-Fuchs, 'Romance'.

50 BL Harl. 4379-80; illustrations in Coulton, *Chronicler*; the miniatures are often reproduced, and inspired the dress and decoration of Olivier's film *Richard III*.

elsewhere.⁵¹ The others show great similarity to the Bruges Master of 1482 and his associates, such as the Master of the White Inscriptions and the Master of Edward IV. Their work is particularly obvious in Volume 3 of Froissart, now in the Paul Getty Museum, which was probably made for Edward, too.⁵² These craftsmen flourished at a later date and their involvement makes it more likely that this manuscript was produced after Wavrin's death. These artists were patronised by Gruuthuse and Philip of Cleves, as well as the king of England, the Nassau family and the lord of Bergen op Zoom.⁵³

As far as its decoration is concerned Volume 2 of the Nassau edition shows some similarity to the Volume 3 of Edward IV in that they were both, to different degrees, illustrated by the Master of the Golden Fleece, an artist who produced a volume of Guillaume Fillastre's *Histoire de la Toison d'or* for Charles the Bold himself between 1473 and 1477,⁵⁴ and worked on a production of Jean Du Chesne for Gruuthuse, probably in the same period.⁵⁵ His participation in Edward IV's Volume 3 (Royal 15 E iv) allows a relatively early date for this volume, i.e. not long after Volume 1 was presented to Edward in *circa* 1475.

An illuminator whose human figures are even more grotesquely elongated than the Vienna Master's worked on both Volume 3 for Gruuthuse and on the same volume for the Nassau edition; he had a penchant for large floor spaces with a particular tile pattern.⁵⁶ The illuminators of the Nassau Volume 4, W 201, and Nassau Volume 5, KB 133 A7^{III}, are closely related, but have never been named or identified and no work obviously by their hands has been found elsewhere. The dress depicted appears to date the manuscripts to the late 1480s or 1490s.

Of the same period but a different calibre are the illustrations of Gruuthuse's Volumes 4, 5 and 6. Volumes 5 and 6 (BN fr. 82-85; **fig. 1**) can be ascribed to the school called the 'presumed Alexander Bening,⁵⁷ and perhaps Volume 4 as well. This workshop produced competent, attractive work in the 1480s and 1490s and its craftsmen can be seen as the successors of the Mazerolles group.

The scheme of the illumination, i.e. which scene or episode was illustrated in which manuscript of which owner, needs further research, but preliminary consideration suggests that

51 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Knave', pp. 268-72.

52 Von Euw and Plotzek, *Handschriften*, vol. 3, pp. 257-66.

53 Dogaer, *Painting*, pp. 125-27; Smeyers, *Miniaturen*, p. 411.

54 Vienna, Archives of the Golden Fleece, Cod. 2: Smeyers, *Miniaturen*, p. 367; *Ordre*, pp. 134-35.

55 BN fr. 191, Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor*, ill. *Lodewijk*, p.33.

56 Compare BL Royal 17 F i, f. 14, Curtius *Alexander* written by Jean Du Chesne (no date).

57 Dogaer, *Painting*, pp. 156-58.

the choice of illustrations is relatively arbitrary and not connected to the patron. There is no sign, for example, that the illumination of Edward IV's Volume 1 as a whole was planned specifically for an English or royal owner (it has to be remembered that the theme of the book was England itself). The subjects of the illustrations vary pleasantly – they are not predominantly battles as is so often the case – and they match the important events in the story; there is a relatively high number of marriages and coronations, because the text covers so many reigns. There are more pictures in the first half of the book (seventeen in the first 175 folios and twelve in the second 175 folios). The illumination is not particularly elaborate when compared to that of the two other surviving copies of Volume One, which are more richly illustrated. Louis de Gruuthuse's copy has seventeen large and forty-four small miniatures; the Vienna copy has twenty-one large and twenty-three small miniatures; Edward IV's copy has twenty-nine large miniatures, but no small ones. There is no similarity between the schemes of illustration of the three manuscripts; no master scheme appears to have existed and it is difficult to compare the three surviving copies properly in terms of cost and prestige. Edward's copy is attractive and luxurious at first sight, but not immediately recognizable as the copy most fit for a king.

As said above the 'Masters of the *Receuil*' worked for a number of very influential patrons and the same names occur again and again: Duke Charles himself, Anthony the Great Bastard, Gruuthuse, Philip of Cleves, Edward IV, William Hastings and other members of both the Burgundian and the English courts, including the 'expatriate' community at Calais, such as William, Lord Hastings, Sir John Donne and Thomas Thwaytes. The 'Collection of the Chronicles of England' was a prestigious book that attracted these same great book collectors of the age – and a few others.

Part II. Chapter 4.

The manuscripts of the *Recueil*.

3. The readers of the *Recueil*.

It is obvious that Wavrin's historical work did not reach a wide reading public. Not surprisingly most of the known owners were rich bibliophiles, some with a special interest in England. We know, for example, that Anthony of Burgundy's son, together with Engelbert of Nassau, Charles de Croy and Jean de Berghes, were members of the Burgundian embassy that concluded the *Intercursus magnus*, between Henry VII and Maximilian in 1496. Most of the known owners were of Wavrin's own class and very close to him in every way. The only exception was Pietro (or Claudio) de Villa. Their ownership, plus the manuscripts that have no known owners, appears to suggest there was another audience, but, in fact, even the de Villa's may 'fit in' with the Burgundian court set, living in the same area, having the same kind of money and access to the same books. Their very ownership may indicate closer contact, a greater mingling, with the nobility than one would expect.

Several owners of the *Recueil* had links with the Wavrin family. It is not unlikely that they were quite pleased to have known the author, who had been one of 'their kind of people'. Even the 'unclaimed' manuscripts, such as fr. 71 and 72, and ÖN 2543, are of the same quality as the Gruuthuse and the Nassau books and they close the very small circle of *Recueil* owners. Only the Huntington manuscript and fr. 2703 appear to sit on the fringe of this wealthy circle, but they are no outsiders. Edward IV is, of course, a special case and one wonders whether he ever read his Volume 1, with its nasty remarks about perfidious Saxons and their equally untrustworthy descendants, the English.⁵⁸

It is a comforting thought that Wavrin appears to have reached exactly the audience he had in mind. It is unlikely that while putting the *Recueil* together he ever imagined any other readers than people like the ones than can be identified. A comparison can be made to Chastelain, whose readership appears to have been equally limited and partly overlaps with the ownership of the *Recueil*. Wavrin and Chastelain, because of their respective 'positions', however different, were known to the same people and secured the same reading public. It may

58 The slight variants in Edward's copy do not tone down the tenor of this judgment. – In Edward's political propaganda the White Dragon of the Saxons with all its crimes and inherent sins stood for the Lancastrians, while he himself was the Red Dragon (*Richard III's Books*, p. 196), but the abuse of the English as descendants of the Saxons – a French commonplace – would, of course, *not* have been acceptable to him.

be significant, however, that no luxury manuscript of Chastelain's *Chronique* survives.⁵⁹ This may reflect not the literary value of the two texts, but the snobbism of their readers.

The readership of the *Recueil* also appears to confirm the link between itself and the romances that were popular with Wavrin's circle, which also made up the audience of the *Recueil*. Perhaps Waleran de Wavrin knew that his uncle had links with the workshop producing the 'historical novels' and that their discussing the gap in the historiography of England was not pointless because there was a possibility of remedying it. Perhaps Waleran knew that his uncle had previous experience with the editing, commissioning or overseeing of substantial texts. The composition of the historical novels with which Wavrin is associated bears strong resemblance to the making of the *Recueil*. The extensive and at times very clever collecting, summarising and interweaving of every available source so obvious in the *Recueil* is reminiscent of the 'plagiarism' of many of the romances. It must also be remembered that it was a local 'professional' who virtually 'advertised' Wavrin's work: the knowledgeable Lille scribe and translator Jean Du Chesne.

There are other similarities than technical ones between the *Recueil* and the romances, however:

The high and brave deeds of noble and virtuous people are worthy of being told and recorded in writing, both to give them immortal glory and to encourage readers and listeners to avoid evil and dishonest acts and to undertake glorious things ... therefore I, who from my early youth have always been interested in the deeds of noble and virtuous men of the past, ... have enquired ...⁶⁰

These are not the words of Wavrin in the *Recueil* but of the author of the wholly fictional *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, one of the texts sometimes ascribed to Wavrin himself. The borderline between proper history and romance to Wavrin and his circle was fluid. The longer ago the period discussed, the more acceptable was the use of romance sources; the truth they contained was as valuable as the examples from more recent history.

Finally the use of romances and romance-like material was also acceptable because of the crucial *entertainment value* of history, witness the argument voiced in the introduction to the romance of the *Comte d'Artois*, another of the 'historical novels' sometimes ascribed to Wavrin's authorship:

Because idleness torments the human heart with various fantasies and with melancholy, it is good and useful to listen to ancient stories being read pleasantly,

59 Only one is on parchment and has surviving decoration other than decorated initials; two have a few empty spaces for miniatures; all the surviving texts are very incomplete, Small, *Chastelain*, ch. 6, and app. 1.

60 Fragment, printed in Serrure and Voisin, *Livre de Baudoyne*, pp. 195-96.

and pass the time joyfully, fleeing the restlessness that is too great a burden to human nature.⁶¹

It may be remembered that even the book of the heralds' debate that Lady Prudence planned to edit and then publish and which dealt with such a weighty, chivalric subject as 'honour', was to be called simply *Passe-temps*.

Jean de Wavrin knew exactly what his friends and relations liked to read.

61 Ed. Seigneuret, p. 1.

Conclusion: the value of the *Recueil*.

The original aim of my study of the *Recueil* was to find signs of the anglophilia of the author – anglophobia being unlikely in someone who took the trouble to put together a six-volume history of England. The expectation that it would be possible to find such signs was based on the illusion that Wavrin was in every sense the author of the book, but it soon became clear that he was only the compositor, that his influence was mostly editorial and that only a few sections were (perhaps) his own creation. I also believed that modern scholarship was correct in its rather negative conclusions concerning the value of the work for historical research,¹ but I came to the conclusion that the usefulness of the text is greater than is usually assumed: the component parts of the contemporary section are unexpectedly interesting. Once one has gained some insight into their nature one can guess at their factuality, developing a feeling for how much of these reports and stories is true, how much needs to be weeded out and what has to be taken with a grain of salt. It is essential not to reject the information entirely, but to try and realise what kind of errors and accretions were caused by the limited knowledge of the scribes and the makers of the original reports. The final intervention by Wavrin himself may also at times have been misguided because of his desire to turn all these disparate sections into one, readable entity. One thing is certain: most of the text was not ‘made up’ by Wavrin and he probably did not even add the descriptive scenes and the sections of direct speech.

The first part of the text, up to 1400 when Wavrin’s copying of Froissart ends, is of little help to historians, but it is moderately interesting to literary scholars, showing what books were available to Wavrin and his circle, and which text he preferred when he had any choice. All the separate texts used from 1400 on are based on accounts that were meant to be accurate and all contain interesting information, the more interesting when the original is not known. I am well aware that this claim is based on accepting the evidence of analogy, the assumption that all these more or less elusive documents had the same kind of career as the ones of which we can trace the history.

Modern historians’ opinions on the usefulness of Wavrin’s text differ, though there is a consensus on some aspects of his work. Cora Scofield, in her life of Edward IV, used the *Recueil* frequently and effectively, in conjunction with other Burgundian chroniclers. When she first mentions Wavrin she blames him for geographical errors and romanticising: ‘Waurin’s geography often needs correction, and he shows a fondness for manufacturing details which impairs the value of the narrative’.² Charles Ross had similar views: ‘... it is hard to assess [Wavrin’s] authority, especially in view of his confused chronology and tendency to

1 E.g. Kilgour, *Decline*, does not mention Wavrin in any context.

2 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 35, n.

elaborate his narrative by fictitious speeches'. Elsewhere Ross calls Wavrin's information 'unreliable as to details', 'a suspect source', and 'highly coloured'.³

As far as the chronology is concerned, one gets round the problem by the simple expedient of not expecting too much, realising that the *Recueil* consists of originally separate texts by separate authors, to whom the date of what they were describing was obvious and not always worthy of detailed rehearsal; there was not much Wavrin could do to remedy this. On the point of geography the same condition applies and it must be remembered that no autograph of the *Recueil* survives, only copies of copies, and even if Wavrin himself knew which person, town or region was meant and how to spell their names, later scribes made any kind of mistake.⁴ Thus, in the case that Scofield is concerned about, 'Worcester', a name probably not well known in Burgundy, this was frequently copied as *Excestre*, a town and ducal title familiar to French-speaking scribes in Flanders.

As far as Wavrin's 'manufacturing' is concerned, it is never clear whether the 'romantic' details and direct speech were added by him, or were already in the text he chose to use; he certainly preferred such texts and thought his readers would, too. The report of the capture of the town of Arzila by Alphonso of Portugal is a case in point, for it is clear that if only the *Recueil* and the text of the Monstrelet-continuator had survived and the original newsletter which contained the king's speech to his troops had been lost, one would be forced to conclude that Wavrin made up this speech for the protagonist, and therefore that he did so elsewhere.⁵ Wavrin, in short, is as trustworthy as his sources.

There is indeed something ironic about modern scholars' use of the work of Jean de Wavrin. He is generally thought to be 'unreliable as to details', but it is these details that have been used many times, often without reference to their origin.⁶ Many a scholar has referred to the *Recueil* when it suited his purpose. J.R. Lander, for example, used Wavrin's 'scene'

3 Ross, *Edward*, pp. 89, 116, 434.

4 After a decade of studying mss of the *Recueil* and those related to them, I find Hardy's confident remark about intending to allow 'the author to speak in the language he intended, pure from the corruptions of his transcribers' almost painful to read (Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. ix). Compare Martin, 'Aubert'.

5 Above, pt II, ch. 3, sect. 4.

6 E.g. Wylie, *Henry IV*, vol. 1, use: pp. 323, 326-28, 333, comment: 359; Kendall, *Warwick*, p. 339, n. to pp. 71-72, and his use of Wavrin's details: pp. 50, 54, 71-72; similarly Ross, *Edward IV*, comment and use: pp. 89, 116. Lander, *Crown*, p. 102, use and comments; the same, *Government*, p. 210, use, no comment. Recently Colin Richmond wrote that the activities of Warwick at Calais 1455-1460 are 'most fully' described by Oman, Richmond, 'Domination' esp. p. 3; Richmond does not mention Wavrin and neither did Oman, *Warwick*, although he heavily depended on the *Recueil* (Dupont's edition) for pp. 70-99; in spite of that he wrote in his *Political History*: '[the *Recueil* from c. 1440] is useful for the relations of France and Burgundy with England, though the domestic annals are confused and often worthless'. Hicks, *Warwick*, uses Wavrin's information with care and interest, though in at least one instance without reference to him, i.e. p. 190, where he describes the reconciliation

between Warwick and York at one point without qualification, but a few lines on derided Wavrin's 'many impossible statements', referring in particular to 'York's fantastic itinerary after his return from Ireland',⁷ though the section he meant overlaps with the last part of 'Warwick's apology' – i.e. it is very likely to have been based on Warwick's own information – and was effectively used by Scofield and Johnson. Some, especially military historians⁸ and scholars writing up continental history have been less negative. Anthony Goodman, in his survey of military activity and society during the Wars of the Roses, had praise for Wavrin:

... [the *Recueil*] contains the fullest account of the wars [of the Roses] from 1459 to 1471. ... the sources of most of his unique details (such as those of the battle of Edgecote) are unknown. Like Froissart when writing about English affairs from abroad, he demonstrably relied on muddled hearsay on occasion, and gave garbled versions of English personal and place-names. Possibly this is why his accounts have sometimes been neglected – an undeserved fate for the commentator with the best appreciation of military matters to write about a broad sweep of the Wars of the Roses.⁹

Goodman also said: 'Waurin is almost the only writer who shows considerable appreciation of the vital significance of councils of war'.¹⁰ On the battle of Wakefield Wavrin's account is 'circumstantial but largely uncorroborated';¹¹ on Ferrybridge Wavrin 'gives unique details',¹² and on Edgecote he is extensively quoted.¹³ Alfred Burne, in his *Agincourt War*, trusted Wavrin when it suited him, which was often but not always.¹⁴ Richard Vaughan, writing about Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, used Wavrin like any other source,¹⁵ as did Jacques Paviot in his study of the dukes' naval policy.¹⁶ Johnson, in his book on Richard of York, used Wavrin in a number of places as the only source,¹⁷ and says about the *Recueil*:

Prior to 1459 this chronicle's entries are confused and unreliable. From that year onwards they are detailed, are substantially independent of London chronicle sources,

of October/November 1460 using the *Recueil*, 6, 3, 35.

- 7 Lander, *Crown and Nobility*, p. 102; all the 'fantastic itinerary' says is that York landed at Bristol (*Bristol*) and went to Shrewsbury (*Chyrosbury*), Ludlow (*Ludelo*) and on to London. Lander himself uses, in a roundabout way, Wavrin's information about Warwick's attitude to York's attempt to take the crown.
- 8 There is a risk, however, of ascribing information to Wavrin's particular expertise when it does not originate from him, e.g. when he is supposed to be describing the Flemish *picq[ue]naires*, their equipment, their skill and their selection (6, 6, 21, Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 625-26), used by Vale, *War*, p. 114, but everything is found verbatim in the Monstrelet-continuator as well, Harl. 4424, f. 271v.
- 9 Goodman, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 12.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
- 14 Burne, *Agincourt*, pp. 55n, 71-72, 74, 95, 185-95 (Wavrin 'is a reliable chronicler'), 208 ('the good Waurin'), 214 (Wavrin is careless), 267 (Wavrin is 'confused' and 'seems more concerned to defend the flight of himself ...).
- 15 Vaughan, *Charles*, p. 220
- 16 Paviot, *Politique*, pp. 113, 132, 169
- 17 Johnson, *York*, e.g. pp. 203, 206, 207, 211, 213, 219.

and show a determination to preserve the reputation of the earl of Warwick which suggests a source close to the earl in the 1460s.¹⁸

At times, to quote Scofield: ‘Waurin’s story is so interesting that one would like to believe it’,¹⁹ but modern readers find it hard to do so, compare Hardy’s apologetic (and chauvinist!) remarks on the very first page of his introduction:

In viewing the ancient memorials, written and traditionary, preserved to us, of the infancy of a country, how slight must be the line that should be drawn between history and romance. We are apt to lose sight of the dignity of the former when under the temporary fascination of the latter; but when fiction and fact are so blended that truth becomes obscured by inventions of fancy, the work which presents such alternations loses much of its utility, though it may gain something in interest and amusement. If history have its romance, as who can deny, yet genuine history always suffers when disguised by or intermingled with incidents of fable. The conviction of this presses with peculiar force on the mind of the editor of an ancient chronicle, particularly of one of that class at the head of which stands confessedly the noble chronicle of John Froissart. The character of the work now for the first time to be edited rather partakes of that class than of the more rigid and graver chronicles of purely English origin.²⁰

He was referring mainly, of course, to the legends of the foundation of Britain – and there is no doubt about the correctness of his statement as far as they are concerned – but there is also a general judgment on Wavrin’s method and choice of entertaining texts. Wavrin did indeed want to entertain his readers: one of the conclusions of the present study has to be that here does appear to be a connection between Wavrin and the prose romances of his time, although so far any such claim cannot be substantiated by hard evidence. He did not intend to write a ‘rigid and grave’ chronicle, but the nature of the texts he used for the events of his lifetime ensures that all have a modicum of truth and their details should not be rejected out of hand; it is possible that in some instances Wavrin was better informed than historians have been prepared to accept.

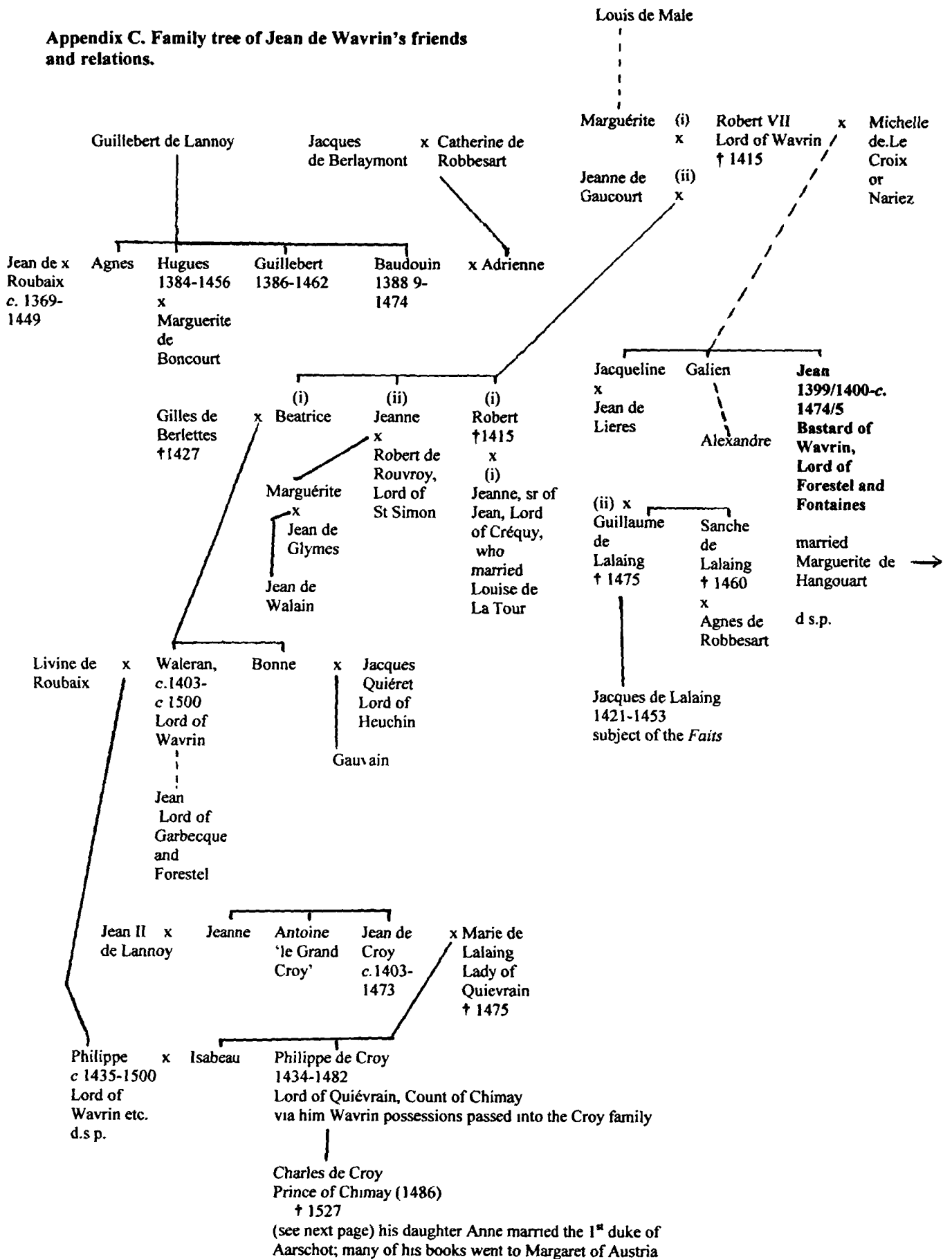
Every section of the *Recueil* is worthy of further study, though some more than others. The problem for most modern historians who used the text for their own purposes has been that they had no knowledge about the author’s aim and method and what these mean to the historical value of the part of the book they used or discussed.

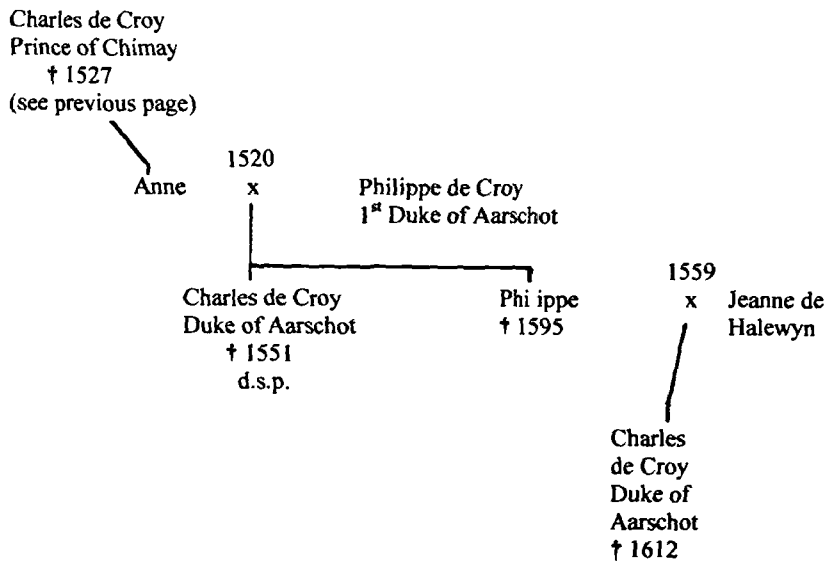
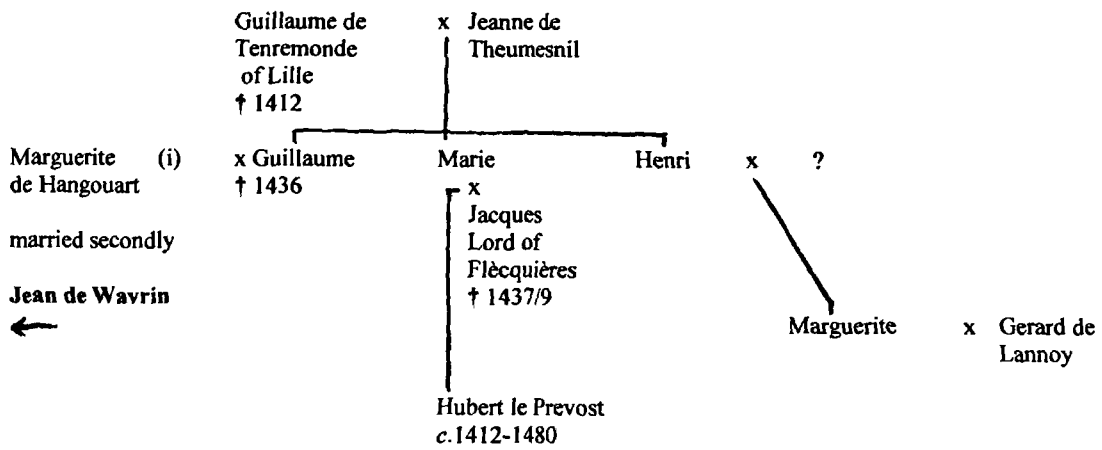
18 *Ibid.*, p. 196n.

19 Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, p. 105 and n; above pt I, ch. 1, sect. 1.

20 Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. ix.

Appendix C. Family tree of Jean de Wavrin's friends and relations.





Appendix D. Manuscripts known to have been owned by Jean de Wavrin and manuscripts in some way associated with him, his work, his library or his friends and relations.²¹

The manuscripts are fifteenth-century and their binding is modern unless otherwise stated. As far as possible the following information is given in this order: fifteenth-century or other important owner; place and date of production; number of folios; size; lines to a page (when relevant); illustrator and/or scribe; the main catalogue description; other particulars, such as editions of the text and references to it.

I. Books owned by Jean de Wavrin.

I. *Le Chastelain de Coucy et la dame du Fayel*, Lille, BM Godefroy 50/134, bound with II. *Gilles de Chin*.

Arms of (Jean de) Wavrin, and *b[astard] de Wavrin, au seigneur du forestel* on first page, both texts were already together in the 1467 68 inventory of Philip the Good; Lille, 1450-60s?; paper (same watermark as II, V, VI, VII, VIII and XXXI); 306 ff.; 277x200 mm.; 27 to 37 lines to a page; 50 drawings with some colour by the Wavrin Master and written by Jean d'Ardenay(?).

Ed. Petit and Suard, *Livre*; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 255-59; Naber, 'Châtelain'; Stuij, 'Edelen'; Desonay, 'Oeuvre', pp. 414-17; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, no. 77.

Catalogue. *CGMBPF*, vol. 26, pp. 589-90.

Related mss. None surviving.

II. *La Chronique du bon chevalier messire Gilles de Chin*, Lille, BM Godefroy 50/134, bound with I.

There is a ms. described *Le livre de Messire Gilles de Chin. Wavrin* in the 1523/24 inventory of the library of Margaret of Austria, Debae, *Bibliothèque*, [251].

Ed. Chalon, *Chronique*; Dinaux, *Trouvères*, pp. 171-78; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 289-92; Naber, 'Châtelain'; Stuij, 'Edelen'.

Related mss. BR 10237, no signs of ownership (original flyleaves lost), but could have been owned by Wavrin and was probably the *minute* of Lille, Godefroy 50/134 (I, above), its second prologue claims that the text was made at the request of Jean de Créquy; Lille, c. 1460-65; not illustrated.

III. *Gillion de Trazegnies*, Brussels, BR 9629.

j[ean] b[astard] d[e] WAVRIN / au s[eigneu]r du forestel on the second flyleaf at the beginning; Hainault; c. 1455; paper; iv and 72 ff.; 294x210 mm.; 29 to 35 lines to a page; no illustration; contains only the first half of the work; written in two distinct hands, with many insertions and corrections.

Ed. Horgan, thesis; ed. Wolf, *Histoire*; ed. (partial) Serrure and Voisin, *Livre*, pp. 195-216; ed. (partial and modernised) Santucci, in *Splendeurs*, pp. 251-365; Bayot, *Roman*; Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 210; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, p. 291.

Catalogue. None.

Related mss. Jena, UL EL f. 92, owned by Philip of Cleves, no date, no illumination, complete text of the work; Dülmen, collection of the Duke of Croy, 503, made for Anthony of Burgundy by David Aubert, 1458, 9 miniatures by the Mr of Girart de Roussillon; has a much longer concluding section probably composed by the author; Chatsworth, collection of the Duke of Devonshire, 7535, made for Louis de Gruuthuse probably by David Aubert, 1464, 8 miniatures by Lieven van Lathem, similar overall to the previous ms.; BR IV 1187, owned by Trazegnies family, 1529, no illumination.

IV. *Le Roman du Comte d'Artois*, Paris, BN fr. 11610.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in initial *P* on f. 1, but also in 1467 68 inventory of Philip the Good; Lille?; 1453-67; paper; 116 ff.; 295x205 mm.; 27 lines to a page; 29 50? drawings with some colour by the Wavrin Master; written by Jean d'Ardenay.

Ed. Seigneuret, *Roman*; ed. Quérueu, 'Roman'; Dubuis, 'Personnage', pp. 25-29; Ouy, 'Maître'.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien supplément français*, vol. 2, p. 347.

Related mss. BN fr 25293, a composite ms. with moral and didactic works, owned by Espinay family, 1475-1500, no illumination, unsuitable passages omitted; Ashburnham-Barrois IV (lost), marquises of

21 Particularly useful for this list were Naber, 'Manuscrits', and Crone, 'Studien', and I am grateful to René Stuij for allowing me to see his provisional list of mss he ascribes to the 'Atelier de Wavrin'.

Axberg, 1476-1487, 84 miniatures and marginal decoration; **Gabrielle de La Tour** had two copies in 1461, De Boislisle, 'Inventaire', pp. 299, 301.

V. *L'Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre or Louis de Gavre*, Brussels, BR 10238.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in the initial *L* on f. 1; in 1467/68 inventory of Philip the Good; Lille?; after 1456; paper (same watermark as I, II, VI A, VII, VIII, and XXXI); iii, 244 and viii ff.; 290x205/213 mm. (194x120 mm.); 27 lines to a page; 96 drawings with colour by the Wavrin Master at his best; written by Jean d'Ardenay.

Ed. Stuij, *Histoire*; Stuij various publications, but especially 'Popularité'; Desonay, 'Oeuvre', p. 409; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, no. 74; *Librije van Filips de Goede*, no. 163.

Catalogue. Gaspar and Lyna, no. 298.

Related mss. Cambridge, **Corpus Christi College, 91**, 15th-c. owner unknown, but almost certainly English, possibly Edward IV or Queen Elizabeth Woodville (coat of arms erased, surrounded by collar of the Garter and the motto *Honny / soit / qui / mal / y / pense* worked into the tapestry of the miniature), 1465-75, 1 miniature, an abridged version with insertions on the Wavrin family; Liège, **Bibliothèque Publique André Minon MS 6A9 of the Bibliotheca Maior** (lost), owned by a member of the de Gavre family, 1533, contents close to the Cambridge ms.

There is also another short version, a Flemish redaction, and other mss now lost. Stuij, various studies; Visser-Fuchs, 'Only romance?'

VI. *L'Histoire d'Olivier de Castile et d'Artus d'Algarbe*,

A. Ghent, UL 470.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in the initial *A* on f. 1 and in the initial *P* on f. 2v; in 1467/68 inventory of Philip the Good; Lille; 1450s; paper (same watermark as I, II, V, VII, VIII and XXXI); 197/201 ff.; 212x147 mm.; 20 lines to a page; 51 drawings with some colour by the Master of Wavrin; still in its original binding; written by Jean d'Ardenay and others; acc. to its prologue it was translated from Latin into French by Philippe (de) Camus at the request of Jean de Croy, Lord of Chimay. This is one of the three books owned by Wavrin still in their original binding and one of the two made by the so-called '*prédécesseur de Godon*', a Lille binder (see also XXIII, XXIV and XXV).

Van Houtryve, 'Ms. de Jean de Wavrin'; ed. (facsimile of illustrations and headings with summary of chapters) Heins and Bergmans, *Olivier; Boekbanden*, no. 198; Colin, 'Lille', pp. 362-63, 366; Straub, *Aubert*, pp. 324-25; Desonay, 'Oeuvre', p. 410; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, no. 65; *Treasures from Belgian Libraries*, no. 65.

Catalogue. Derolez, *Inventaris*, p. 40.

B. Paris, BN fr. 24385.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in initial *A* on f. 1 and marked *Au duc d'Arschot 1584* at the bottom of f. 1, Croy family; date?; place?; paper; iv and 146 ff.; 275x147 mm.; ? lines to a page; not illustrated.

Van Houtryve, 'Manuscrit de l'*Histoire*'.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien petit fonds français*, vol. 2, p. 337.

Related mss. BR II 2763, owner?, 1483, illuminated; BN fr. 1474, owner?, not long before 1482, not illuminated; BN fr. 12574, Philip the Good, date?, 22 miniatures by Loyset Liédet, acc. to its prologue it was *couchie en cler francois* (i.e. the French was 'improved?') by David Aubert at the request of Philip the Good; Rouen, BM 1053, owner?, date?, not illuminated.

VII. *Roman de Paris et de Vienne*, Brussels, BR 9632-33, bound with VIII.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in the first initial on f. 1, *J[ean] b[astard] de Wavrin, au seigneur du forestel* on f. 167v; Lille; 1455-60; paper (same watermark as I, II, V, VI A, VIII and XXXI); iii, 168 and xii ff. (*Paris* on ff. 1-136, *Apollonius* on ff. 138 to end; 296x209mm. (205x145mm.)); 30 lines to a page; only 3 drawings with some colour by the Master of Wavrin in the whole ms.; written by Jean d'Ardenay; *Paris et Vienne* was originally translated from Provençal into French by Pierre de la Cépède in 1432, but this ms. contains a new redaction with additions. Marked *Wavrin* in the 1523/4 inventory of Margaret of Austria.

Ed. Kaltenbacher, 'Paris'; Naber, 'B.R. 9632 3'; Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 276; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, no. 76.

Catalogue. Gaspar and Lyna, no. 296.

Related mss. Paris, Arsenal 3000, owner unknown, '1443', not illuminated; BN fr. 1464, owner unknown, '1443'; BN fr. 1479, Louis XII, 1459, one miniature; BN fr. 1480, owner unknown, 1452; BN fr. 20044, owner unknown; **Gabrielle de La Tour** had a copy, de Boislisle, 'Inventaire', p. 303.

VIII. Roman d'Apollonius de Tyr, Brussels, BR 9632-33, bound with VII.

Contains the second version of the French prose text of the story.

Ed. (modernised; based mainly on ÖN 3428; appendix with Royal 20 C ii fragment) Zink, *Roman*; Lewis 'Versionen'; Desonay, 'Oeuvre', pp. 412-13.

Related mss. BN fr. 20042, *Melibee et Prudence, Apolonius, Griseldis, and Vie de Ste Marguerite*, inscribed at end: *A Loise de La Tour, dame de Crequy, est cest livre*; copied 1436; parchment; 70 ff.; 255x188mm.; not illustrated, BR 11097, 14th-c. prose version; BR 11192, 14th-c. prose version in 15th-c. ms; Vienna, ÖN 3428, paper, 280x195 mm.; 15th-c. 'chivalric' version; BL Royal 20 C ii, *Cleriadus et Meliadice* and *Apollonius*, perhaps Edward IV; 1470 80s; Flanders; parchment; 236 ff.; 375x269mm; 30 lines to a page in 2 cols.

IX. Roman de Thèbes, Brussels, BR 9650-52, bound with X and XI.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in initials on ff. 1, 2v, 57 and f. 61v; *au seigneur du Forestel* written by the scribe and *J[ean] b[astard] de Wavrin* by the owner on f. 196v; Lille; 1458 9; parchment; i, 196 and v ff. (*Thèbes*, ff. 1-49v; *l'Abregie*, ff. 50v-56; *Troie*, ff. 57-196); 297x224 mm. (195x124 mm.); 26 lines to a page; three different scribes for the three texts; 65 miniatures by two different artists from the school of the Master of Wavrin, one did *Thèbes*, the other *Troie*.

Jung, *Légende*, pp. 584, 591-99; Debae, 'Librije', no. 24, and *Bibliothèque*, no. 4; Desonay, 'Oeuvre', pp. 418, 420; Desonay, 'Notes'.

Catalogue. Gaspar and Lyna, no. 297

Related mss. Geneva, Coll. Bodmer 160, Josse de Lalaing; 1469; paper; 247 ff.; 276x192mm.; 22 lines to a page; 128 drawings with some colour by an artist from the school of the Master of Wavrin; contains both *Thèbes* and *Troie* (IX and X), *Troie* in the third French redaction; written in 1459 by Jaquotin de Lespluc. Warner, *Dyson Perrins*, no. 99, pl. lxxxiv; Kraus, *Cat. 100*, no. 28, pls lvi-lix; Vielliard, *Mss français*, pp. 79-85, pl. 7.

X. Roman de Troie, Brussels, BR 9650-52, bound with IX and XI.

Contains the third French redaction of Guido delle Colonna's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, preceded by a verse summary of the story of Troy, and followed by Latin verse epitaphs of Hector and Achilles and epilogue on the descendants of the Trojans.

Related mss. See IX, above.

XI. L'Abregie selon Daire et Dithus, i.e. L'Abregie de Troyes, Brussels, BR 9650-52, bound with IX and X.

See Jung, *Légende*, pp. 594-99.

XII. Raoul Lefèvre, Histoire de Jason, Paris, BN fr. 12570.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in first initial on f. 5; work dedicated to Philip the Good; Lille; c. 1470; paper; iv, 192 and ii ff; 288x200 mm.; 13 miniatures in grisaille by the Master of the *Champion des Dames*; redaction of Lefèvre's work; occurs in the 1523 4 inventory of Margaret of Austria, marked *Wavrin*.

Ed. Pinkernell; Debae, *Librije*, no. 25, and *Bibliothèque*, no. 239

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien supplément français*, vol. 2, pp. 562-63.

Related mss. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 119, incomplete; BN fr. 331 (related but not the same version of the text).

XIII. Benvenuto da Imola, Romuleon, French version by Jean Mielot, Brussels, BR 10173-74.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in margin of f. 4; his signature on f. 433?; Lille; date?; parchment; 433 ff.; 350x230 mm.; 10 miniatures, some by the Master of the *Champion des Dames*, some made much later; work made at request of Philip the Good.

McKendrick, 'Romuléon'; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, no. 78, pl. 33.

Catalogue. None.

Related mss. Besançon, BM 850, in 1467 68 inventory of Philip the Good, 10 miniatures, BR 9055, Anthony of Burgundy, 1468, 81 miniatures by different artists, written by David Aubert, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Med. Pal. 156(1), 156(2), in 1467 68 inventory of Philip the Good, 14 miniatures by Loyset Liedet, written by David Aubert in 1464, BL Royal 19 E v, Edward IV, 1480, 11 miniatures by the Master of the White Inscriptions, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria L.I.4(1), L.I.4(2), Louis de Gruuthuse, date?, 77 miniatures.

XIV. Aristotle, *Ethica*, French translation by Nicholas Oresme, Paris, BN fr. 19040.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in initials on ff. 1 and 447; Lille?; date?; paper; 454 ff.; 285x202 mm.; 40 lines to a page; no illumination; written by *Jehan d'Ardenay*.

Ed. Menut, *Livre*; *ibid.*, p. 51

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien St Germain français*, vol. 3, pp. 196-97.

Related mss. The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum 10 D 1, 14th century, Charles V, Philip of Cleves, illuminated, though this ms. is early Wavrin's copy is textually related to it.

Collection of Documents on the East and the Crusades, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal fr. 4798:

XV. Guillaume Adam, *Advis directif pour faire le voyage d'outremer* (1332), French translation by Jean Miélot, 1457;

XVI. Burchardus 'de Monte Sion', *Description de la terre sainte* (1332), French translation by Jean Miélot, 1456;

XVII. Bertrandon de La Broquière, *Voyage d'Oultremer* (1432);

XVIII. 'Jehan Torzelo', *Advis* (1439), French translation by Bertrandon de La Broquière;

XIX. Bertrandon de La Broquière, *Advis et advertissemant sur l'Advis de Jehan Torzelo*, written by Jean Miélot, 1460.

This ownership of this ms. appears to have a complicated history: arms of Jean de Wavrin on ff. 10 and 153; on f. 267v? *J[ean] b[astard] de Wavrin. Au seigneur du Forestel*; arms of Louis de Gruuthuse *couvertes d'une couche de couleur bleue* in first initial (?? acc. to Schefer, p. lxxvii); f. 1 has: *Au duc d'Arschot 1584*; Lille?; c. 1460; paper; 267 ff.; 272x194 mm.; 2 drawings with some colour; this ms. is identical in execution to Arsenal 4095, *Chroniques de Normandie*. See Schefer, *Recueil*, for an edition of c, d and e; Desonay, 'Notes', pp. 318-19. I am indebted to René Stuij for allowing me to see his notes on the ms. See also below, app. F, sect. 3, fr. 20358 and 20359.

Catalogue. Martin, *Catalogue Arsenal*, vol. 4, pp. 467-69.

Related mss. BN fr. 9087, same collection?, in the 1467 68 inventory of Philip the Good, 4 miniatures perhaps by the school of Jean Tavernier; BR 9095, Guillaume Adam, *Advis*, owner?, Flanders, c. 1455, 3 miniatures ascribed by Winkler to Jean le Tavernier; BN fr. 5639, same collection but without Adam, *Advis*, or Burchardus, *Description*, owner?, date? BN fr. 5593, same collection, owner?, 1464.

XX. Raymond Lull, *Ordre de chevalerie*, Paris, BN fr 1973.

Contains *Ordre*, ff. 1-64v, Aristotle, *Letter* (see XXI), ff. 66-72v, and St Bernard, *Epistre* (see XXII), ff. 73-77v. Signature of Jean de Wavrin on f. 77v; place?; date?; paper; 77 ff.; 135x210 mm.; one drawing with some colour, not by the Wavrin Master.

Ed. Minervini; Desonay, 'Notes', p. 319.

Related mss. Brussels, BR 10493-7. 15th c., Philippe and Charles de Croy; Paris, BN fr. 1130. 15th c., paper, unfinished, owner?; Paris, BN fr. 1972. 15th c., owner?, parchment; Paris, BN fr. 19809. 15th c., parchment, '*le baillif de Montaignes*'; London, BL Add. 22768. owner?, 15th c., parchment; London, BL Royal 14 E ii. 1473-83; Edward IV.

XXI. *Letter from Aristotle to Alexander, Secret de secrets?*. See XX.

Related mss. There were several copies in the ducal library, Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, p. 128n.

XXII. Pseudo-St Bernard, *Epistre au Raymond, Seigneur de Chastel-Ambroise*, French translation by Jean Miélot or Charles Soillot. See XX.

Latin text in *PL*, vol. 183, cols 645-51.

XXIII. Honoré Bovet, *L'Arbre des batailles*, Ghent UB 792.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin on the remains of the hinges (*pentures*) on the front board; Lille, after 1472; paper; 205 ff.; 291x220 mm.; 29 lines to a page; not illustrated except for initials with penwork. This is one of the three books owned by Wavrin still in their original binding and one of the two made by the so-called '*prédécesseur de Godon*', a Lille binder (see also VI, XXIV and XXV).

Ed. Nys; Richter, 'Tradition'; *Boekbanden*, no. 199; Colin, 'Lille', pp. 362, 364, 366.

Catalogue. Derolez, *Inventaris*, p. 68; the same, *Census*.

XXIV. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique abrégée des rois de France, continuée jusqu'au couronnement de Louis XI*, Chantilly, Musée Condé 872 (XIV F. 16).

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in the first initial; place?; date?; parchment; 114 ff.; 20 lines to a page; 65 *petites peintures donnant les images des rois*. Ff. 1- 75 has the *Chronique abrégée* proper, followed without break by continuations in the same format.

Spiegel, *Tradition*, pp. 98-112.

Catalogue. Chantilly. *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. 3, *Histoire*, pp. 138-40.

Related manuscripts. ?

XXV. St Pierre de Luxembourg, *L'Enseignement que Saint Pierre de Luxembourg envoya a mademoiselle sa seur*, Arsenal 2066, bound with XXVI.

Arms of Jean de Wavrin in initial Q on f. 1 and in bottom margin of f. 46; Lille; 1470s; parchment; ii, 82, i ff.; 265x187 (160x110) mm.; 30 lines to a page; one miniature at the beginning of each text. This is one of the three books owned by Wavrin still in their original binding and the only one by the Lille binder called *Godon* (see also VI and XXIII). Modern scholars call the arms in this ms. those of St Venant, but there is no doubt that they are Jean de Wavrin's.

Ed. (Latin trans. collated with other mss) *Acta Sanctorum, Julii*, vol. 1, pp. 509-16; Wahlund, 'Peter'; Colin, 'Lille', pp. 359, 361.

Catalogue, Martin, *Arsenal*, vol. 2, p. 398; Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 403.

XXVI. *La vie de monseigneur Saint Pierre de Luxembourg, cardinal, et de ses miracles*, bound with XXV. See XXV.

XXVII. Vegetius, *De re militari*, translation by Jean de Meung, The Hague, KB 73 J 22, bound with XXVIII; Vegetius on ff. 1-89, Frontinus on ff. 90-134; arms of Wavrin, with faint traces of a bendlet sinister (Jean de Wavrin usually had a bendlet); Flanders; partly early 14th c., partly 1450-75; parchment; 134 ff.; 203x138 mm. (140x100 mm.); 24 lines to a page; one grisaille miniature at the beginning of Frontinus; the 15th-c. section and the last folio of the 14th c.-part were made to look like the 14 th-c. ms.

Schatten, pp. 118-19.

XXVIII. Frontinus, *Stratagèmes*, bound with XXVII.

Contains a reduced version of Jean de Rouvroys's translation, Bossuat, 'Jean de Rovroy', pp. 481-82.

2. Books that can be associated with Jean de Wavrin.

XXIX. *Roman de Turnus or Buscalus*. Paris, BN fr. 9343-44.

Arms of Philip the Good; other signs of ownership may be lost because the first folio is torn and the end of the ms. is missing; Lille?; date?; paper; 257 and 318 ff. (originally one volume); 365x260 mm.; many drawings (*grossières miniatures* acc. to Omont) by the Wavrin Master; written by Jean d'Ardenay?

Desonay, 'Notes', pp. 314-16; Flutre, *Fait dans les littératures*, pp. 80-100; Small, 'Origines', p. 111, figs 28-33.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien supplément français*, vol. 1, p. 383.

Related mss. Copenhagen, KB Thott 413, Philip of Cleves,

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, 1640 (L.II.15) owner?, paper, 375x274 mm.; 3 miniatures; first book missing. Possibly Tournai, Bibliothèque de la ville CXCIV, lost, but described as beginning '*Chy commenche l'histoire et cronique de Buscalus traictant de la fondat on de Tournay et comment elle se nommoit seconde Rome, depuis Hostille, secondement Nerves et depuis Tournay, dont pour le présent elle porte encoires le nom*, in-folio, paper, 400ff., *reliure en veau*, 15th c. (no illumination mentioned, nor whether it is in prose or verse, but presumably the former), in Wilbaux, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 97-98.

XXX. *Roman d'Octovien*, Chantilly, Musée Condé 652 (1082).

Philippe, Lord of Croy (†1511); Lille?; 1450-60s?; paper; 253 4 ff.; 373x270 mm.; text in 2 cols, 41 lines to a page; 125 drawings (*curieuses figures peintes*) with some colour by the Wavrin Master; 15th-c. binding.

Dinaux, *Trouvères*, vol. 3, p. 25, n. 2 and vol. 4, p. 617, describes a ms., then (1843 and 63) in the possession of M. Monmerqué; it had been owned by the Croy family, had drawings similar to those in BR 10238, *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre* (see V, above) and at the end of the text it was said that the

author had turned it *de rime en prose*. In the 1523 inventory of the library of Margaret of Austria there is a ms. marked *Wavrin* (and in a later inventory is said to have the Croy arms), which is usually assumed to be BN fr. 12564, a verse text, but is more likely to be Condé 652.

Cazelles, 'Nouveau ms.'; Desonay, 'Oeuvre', p. 419, n. 1, and 'Notes', p. 313 Dautrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 176-84; Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 314.

Catalogue. *Chantilly. Cabinet*, vol. 2, pp. 390-92

Related mss. BN fr. 12564, verse text, usually supposed to be the ms. associated with Wavrin, 1462, copied by 'Druet Vygnon'. BN fr. 24384, *Au duc d'Arschot, 1584*, 1455-6?, paper, 248 ff., verse text. BR 10387, prose version, paper, not illustrated, initial with Créquy arms, possibly made for Louise de Créquy. Dautrepoint, *Litt.*, p. 59, and *Mises*, pp. 177, 179. Orléans, *Bibliothèque de la ville 466 (381)*, owner?, first and last folios lost; seen by Monmerqué in 1830, paper, 138 ff., 400x220mm., '*figures grossières, peintes*' (CGBMPF, vol. 12, pp. 222-23) is not decorated by the Wavrin Master, as the description of the illustration appears to suggest; *ex inf.* René Stup.

XXXI. *Le Roman de Girart de Nevers*, Brussels, BR 9631.

Owner unknown but in the 1467 8 inventory of Philip the Good; Lille?; c. 1460; paper (same watermark as I, II, V, VI A and VII); iii, 126 and iii ff.; 288x192 mm. (195x117 mm.); 28 lines to a page; 53/54 drawings with some colour by the Master of Wavrin; written by Jean d'Ardenay; work dedicated to Charles I, Count of Nevers and Rethel.

Ed. Lowe, *Gérard*; Dautrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 281-88; Desonay, 'Oeuvre', p. 411; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, no. 73; *Librije van Filips*, no. 158.

Catalogue. Gaspar and Lyna, no. 295.

Related mss. BN 24378, Brussels?, c. 1465, in the 1467/8 inventory of Philip the Good as *non lyé ne hystorié*, (eventually) illuminated by Loyset Liedet, written by Guot d'Angerans.

XXXII. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BN fr. 12566.

Arms of Philip the Good in the first initial on f. 1; Lille?; date?; paper; 258/9 ff.; 290x190 mm.; 109 drawings with some colour by the Wavrin Master ('*nombreuses miniatures, médiocres*' acc. to cat.); written by Jean d'Ardenay.

Dautrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 264-75; Desonay, 'Notes', pp. 316-18; *Vlaamse Miniatuur*, no. 72.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien supplément français*, vol. 2, p. 561.

Related mss. Arsenal 3476, owner?, 15th c., paper, decorated initials; BN fr. 1490, (with a shorter version of the work, more closely related to the original poem) owner?, paper; Gabrielle de La Tour had a copy, de Boislisle, 'Inventaire', p. 300.

XXXIII. *Le petit Jehan de Saintré*, Brussels, BR 9547.

Owner?; place?; after 1472?; paper; 189 ff.; 265x190 mm.; 77 drawings with some colour imitating the Master of Wavrin.

Ed. Misrahi and Knudson.

Catalogue. Bayot ??.

Related mss. For the mss, which are almost all 15th-c., on paper and with unknown owners, see Champion and Desonay, *Saintré*, pp. xi-xlvj.

XXXIV. *Ogier le Danois*, lost. In the 1523 4 inventory of Margaret of Austria marked *Wavrin*; in the 1467 8 inventory of Philip the Good: *Un livre en papier couvert de parchemin, escript en prose, contenant 'Le Fait d'Ogier le Danois'*, with an incipit and explicit not found in the printed editions of 1496 and 1498.

Ed. Togeby, *Ogier le Danois* (facsimile edn of the 1498 imprint); Togeby, *Ogier dans les littératures*, p. 221; Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 223.

Related mss. None survive of the prose version.

XXXV. *Jean d'Avesnes* including *La Fille du Comte de Ponthieu* and *Saladin*, Paris, BN fr. 12572.

In the 1467 8 inventory of Philip the Good; Lille?; 1465-68?; paper; 262 ff. (*Jean d'A.* on ff. 1-123, *La Fille* on ff. 123-165, *Saladin* on ff. 165-262); 290x200 mm.; 35 drawings with some colour by an artist related to??? the Wavrin Master ('*miniatures médiocres*' acc. to cat.); written by Jean d'Ardenay?

Ed. Finoli (*Avesnes*), ed. Quérueil (*Avesnes*); ed. Brunel (*Fille*); ed. Crist (*Saladin*); Dautrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 297-302.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien supplément français*, vol. 2, p. 563.

Related mss. Arsenal 5208. Philippe de Croy, 3 grisaille miniatures in the style of Dreux Jean, written by Jean Du Chesne. The text of this ms. is less developed than BN fr. 12572.

Van Den Gheijn, 'Note', pp. 89-94, esp. 90; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 298, 430; Brunel, *Fille*, pp. xlix, 2; Crist, *Saladin*, pp. 11-12; Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, pp. 36-37, 55-56, 61-62.

XXXVI. *Livre d'Eracles*, Brussels, BR 9045.

No signs of ownership; Lille; 1460-65; paper; ii, 396 and iii ff.; 401x278 mm. (278x20 mm.); written in 2 columns, 38 lines to a page; drawings with some colour imitating the Master of Wavrin; written by Germain Picavet.

XXXVII. *Doon de Mayence*, Paris, BN fr 12563.

Philippe de Berlettes-de Wavrin: *Le livre de Philippe de Wavrin* written on f. 1v, verso of flyleaf; marked *Wavrin* in the 1523 4 inventory of Margaret of Austria; Douai; 1463; paper; i and 130 ff.; 280x200 mm.; no illumination; f. 130: *Cest livre fut escript a Douay, l'an 1463, par la main de [erased]*; verse text; no prose text survives.

Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 242.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue, Ancien supplément français*, vol. 2, p. 560.

XXXVIII. Avicenna *De re medica*, lost.

Marked *Wavrin* in the 1523 4 inventory of Margaret of Austria.

Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 332.

XXXIX. *Le livre de l'arboriste*, Brussels, BR 10266.

Marked *Wavrin* in the 1523 4 inventory of Margaret of Austria; *Le livre de l'arboriste de Wavrin* written on recto of second flyleaf in a hand contemporary to the text; North-eastern France; c. 1460; paper; ii, 261 and iii ff.; 289x211 mm.; no illustration (spaces for pictures left blank); the text is incomplete.

Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 224.

XL. Guillaume de Digulleville, *Le livre du Pèlerinage humain*, lost.

Marked *Wavrin* in the 1523 4 inventory of Margaret of Austria.

Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 299.

~~Sor 200~~

XLI. Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pèlerin*, Geneva, BPU fr.183.

Créquy arms in the first initial, Lille?; c. 1460; paper, 375x 265 mm.; 2 vols of 263 and 232 ff.; illustrated by an imitator of the Wavrin Master.

Gagnebin, 'L'enluminure', pp. 153-54.

XLII. Blanc(h)andin et l'Orgueilleuse d'amour, Vienna, ÖN 3438.

Paper; 267x190 (195/205x130) mm.; i, 117, i ff.; 28/30 lines to a page; 23 drawings by the Wavrin Master or an artist very closely related to him.

Pächt and Thoss, *Schule I, Text*, pp. 77-81; Doutrepoint, *Mises*, pp. 210-15.

Related mss. BN 24371, prose version, paper, dedication to Jean de Créquy. Doutrepoint, *Litt.*, pp. 60-61, and *Mises*, p. 422.

Appendix E.

Pièces justificatives for part II, chapter 3, section 1.

1. Wavrin's dedicatory preface.

(Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 1-4; Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 1-4).

Sensieult le prologue general de lacteur de ceste presente euvre du Recueil des cronicques et anchiennes histoires de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre.

Comme il soit notoire que par toutes escolles se lisent de jour en jour acteurs²² composes en metres des vyes et faitz des Troyens, Grecz, Rommains, Affricains, et aultres nations, par quoy il est et sera perpetuellement diceulx memoire; comme pareillement en France et regions voisines²³ y ait eu et a encores de present roys et princes de grant renommee ou proesse, desquelz les vyes et faitz sont dignes destre mys en memoire perpetuele:

Hault et puissant, mon treshonneur et doubte seigneur, monseigneur Waleran, seigneur de Waurin, de Lillers, Malannoy et Saint Venant, comme il soit ainsy, que aprez vostre retour que darrainement feistes, de Constantinoble ou vous avez este commis et envoyes comme capitaine general de pluseurs galees et navires, armies et garnies de grant nombre de gens darmes et de trait, par lordonnance et commandement de treshault et tresexcellent et puissant prince Phelipe, ducde Bourgoingne, de Brabant et de Lembourg, conte de Flandres, dArtois et de Bourgoingne, &, es mers de Levant et de Grece, pour obvier et resister alencontre des enterprises des infideles Turcs; par pluseurs fois vous pleut prendre voz devises a moy, touchans de pluseurs belles et anchiennes histories, entre lesquelles encommencestes a parler de ce tresnoble et ancien royaume de la Gant Bretagne, paravant nomme lisle dAlbion, qui a present se nomme Engleterre, ou par cy devant a eu de treshault, tresexcellens et puissans roys et princes, par lesquelz icellui noble royaume a este gouverne puissamment jusques aujourdhuy, et aussy a este tousjours bien garny de noble chevalerie qui en leur temps ont entrepris et acheve maintes haultes besongnes par leurs grans proesses, don't, en vous devisant a moy, ne poviez ester asses esmerveillie comme nulz clerks dicellui royaume ne sestoient avanchiez a describe les vyes et faitz diceulx roys et princes, fors seulement en aucuns petis livres de chascun roy a part soy: moy donques, aiant le bon voloir de vostre noble desir, moyennant davoit vostre bonne ayde et conseil, qui a ceste matere ma este bien seant, ay oze entreprendre ceste paine et labour de recueillir, adjoyster et ramener en quatre volumes de livres, au plus pres que jay sceu ne peu, tous les haulx faitz diceulx roys, de leur proesses et de leurs vyes, et comment par leur noble chevalerie, le temps de chascun durant, le dit royaume a este gouverne.

Pourquoy, mon tres honnouré²⁴ seigneur, moy Jehan de Waurin, chevalier, seigneur du Forestel, filz inlegitisme de vostre grant pere, monseigneur Robert de Wavrin, jadis chevalier et seigneur des terres et seignouries de Waurin,²⁵ Lillers et Malannoy, lequel mourut en la bataille dAsincourt, ou a ce jour jestoye, sentant en moy que fort aprochoye de viellesse, et que plus ne povoye sievir ne frequenter les armes ne faire longz voyages comme aultresfois ay fais avec vous et aussy en la compagnie daultres pluseurs princes et chevaliers, don't, par le plaisir de Dieu nostre Seigneur, suis party sans affolure ou villaine reproche; et aussy adfin de fuir huiseuse, mere de tous vices, environ lan mil quatre cens cinquante et chincq me ingeray de vouloir entreprendre et achever ceste euvre jusques au couronnement du Roy Edouard V de ce nom. Donques, mon tres honnouré et doubte seigneur, je vous supplie humblement et a tous ceulx qui liront ou oront lire ce recueil de cronicques et histories du royaume dEngleterre, que si fluité et trop grant habundance de langaige y est trouve ou que aucunement par trop petite diligence je laye peu a plain declaree, leur plaise supleer mon ygnorance, et avoir regard a lentendement de listoire plus que a lordonnance et facion de ceste euvre. Et aussy se en ce, mon tres honnouré seigneur, comprenez ou trouvez chose qui puist tourner ou pourfiter a lamplification et recommandation de vostre noble personne, il vous plaise retenir a la loenge de nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist, en ayant par vostre grace memoire de vostre treshumble serviteur.

22 Should read *actes*?

23 Fr. 71 adds *il*.

24 Vienna 2534 inserts *et doubte*.

25 Vienna 2534 omits *jadis ... Waurin* by homoioteleuton.

2. A sample of the differences and similarities between Harl. 4424, fr. 88, Du Clercq, fr. 15491, the Gruuthuse *Recueil*, and fr. 20358.

The tournament at Smithfield in June 1467:

Harl. 4424, f. 236, and fr. 88, ff. 223v-224, describe the event *before* the funeral of Philip the Good, but otherwise put it in its chronological context; they read:

Lan ensieuvant aprez Pasques mil iiii^e lxxvij sen ala en Angleterre Messire Anthoine Batard de Bourgoigne pour faire certaines armes contre le Seigneur de Scalles, frere de la royne d'Angleterre. Et y ala tresbien acompaignie de gens de guerre et garny dartillerie pour ce que nouvelles couroient lors et vray estoit, que aucuns pirates et escumeurs de mer guettoient sur lui pour le ruer juz, faignans quilz fussent Espagnolz, maiz ilz estoient francois. Et advint que les gens dudit batard prindrent deux de leurs navires tresbien garnis de pluseurs biens et de gens de guerre, lesquelz bien furent butinez. Puis arriva ledit batard saulvement en Angleterre et fist ses armes bien et notablement. Lesquelles ne durerent gueres, car elles estoient a la volente du roy d'Angleterre, qui ne les laissa gueres combatre et si ne les faisoient que pour leur plaisance.

Jacques Du Clercq, book 5, chapter 49, gives the story as a separate event, without context, but it is very similar:

Environ ce temps, Anthoine, bastard de Bourgogne, monta en mer au port de l'Escluse, et s'en alla en Angleterre, et y alla bien accompagné, furny d'engins et de gens de guerre, pour ce que aucuns escumeurs de mer, qui se disoient Espagnols, mais ils ne disoient pas vray, ains disoit on qu'ils estoient des marches de Franche, s'estoient mis sur la mer pour le cuider et ruer jus. Desquels escumeurs, par les gens dudit bastard feurent prises deux nefes ou il avoit plusieurs biens et gens de guerre, lesquelles feurent butinées; que on fait de ceulx dedans je ne sçay; mais ledit bastard sans dangier alla en Angleterre et fait ses armées, **desquelles je me tais**, pour ce grand fait d'armes, comme on disoit; car n'estoient que armées a plaisance et a la vollonté du roy.

Fr. 15491, ff. 205v-206, describes the event *after* the funeral of Philip the Good, leaves out the pirates, but otherwise puts in its chronological context:

En celle annee, quon comptoit .m. cccc. lxxvii. le conte de Warwic ou mois de Iuing passa la mer pour faire son dit voyage de France. Et daultre part passa la mer Messire Anthoine, Bastard de Bourgogne, sy entra par la Thamise en la cite de Londres, ou il fut honnourablement receu et festoye; sy avoit en sa compaignye grant foison de noblesse, car il y avoit iour prins entre luy et le Seigneur de Scalles, filz au Seigneur de La Riviere, de faire armes. Lesquelles eulz deux de pie et de cheval accomplirent bien et notablement, **desqueles je me a tant passe pour cause de briefte**. Et eust este le feste plus pleniere se neussent este les dures nouvelles de la mort du noble duc Phelippe de Bourgogne, desquelles toute la compaignie dudit bastard fut grandement troublee. ¶Le iour Saint Jehan Baptiste Messire Anthoine, Bastard de Bourgoigne dessusdit, ayant prins congie du roy d'Angleterre ensamble des seigneurs et dames de la court, il sen vint a Douvres ou il monta sur lyaue, ...

The Gruuthuse manuscript, BN fr. 84-85, printed in Dupont and Hardy has the event *after* it has described the funeral of Philip the Good, but otherwise in its chronological context:

En celle annee, que len comptoit mil quatre cens et soixante sept, le comte de Warewic ou mois de Juing passa la mer pour faire son dit voyage de France. Et dautre part passa la mer messire Anthoine bastard de Bourgoigne, si entra par la Thamise en la cite de Londres, ou il fut honnourablement recheu et festoie; si avoit grant foison noblesse en sa compaignie, car il avoit jour prins entre lui et le seigneur de Scalles, filz au seigneur de La Riviere, de faire armes, lesqueles eulz deux de cheval et de pie adcomplirent moult notablement, **desqueles je me passe pour briefte**; et eust este le feste plus pleniere se ne feussent les nouvelles quy sourvinrent de la mort du noble duc Phelippe de Bourgoigne, **car je acteur estoie avec les autres**. Le jour Saint Jehan Baptiste messire Anthoine bastard de Bourgoigne aiant pris congie du roy d'Angleterre ensamble des seigneurs et dames de la court, il servint a Douvres ou il monta sur leaue

Fr. 20358, f. 222, puts the event in context, seems to be the most 'personal' Wavrin version; the ms. does not have the funeral of Philip the Good at all:

... et en celle meisme saison que on comptoit mil quatre cens et lx et ix [*sic*] ou mois de Juing icelluy conte de Warwick passa la mer pour faire son voyage de France. Et daultrepart en celle meisme saison passa la mer Messire Anthoine, Bastart de Bourgogne, lequel luy venu en Engleterre entra par la Thamise en la cyte de Londres ou il fust moult honnourablement recheus et luy fu faite grant honneur. Et aussy il estoit moult fort acompaigniez de grand foison chevaliers et escuiers car il y avoit jour pris entre luy et le Seigneur de Scalles, filz de Seigneur de La Riviere, de faire armes; lesquelles eux deux de cheval de piet accomplirent moult notablement tant dun coste que daultre. **Desquelles armes je me passeray en brief pour ce que je estoie avecq les aultres, mais me souffist de plus en dire et men rapporte a ceulx quy y furent comme moy de plus amplement en parler, mais durant le temps de ung mois entier que fumes seiournans a Londres, Anthoine le Bastart de Bourgogne et ceulx quy avecq luy estoient furent moult honnourablement festoiez et encoires eussent plus este se ne fust que, nous estans la, nouvelles vindrent au Roy Edouart, a Messire Anthoine et a nous tous que ce tresnoble et trespuissant prinche, le Duc Phelippe de Bourgogne, termina vie par mort en sa bonne ville de Bruges; quy fu ung grant douleur et tritesse a tous ses barons et chevaliers en especial a son tresnoble filz, Charles, Conte de Charolois, quy en eubt grant douleur et tritesse au ceur, mais il convint tout passer. Sy men tairay pour le present de plus avant en parler hors droit au jour quy fu le jour Saint Jehan Baptiste, Messire Anthoine le Bastart de Bourgogne, ayant pris congiet du Roy Edouart se parti de Londres et vint monter a Douvres pour rapasser la mer ...**

Jean de Haynin's reference to the Smithfield tournament is entirely different and textually not related.

Appendix F. Lists of manuscripts of the *Recueil*, of manuscripts relevant to the making and the readership of the *Recueil*, and of the printed sections of the *Recueil*.

1. The surviving manuscripts of the *Recueil*.

Where possible the contents of the manuscripts are indicated by the volume, book and chapter numbers of Wavrin's own(?) division, as it appears in Hardy's and Dupont's editions, which follow Gruuthuse's set of the *Recueil* (BN fr. 74-85); this division is common to all 'genuine' *Recueil* texts. By 'provenance' the original(?) fifteenth-century ownership is meant. None of these manuscripts appear to be in their original binding. /s its/

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W 201.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 4 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 31). Fifteenth c. (c. 1470-80); parchment; 334 ff.; written in 2 columns; illustrated with 6 large miniatures; 483x353 mm.

Catalogue. Randall, *Medieval and Ren. Mss*, vol. 3, pp. 387-92; De Ricci, *Census of Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 851; Sotheby sale catalogue, 20 Nov. 1912, lot 125.

Provenance. Nassau family?

Particulars. May have been part of a set, with Oxford, Bodl.L. Laud Misc. 653 and The Hague, KB 133 A 7^{l, II, III} (see below).

London, BL Royal 14 E iv.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 3 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 60). Fifteenth c. (1475-1480); parchment; 329 ff.; written in 2 columns; illustrated with 31 large and 7 small miniatures; 450x325 mm.; now bound in two parts.

Catalogue. Warner and Gilson, vol. 2, p. 140..

Provenance. Edward IV.

Particulars. Unlike the next ms. this volume was probably made for Edward IV originally.

London, BL Royal 15 E iv.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, DEDICATION TO EDWARD IV, VOLUME 1 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 60). Fifteenth c. (c. 1475); parchment; 350 ff.; written in 2 columns; illustrated with 29 large miniatures; 444x343 mm.; now bound in two parts.

Catalogue. Warner and Gilson, vol. 2, p. 176.

Provenance. Given to Edward IV and owned by him, but probably not made for him originally.

Particulars.²⁶ The dedication to Edward IV is unique and was probably made after Wavrin's death. The ms. may not have been made, but merely adapted, for Edward IV. The presentation scene on f. 14 is only made 'personal' to Edward by the heraldic details on the king's robe; though he is dressed as a French prince, his gown is strewn with small gold lions, as well as fleur-de-lys. He is also wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece, which indicates that the figure was meant to represent Edward IV. Only the garters on the legs of two of the courtiers confirm the 'Englishness' of the scene as a whole. The presentation scene and the text of the dedicatory prologue with the table of chapters are physically separate and make up the first gathering (lettered *a*; from folio 16 on the gatherings are lettered backwards *z* to *g*). The rest or main part of the manuscript could therefore have been made for any patron: there is no heraldry or other personalisation anywhere else in the decoration. The marginal decoration of the second full-page miniature (f. 16, the wedding of Diodicias' daughters) suggests there was a space left blank for a future owner's coat of arms in the usual position, bottom centre, but in this case filled in with comparatively ungainly, gourd-like fruit. In all other surviving manuscripts of this volume the wedding of Diodicias' daughters is the first miniature of the book and often has elaborate marks of ownership in its lower margin. Some of the other margins of full-page miniatures in Edward's copy also have more or less obvious infills of lesser quality. Most of the manuscript could therefore have been made without a particular owner in mind and it was only made special by the unique prologue and the coat of arms and motto on folio 14. Volume 3 in Royal 14 E iv (see above) does contain personalised decoration, arms and roses with suns in splendour, though not many.

A date in the first half of the 1470s for the making of this manuscript is suggested both by the dress depicted in the images and the overall style of the borders of the historiated pages.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 653 (636).

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 2, MINIATURES ONLY. See below, The Hague, KB 133 A 7^l.

Catalogue. Coxe, *Laudian Mss*, p. xxii.

Paris, BN fr. 71-72 (6746 and 6747).

Manuscript. *Recueil*, DEDICATION TO WALERAN DE WAVRIN, VOLUME 1 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 60) and VOLUME 2 (bk 1, ch. 1 to bk 6, ch. 29). Fifteenth c. (1475-76?); parchment; ... ff. and ... ff.; written in 2 columns; many empty spaces for half page and one-column miniatures, but the illumination was never filled in; ...x... mm. (*folio maximo*); in 2 vols.

Catalogue. *Catalogue des mss*, vol. 1 *Ancien fonds*, p. 5; Paris, *Mss français*, vol. 1, pp. 86-94.

Provenance. Paulin Paris assumed that these volumes belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, died 1477 (Paris, *Mss français*, vol. 1, p. 142): *en tête des deux premiers volumes* (of fr. 106-09, *Perceforest*) *et à la fin du second sont plusieurs feuilles de garde, comprenant des fragments du 'Saint Graal'*; *elles formes sans doute un exemplaire de ce roman, qu'on a dispersé comme on fait aujourd'hui certains volumes en feuille, pour brocher d'autres. En tête du quatrième, ces mêmes feuilles de garde sont prises d'un exemplaire des 'Chroniques d'Angleterre' de Jean de Wavrin. Et comme d'autres fragments du même ouvrage, transcrites par le même scribe, servent aussi de feuilles de garde à l'exemplaire complet de Jean de Wavrin que nous avons décrit sous 6747, (i.e. fr. 72) nous en devons conclure que le 'Perceforest' et le Wavrin appartenoient également à la collection des ducs de Nemours.* See also 2. **Fragments**, below.

Paris, BN fr. 74-85 (6748-6759).

Manuscript. FULL TEXT (6 volumes). Fifteenth c. (partly 1470s, partly 1480s); parchment; written in 2 columns, 38 lines to a page; vol. 1 (fr. 74-75), 339 ff., 17 large and 34 small miniatures, arms of Gruuthuse covered by those of France on f. 1 (Gruuthuse's motto, *Plus est en vous* and his device, the bombard, do not, and apparently did never, occur in this manuscript); vol. 2 (fr. 76-77), 425 ff., 30 large and 21??? small miniatures, arms, banner and motto of Gruuthuse on many pages, often erased; vol. 3 (fr. 78-79), 347 ff., 11 large and 4 small miniatures, arms of Gruuthuse substituted for France on the first page; vol. 4, 326 ff., 6 large miniatures; vol. 5, 302 ff., 6 large miniatures, arms and devices of Gruuthuse mostly effaced; vol. 6, 381 ff., 6 large miniatures; arms, device and motto of Gruuthuse, mostly effaced;...x... mm. (*folio maximo*); now in 12 parts, formerly bound in six volumes in tanned calfskin.

Catalogue. *Catalogue des mss français*, vol. 1, *Ancien fonds*, p. 5; Van Praet, *Recherches*, pp. 241-48, no. lxxxv; Paris, *Mss français*, vol. 1, p. 96.

Provenance. Louis de Gruuthuse.

Particulars. The only surviving full set of the *Recueil*, but probably not produced at one time.

Paris, BN fr. 87 (6761).

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 2 (bk. 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 29). Fifteenth c.; parchment; ... ff.; written in 2 columns; illustrated with 22 full-page and 17 one-column miniatures; ...x... mm. (*folio maximo*).

Catalogue. *Catalogue des mss français*, vol. 1 *Ancien fonds*, p. 5; Paris, *Mss français*, vol. 1, p. 89.

Provenance. Pierre de Villa or de Ville, a member of a Lombard family living in the Low Countries; arms, often with motto, *Priere valle*, appear on ff. 1, 45, 58v, 63v, 72, 89, 117, 138, 179, 280, 309, 318, etc. The motto *droict et avant* of Pierre's brother Claude, occurs on ff. 22v, 43v.

Particulars. This ms. could possibly be a companion volume to Vienna, ÖN 2534 (see below), or both mss could have belonged to very similar sets from the same workshop.

Paris, BN fr. 2807 (8388).

Manuscript. *Recueil*, DEDICATION TO WALERAN DE WAVRIN, VOLUME 1 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 60). Fifteenth c.; paper; ... ff.; written in 2 columns; illustrated with 1 grisaille miniature at the beginning; ...x... mm.

Catalogue. *Catalogue des mss français*, vol. 1 *Ancien fonds*, p. 484.

Provenance. ??

Particulars. Ends: .. *laquelle fut empeschie pour la guerre qui s'esmeut entre le roy de France et d'Angleterre, comm il sera touchie ou second volume. Car cy fine le premier. C'est tout.*

San Marino, Huntington Library HM 28562.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 2 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 29). Fifteenth c. (1475-85), paper (watermark 1465, 1470 or 1479); 332 ff.; written in 2 columns; 2 large and 4 small grisaille miniatures; 385x285 mm.

Catalogue. Dutschke, *Guide*, pp. 687-88; Sotheby's sale catalogue 30 Nov. 1965, lot 33.

Provenance. Unidentified coat of arms on f. 1 (perhaps painted in later), which may have a connection with the counts of Dreux, so the ms. probably went from Flanders to France.

Particulars. Belonged to J.B.P. Guyon de Sardièrre; the duke de la Vallière and Sir Charles Stewart of Rothesay; Phillips 17700.

The Hague, KB 133 A 7¹.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 2 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 29). Fifteenth c. (3d quarter); parchment; 400 ff.; written in 2 columns; marginal decoration and probably 21 miniatures (all cut out; stubs visible in most cases; 8 now in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 653; see above); 432x324 mm.

Its scheme of illumination was originally as follows:

f. 1, full-page (vol. 2, bk 1, ch. 1), now Laud. misc. 653, f. [1], left: challenge of the English to the French king; right: the bishop of Lincoln kneeling to

f. 19, full-page? (2, 1, 9), missing, may have shown the battle of 'Buironfosse'.

f. 49v, full-page (2, 1, 29), now Laud. f. [3], English drive the Scots away from the castle of 'Sallebrin'.

f. 69, full-page (2, 1, 40), now Laud. f. [5], jousts in honour of the countess of Salisbury.

f. 82, full-page? (2, 2, 1), missing, may have shown a feast and/or the institution of the order of the Garter.

f. 116, full-page (2, 2, 19), now Laud. f. [15], capture of St Lo.

f. 126, full-page (2, 2, 22), now Laud. f. [19], battle of Crécy.

f. 139, full-page (2, 3, 1), now Laud. f. [7], siege of Calais.

f. 160, full-page? (2, 3, 9), if there is a miniature missing it is not clear what it may have shown.

f. 171, full-page? (2, 3, 14), missing, siege of 'Romorantin'.

f. 181, full-page (2, 3, 17), now Laud. f. [11], battle of Poitiers.

f. 201, full-page? (2, 4, 1), missing, subject unknown.

f. 219v, full-page (2, 4, 9), now Laud. f. [17], treaty of Edward III and the French.

f. 243, full-page? (2, 4, 19), missing, may have shown the funeral of King John of France.

f. 249, full-page (2, 5, 1), now Laud. f. [9], left: Dom Henry made king of Castile; right: Peter of Castile about to shut himself into the castle of Seville.

f. 272v?, full-page? (2, 5, 7), missing, may have shown the Black Prince at the battle of Navares.

f. 287, full-page? (2, 5, 12), missing, may have shown the battle of Nantueil between King Peter and King Henry of Castile.

f. 303, full-page? (2, 5, 18), missing, may have shown the wedding of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders.

f. 321, full-page? (2, 6, 1), missing, may have shown the death of Queen Philippa of England.

f. 329, full-page? (2, 6, 4), missing, may have shown the death of Sir John Chandos.

f. 362, full-page (2, 6, 19), now Laud. f. [13], a battle.

Catalogue. *Verluchte handschriften*, p. 105; *Boeken van Oranje*, pp. 16, 18, 28; Renting and Renting-Kuypers, *Orange-Nassau Library*, no. 1320; Coxe, *Laudian Mss*, p. xxii.

Provenance. Anthony of Burgundy?; Nassau family?; Edward IV? The surviving illuminated leaves were bought by Archbishop Laud from a sailor; when he failed to obtain any more of the ms. he had them bound and gave them to the Bodleian in 1636.

Particulars. The signatures of the gatherings in this ms. match with such decorated leaves as survive in Laud Misc. 653 match (*ex inf.* Scot McKendrick), but many more illuminated leaves have disappeared altogether; it is not certain that these had two-column or one-column miniatures. The space for arms was left blank on f. 1 [1]; on f. 139 [7] the space is empty but has the shape of a shield surmounted by a helmet with a small crest, the empty shield being supported by two emaciated gold/brown lions, which survive. On the same folio in the right margin is a pole with a long double tailed pennon, blue with gold tears(?). Some pages had the emblem of Anthony of Burgundy, but this was well covered with paint; the lion supporters that survive are also Anthony's (*ex inf.* Scot McKendrick). Some of the ms's decoration and illumination is closely related to that of BL Royal 14 E iv, vol. 3 of the *Recueil*, and the lions are very similar to e.g. those supporting the English royal arms (within a garter) in Royal 18 E ii, f. 7. The present manuscript may have been part of a set, with Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 201 (see above) and The

Hague, KB 177 A 7^{II} III (see below), but these mss have only six large miniatures each, at the beginning of each book.

On f. 349v, in the left margin, opposite the story of the escape of Sir Raymond de Marneil with the help of his English guard (Froissart, *Chroniques*, vol. 1, ch. 293) a late 16th/early 17th-c. hand has written *acompanemi? siempre Dios*. on f. 390v, the verso of the last textpage, there are several scribbles and pen trials: *Amoylray, pamuengallo?* (in the same hand as the marginal note on f. 349v?), *PW* (in large red capitals), *Lassate passare, R[.?.]sberge*.

The Hague, KB 133 A 7^{II}.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 3 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 23). Fifteenth c. (3d quarter); parchment; 372 ff.; written in 2 columns; 6 large miniatures; 432x324 mm.

Catalogue. *Verluchte handschriften*, p. 105; *Boeken van Oranje*, pp. 16, 18, 28; Renting and Renting-Kuypers, *Orange-Nassau Library*, no. 1320.

Provenance. Nassau family.

Particulars. This ms. may have been part of a set, with Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 201 (see above) and The Hague, KB 177 A 7^I III (see above and below).

The Hague, KB 133 A 7^{III}.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 5 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 20). Fifteenth c. (3d quarter); parchment; 289 ff.; written in 2 columns; 6 large miniatures; 432x324 mm.

Catalogue. *Verluchte handschriften*, p. 105; *Boeken van Oranje*, pp. 16, 18, 28; Renting and Renting-Kuypers, *Orange-Nassau Library*, no. 1320.

Provenance. Nassau family.

Particulars. This ms. may have been part of a set, with Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 201 (see above) and The Hague, KB 177 A 7^I II (see above).

Vienna, ÖN 2534.

Manuscript. *Recueil*, VOLUME 1 (bk 1, ch. 1, to bk 6, ch. 60). Fifteenth c. (c. 1470); parchment; 397 ff.; written in 2 columns; 21 large and 23 small miniatures; 523x370 mm.

Catalogue. Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II, Text*, pp. 39-45, and several ills.

Provenance. Unknown.

Particulars. This ms. could possibly be a companion volume to BN fr. 87 (see above).

2. Fragments.

Paris, BN fr. 72 (6747) and 109 (6781).

Manuscripts. For fr. 72 see above. On some of the flyleaves at the beginning of this manuscript of volume 2 of the *Recueil* there are fragments of *Recueil* volume 1, book 1, chs 2, 4 and 5: f. 1r-v has ch. 2, ... *et riche appareil ilz emmenerent* to ... *son propre arbitre vouloit deduire* i. e. Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 7, line 22 to p. 12, line 1; f. 2r-v has ch. 4, *Si manda par ses lettres et messagiers* to ch. 5, ... *sy grant que merveilles en detirant leurs* i. e. Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 28, line 14 (*Lors envoia par ses messagiers* ...) to p. 31, line 23. Fr. 109 is volume 4 of *Perceforest*; some of the flyleaves at the beginning have a consecutive fragment of *Recueil*, volume 1, book 1, ch. 3: ff. 1-2v have *jusques la soie menee, car se ainsi ...* to ... *ou millieu des gardins de damas.*, i. e. Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. 16, line 18 to p. 24, line 23. As these sections of the text in the two manuscripts do not overlap and are written in very similar, probably the same, hand(s) they may all be binder's or scribe's waste from one copy.

3. Manuscripts containing long sections of the text of the *Recueil*.

Though they do not necessarily go physically together ÖN 2545 and 2546 and BN fr. 15491 form a 'complete' set containing a 'pirated' version of the *Recueil*. ÖN 2545 covers the years 1400 to 1428, for the greater part using an abridged or paraphrased version of the first volume of the *Chroniques* of Enguerran de Monstrelet, that is on folios 1 to 247.²⁷ Every chapter in this section starts with a phrase

27 Bougenot, 'Notices', first says the Monstrelet edition ends on f. 246 and later that the tone of the text changes from f. 227. This last number seems to be an unfortunate printing error — it should be 247 — that

like: *En ce chapitre dit Enguerran que ... or Aussi dit que* From f. 247 to f. 279v, from Christmas 1422²⁸ until the battle of the Herrings in 1429,²⁹ Monstrelet is no longer mentioned by name and the text is different in tone, resembling and abbreviating, but not identical with, both the *Recueil* and Monstrelet and including some unique sections which have been ascribed to Wavrin's pen, but are not found anywhere else.³⁰ The book's companion volume, ÖN 2546, picks up the story next, but its contents are now identical with the *Recueil* volume 5, book 4, chapter 8, to volume 6, book 2, chapter 15, apart from a few chapters that seem to have been omitted or added in.³¹ Monstrelet's name is only mentioned in the heading of the manuscript as a whole and at the very end, where it reads *Cy fine le derrenier chapitre du second volume du livre de Moustrelet [sic]*, but the text no longer bears any resemblance to his work. It is Wavrin's text, even to the point of having one of his rare personal passages, the one in which he describes how John of Bedford, Regent of France, put him under the command of Sir John Fastolf.³² It is curious that the break between Wavrin's volumes 5 and 6 is passed over unnoticed.³³ Where ÖN 2546 ends fr. 15491 continues, calling itself at the beginning of the text itself *le tiers et derrenier volume de cest euvre ou il dist Comment ...*, the *il* presumably being Monstrelet even though he is never named. The text is very close to the *Recueil* volume 6, containing its book 2, from chapter 15, to book 6, chapter 23, being only slightly different in wording and leaving out Wavrin's personal passages, perhaps on purpose, because they would have revealed his authorship.³⁴

The text of these three manuscripts,³⁵ of which the existence suggests there were other copies or sets of this 'pirated' work,³⁶ was a history in three volumes put together in a workshop that had access to Monstrelet's chronicle and to a version of the *Recueil*. The composer was content to rely wholly at first on Monstrelet's first volume, but decided more was needed from 1422 on and started to 'mix' the text with a *Recueil* version and perhaps other sources. As neither ÖN 2546 nor fr. 15491 includes Waleran's report (6, 1, 2-15??), and fr. 15491 does not have the 1471 newsletters concerning the capture of Arzila and Edward IV's recovery of his throne this text was not based on the last redaction of the *Recueil*, but represents an earlier one, even though all three manuscripts were produced in the 1480s or 90s. The scribe or redactor did not know – or did not want to know – the author of the *Recueil* sections. The Vienna mss were made for or owned by Jean III de Glymes-Berghes: the distinctive three mascles of his arms are visible in spite of the efforts to erase them and there are also remnants of the collar of the Golden Fleece.³⁷ All three manuscripts taken here to represent a 'set' have only one large miniature each, at the beginning. The Vienna ones can be dated to after 1481 and the illumination has been said to be typical

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- has misled Paecht and Thoss, *Schule II, Text*, p. 104, and Boersma, 'Beschrijving', p. 16.
- 28 This section starts with two unique chapters, printed by Bougenot, 'Notices', App. II.
- 29 *Recueil*, 5, 4, 7, Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 3, pp. 258-59; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. 278 (text not given). Monstrelet-Buchon, bk 2, ch. 56.
- 30 Bougenot, 'Notices', p. 13 and App. II. The section quoted by Bruinsma, 'Beschrijving' pp. 18-21, about the earthquakes, does occur in ÖN 2545, though he assumes it does not. Bruinsma was unfortunately confused by Bougenot's printing error *re* f. 227 / f. 247 and by Bougenot's failure to publish the earthquake story.
- 31 Completely lacking, for example, is the report of Waleran de Wavrin's journey to the Balkan² 6, 1, 2-29, i.e. almost all of that book. L S
- 32 5, 4, 10; Wavrin-Hardy, vol 3, pp. 283-84; Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 280-81.
- 33 F. 116? ÖN 2545 ends and ÖN 2546 starts where Wavrin in the *Recueil* leaves the siege of Orleans for a while and starts telling the reader about Joan of Arc, 5, 4, between chapters 7 and 8.
- 34 Of interest is the fact that ÖN 2456 (called the second volume of Monstrelet) ends and fr. 15491 (called 'the third volume of this work') begins at the very point where the *Recouvrement de Normandie*, also ends, as edited by Stevenson in *Narratives*, pp. 239-376 (*Recueil*, c. 6, 2, 1-15). In Arsenal 3840 and BN fr. 5016 the second book of the abbreviated Monstrelet is followed by a text of the *Recouvrement*.
- 35 It has to be noted that all three mss have later titles inscribed in Spanish, perhaps 17th-century; see the descriptions below.
- 36 Bruinsma, 'Beschrijving', pp. 10-15, points out the existence of several mss that are very close to the three discussed here.
- 37 He was the only member of his family to become a knight of the order. Other copies of this 'mixed' Monstrelet and Wavrin text belonged to Engelbert II of Nassau (vol. 1, Leiden, UB, Voss. G.G.F.2, c. 1500); Louis de Gruuthuse (vol. I, BN fr. 2680, '15th c.')

work of the Master of Edward IV.³⁸ The illustration of fr. 15491 is a little less competent, but very similar and must have come from the same workshop.³⁹

Fr. 20358 contains parts of volumes 4, 5 and 6 of the *Recueil*,⁴⁰ but the wording often differs and though large sections are lacking, e.g. the rebellion of Ghent in 1453,⁴¹ it could be called a 'rationalised' version; it may even go back to an improved edition. On a flyleaf at the beginning is written in a much later hand *Ce MS du 15e siecle contient le tome 3e [sic] du chroniques de Froissart. Elle commence.. aux noces de Charles VI roi de France avec Isabelle de Baviere en 1389 jusqu'a la descente du roi de Portugal en Afrique en 1471*. These dates correctly describe the coverage of the book and it is also remarkable that the texts of both fr. 20358 and 20359 appear to have some connection with Froissart manuscripts. They both start exactly where Froissart's text passes from book 3 to book 4⁴² and fr. 20359 stops exactly at the point where Wavrin, according to his editor Mlle Dupont, uses Froissart for the last time (*Recueil* 4, 5, between chapters 12 and 13). Both manuscripts have strong connections with the Wavrin family itself and the de Croy's who inherited the Wavrin possessions and titles. Fr. 20358 is signed *Au duc d'Arschot. 1584* (ff. 1 and 133). Fr. 20359 is signed *Au duc d'Arschot. 1584* (f.2) but on the same page also has the inscription (capitals and punctuation modernised): *Le quart et derrenier volume de Froissart Croniques appartenant a monseigneur Charles de Croy, Prince de Chimay, Seigneur d'Avesnes, Wavrin, Lillers, Saint Venant etc. Et le a signe de son nom*.

This is presumably the Charles de Croy who was made prince of Chimay on 9 April 1486 and in 1500 inherited the Wavrin titles (and books) from his aunt's husband Philippe de Berlettes, called de Wavrin, who had been Jean de Wavrin's heir (see app. A, family trees). A great number of Charles' books went to Margaret of Austria, including many marked *Wavrin* in the inventories of her library, see Debae, *Bibliothèque, passim*. The duke of Aarschot in 1584 was Philippe de Croy, Prince of Chimay, Charles' great-nephew, head of the family and presumably heir to some of his books. Another manuscript of interest in this context is Arsenal 4798, a collection of documents concerning the Holy Land (app. D, above, XIV-XVIII), which not only may have belonged to Louis de Gruuthuse, but was also signed by *J[ean] b[astard] de Wavrin* and *Au sr du Forestel* and has *Au duc d'Arschot. 1584* as well.

Paris, BN fr. 15491 (St Germain 91).

Manuscript. Text very similar to the *Recueil*, PART OF VOLUME 6 (bk 2, ch. 15 to bk 6, ch. 23). Fifteenth c. (1480s); parchment; 252 ff; written in two columns of 33 lines; 1 large miniature with full border; 380x260 mm.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue général des mss français, Ancien St Germain français*, vol. 1, p. 24.

Provenance. Arms erased. The *Catalogue* has: *Ce manuscrit paraît provenir de l'ancienne bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne* but does not explain.

Particulars. On verso of first flyleaf is written *Chronica de Carlos Settimo Rey de Francia*. The text is headed: *Cy commence le tiers et derrenier volume de cest euvre ou il dist Comment le Roy Charles de France vij^e de ce nom delibera par son conseil de reconquerre la duchie de Guienne. Comment il envoya les gens darmes assieger le chastel et la ville de Bergerac Et comment ilz le prindrent par composition*, and begins: *Aprez ce que le roy Charles de France vij^e de ce nom au moyen et conduit de la grace divine principalement et de la noble chevallerie ses conseilliers souldoyers et aultres officiers de divers estats eubt reconqueste sa duchie de Normandie ...*

This ms contains a text very close to the *Recueil*, but the wording often differs and e.g. the personal remarks, proving Wavrin's involvement are missing. It was presumably regarded as the third

38 Paecht and Thoss, *Schule II, Text*, p. 105.

39 This miniature has not been discussed by art historians.

40 Vol. 4, bk 4, ch. 27, to vol. 4, bk 6, ch. 4; vol. 5, bk 6, ch. 17 to vol. 6, bk 6, ch. 32, some chapters are in a different order.

41 It is, of course, possible that fr. 20358 goes back to a version of the *Recueil* that did *not yet* include the Ghent rebe l'on. Separate accounts of the rebellion are known to have existed, and this section could have been inserted into the *Recueil* later. More research into these accounts is needed.

42 This is also the point where in the *Recueil*, in volume 4, book 2, between chapters 26 and 27, Wavrin has an additional section, suggesting that his exemplar was different — longer — from the Froissart texts that survive.

volume of Monstrelet and may perhaps be related to the two first volumes of Monstrelet (according to the mss themselves) now ÖN 2545-46 (see below), as fr. 15491 begins where ÖN 2546 ends.

Paris, BN fr. 20358 (Sorbonne 432).

Manuscript. Text very similar to the *Recueil*, PART OF VOLUMES 4, 5 AND 6 (vol. 4, bk 4, ch. 27 to vol. 4, bk 6, ch. 4; vol. 5, bk 6, ch. 17 to vol. 6, bk 6, ch. 32, some chs are in a different order). Fifteenth c.; paper; 254 ff.; written in two columns; not illustrated; 360x260 mm.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue général des mss français, Anciens petits fonds fr.*, vol. 1, p. 73.

Provenance. Signed *Au duc d'Arschot. 1584* (ff. 1 and 133).

Particulars. On a flyleaf at the beginning is written in a 18th-c. (?) hand *Ce MS du 15e siecle contient le tome 3e [sic] du chroniques de Froissart. Elle commence.. aux noces de Charles VI roi de France avec Isabelle de Baviere en 1389 jusqu'a la descente du roi de Portugal en Afrique en 1471.*

This ms contains a text very close to the *Recueil*, but the wording often differs and large sections were omitted (or not yet included), e.g. the rebellion of Ghent in 1453, see above.

The first part of this manuscript starts in 1389 at vol. 4, bk 2, ch. 27 with the reception of Isabel of Bavaria in Paris, and ends on f. 132, in 1402, with vol. 4, bk 6, ch. 4; Hardy used this part of this manuscript (his MS S) for comparison in his vol. 2, pp. 3-73. He did not use the second part, from f. 133, which starts in 1440 with vol. 6, bk 1, ch. 1 and ends with the Arzila letter (vol. 6, bk 6, ch. 23, without chapter heading and without the first addition, as it appears in BN fr. 1278, f. 260; Hardy, vol. 5, p. 632, and Dupont vol. 3, pp. 85-87, and without the last addition, as it appears in BN fr. 1278, f. 264v; Hardy, vol. 5, p. 639, Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 95-96). The Arzila letter follows after Edward's letter to Bruges (vol. 6, bk 6, ch. 32), which is chronologically correct.

Paris, BN fr. 20359 (Sorbonne 433).

Manuscript. *Recueil*, PART OF VOLUME 4 (vol. 4, bk 2, ch. 27 to bk 5, ch. 12) Fifteenth c.; paper; 260 ff.; written in two columns; not illustrated; 360x250 mm.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue général des mss français, Anciens petits fonds fr.*, vol. 1, p. 74.

Provenance. F. 2, in a 16th-century hand: *Le quart et derrenier volume de Froissart Chroniques, appartenant a monseigneur Charles de Croy, prince de Chimay* (see above) and signed lower down: *Au duc d'Arschot. 1584.*

Particulars. See above, at the beginning of this section.

Vienna, ÖN 2545 and 2546.

Manuscript. PARTS OF VOLUMES 5 AND 6 (c. 1400 to 1428 in a paraphrase of Monstrelet and *Recueil*, vol. 5, bk 4, ch. 8, to bk 6, ch. 20, and vol. 6, bk 2, chs 1-15) Fifteenth century (after 1481); parchment; 280 ff. and 187 ff.; written in 2 columns; 1 large miniature at the beginning of each; 412x300 mm. and 408x290 mm.

Catalogue. Pächt and Thoss, *Schule II, Text*, pp. 103-05; Thoss, *Buchmalerei*, no. 61.

Provenance. Both mss bear the (erased) arms of Jean III de Glymes-Berghes, Lord of Bergen op Zoom (1452-1532).

Particulars. These mss are very similar, though not identical, in lay-out to BN fr. 15491 (see above) and – though usually referred to as the work of Monstrelet – according to Bougenot, 'Notices', pp. 12-14 and App. II, ÖN 2545 partly contains a text which he assumes was by Wavrin, but is not found in the printed text. ÖN 2545 is inscribed *Primera parte de las chronicas de Francia por Enguerran de Monstrelet* and names Monstrelet as its author; up to f. 22. each chapter does indeed begin with 'Monstrelet says' or similar phrases and summarises his text; from there on the text is like the *Recueil* but has unique additions. ÖN 2546, is inscribed *Segunda parte de las chronicas de Francia por Enguerran de Monstrelet* and also mentions Monstrelet in its title; apart from scribal variants its text is identical to the *Recueil*, but it does not have Wavrin's personal remarks about himself, the author, being present at certain events.

Paris, BN fr. 18688 (St Germain 1059).

Manuscript. A composite 17th-c. ms containing treaties, letters and other pieces and at the end extracts from the *Receuil*, vol. 6, bk 4, ch. 24 to bk 5, ch. 22.

Catalogue. Omont, *Catalogue général des mss français, Ancien St Germain français*, vol. 1, p. 7.

4. Lost manuscripts.

In Margaret of Austria's library there were two books with relevant titles. The first (Debae, *Bibliothèque*, no. 38) is described in the inventory of her library made in 1516 as *Ung gros livre couvert de velours vert, a cloz dorez, en parchemin, escript a la main en belle grosse letre, intitulé: Le second volume des Croniques d'Angleterre*, and in her inventory of 1523-24 as ... *ung aultre grant couvers de velours verd, a cloz dorez, qui ce nomme Le second volume des Croniques d'Amgleterre*. The other manuscript occurs first in the 1523-24 inventory as ... *ung aultre moien, qui ce nomme Cronique d'Angleterre*. Both books passed to Mary of Hungary in 1530, occurring in her inventories of 1550 and after 1558. Taken by her to Spain they came to the library of the Escorial in 1576 and disappeared in the fire of 1671.

There is no evidence that either Philip the Good or Charles the Bold owned a copy of any volume of Wavrin's work; the only remotely possible titles in Barrois, *Bibliothèque*, nos 1436, 1892, do not appear to refer to the *Recueil*.

No other mention of Wavrin's work has as yet been found in other inventories of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

5. The manuscripts of the text of the so-called Monstrelet-continuator (1444-1471).

London, BL Harl. 4424

Manuscript. Fifteenth c.; mainly paper, watermark nearest to Piccard, *Lilie*, no. 1632, Ghent 1483; 278 (?) ff.; written in 2 columns; miniature and initials never filled in; 280x390 mm. Prologue (printed in Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 607-08) starts on f. 12 [*P*]our ramener en perpetuele memore les nobles et haulz fais darmes ...; text starts on f. 12v *L'an mil quatre cent quarante et quatre à la fin du mois d'apvril, aprez Pasques ...*, and ends on f. 278 ... *donne soubz nostre signe en nostre cite de cantorbery le xxix jour de may lan lxxj. Ainsi signe Edouard.*

Catalogue. *Catalogue of Harleian Mss*, vol. 3, p. 143.

Provenance. No signs of ownership.

Particulars. Text close to BN fr. 88 and 20534 (see below).

Paris, BN fr. 88 (6762)

Manuscript. Fifteenth c.; parchment; 261 ff.; written in 2 columns; one miniature at the beginning; ...x... mm. (*folio maximo*). Entitled ... *des Guerres et advenues qui ont esté depuis l'an mil .ccccxliiii. jusques à l'an mil .cccc. soixante onze es royaulmes de France et d'Angleterre et en tous les pays du duc de Bourgogne*. Starts on f. 1 (of text) *L'an mil .iiifxliiii. à la fin du mois d'apvril, aprez Pasques ...*, and ends on f. 261v ... *et si conquesta le roy plusieurs places oudit pays d'Auffricque. Explicit.* Formerly bound in velvet.

Catalogue. *Catalogue des mss français*, vol. 1, *Ancien fonds*, p. 5; Paris, *Mss français*, vol. 1, pp. 98 / 99-100; Gachard, *Notices*, vol. 1, p. 3; van Praet, *Recherches*, pp. 249-50

Provenance. Louis de Gruuthuse.

Particulars. Close to Harl. 4424 (see above) and fr. 20534 (see below).

Paris, BN fr. 20354 (Sorbonne 427).

Manuscript. Fifteenth c.; paper; 219 ff.; written in two columns; not illustrated; 315x215 mm. Starts on f. 2: *Ce qui s'ensieut a este pris du croniqueur de St Denis, et se continuera sa cronique jusques en l'an cinquante que les fais de la guerre de Flandres, c'est-a-dire des Gantois, sera enserree avec ceste cy et pluseurs autres besongnes faittes en France et en Angleterre comme il appara cy après jusques l'an LXXI*, and ends on f. 219: *Donné ... en nostre cité de Cantorbery, le xxije jour de may l'an LXXI. Ainsy signé Edouard.*

Catalogue. *Catalogue général des mss français, Anciens petits fonds fr.*, vol. 1, pp. 72-73.

Provenance. Signed Lalaing (f. 2). This may be the ms described as *Cronicque fait par le cronicqueur de Saint-Denis commenchant l'an 1444 et finissant l'an 1471 enssievant escript à la main* in 1540 inventory of the books in the castle of Lalaing, see Mestayer, 'Bibilothèque de Charles II', p. 211, before n. 83.

Particulars. It is here assumed on the authority of Dupont (Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, p. iv) that this manuscript is a *double* of fr. 88, though *fort incomplet*.

Paris, BN Dupuy 724.

Manuscript. The ms. contains the so-called *Histoire de Charles, dernier duc de Bourgogne*, which according to Dupont (Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, pp. x-xi) can be divided into two: the first covers the years 1467-1471, the second 1472-1477. The first part is very close to the text of the Monstrelet-continuator and as a consequence also to the *Recueil* (summarised Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 265-92), the second is a unique record which may perhaps be ascribed a *témoign oculaire* (printed Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 293-334).

Catalogue. Dorez, *Cat. Coll. Dupuy*, vol. 2, p. 340.

Provenance. ?

Particulars. The ms. also contains a text of Georges Chastelain's *Advertissement au Duc Charles*, printed Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 219-64, as a *Prologue* to the *Histoire de Charles, dernier duc de Bourgogne*, and Chastelain-Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol. 7, pp. 285-333.

6. Other relevant manuscripts.**Paris BN 2806 (8387).**

Manuscript. Fifteenth-c. ('anterior to the second quarter' acc. to Hardy, vol. 1, p. 508), parchment, illustrated, ... ff.

Catalogue. *Catalogue des mss français*, vol. 1, *Ancien fonds*, p. 484.

Provenance. ??

Particulars. This ms. is entitled in the catalogue *Les Croniques des Bretons, selon la sentence de Galfroy Monemutensis*, and begins *Tout ainsi comme se en moy estimoye science avoir et faconde de pouvoir souffire, descripre et revoquer à lumière tous les faix vertueux ...*, and ends *Cy finent les Croniques de Bretons, contenant les gestes d'iceux depuis la venue de Brutus, nepveu de Eneas, jusques au temps du roy Cadwaladreth, qui regna l'an v^eiiii^e et viii^e and apres l'Incarnacion Nostre Seigneur, selon la sentence de Galfroy Monemutensis, qui ce livre composa en latin par le commendement de tres noble et puissant prince Henry, roy d'Angleterre*. It covers the same material as Wavrin vol. 1, books 2 and 3, i.e. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, and was used by Hardy for comparison (see Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. ccxvi, n. 1, and the notes to vol. 1, pp. 508-601) showing that this ms. and BN ms. fr. 5621 (see below) are very close to Wavrin's text. Dupont, vol. 1, p. 17, says this text differs a little from Wavrin's, but identical for the prophecies of Merlin. It is here assumed that a text very similar to mss fr. 2806 and 5621 was Wavrin's source for this section of his work (see above pt II, ch. 3, 3).

Paris BN fr. 5621 (10210-3.3, Colbert 1677).

Manuscript. Fifteenth-c. ('anterior to the second quarter' acc. to Hardy, vol. 1, p. 508), parchment, illustrated, 232 ff.

Catalogue. *Catalogue des mss français*, vol. 1, *Ancien fonds*, p. 45.

Provenance. ??

Particulars. This ms. is entitled in the catalogue *Chronique fabuleuse de Grande Bretagne portant ce titre: 'Cy après commencent les histoires des Bretons qui regnèrent en la Grant Bretagne, depuis le temps Brutus, le nepveu Ascanius, filz de Eneas, jusques après l'Incarnacion Nostre Seigneur v^eiiii^e et viii^e. Et parle le premier chappitre des proprietés de l'isle de la Grant Bretagne, and begins Tout ainsi comme se en moy ...*, and ends *... jusques à ce que les destinées fatales auront sorti et parfaiz leurs cours ... le père, et le filz et le benoit espérit. Amen. Ainsi soit-il*. It covers the same material as Wavrin vol. 1, books 2 and 3, and was used by Hardy for comparison (see Wavrin-Hardy, vol. 1, p. ccxvi, n. 1, and the notes to vol. 1, pp. 508-601) showing that this ms. and BN ms. fr. 2806 (see above) are very close to Wavrin's text; this was also remarked upon by Dupont, vol. 1, p. 17n. It is here assumed that a text very similar to mss fr. 2806 and 5621 was Wavrin's source for this section of his work (see above pt II, ch. 3, 3).

Paris, BN 16939 (Saint Germain fr. 93) according to Dupont (Wavrin-Dupont, vol. 1, 17n.) is very similar to BN mss. fr. 2806 and 5621 as far as this text overlaps with the *Recueil*.

7. The survival of the various volumes of the *Recueil*.

Volume 1 survives in 5 manuscripts: BN fr. 74-75, BL Royal 15 E iv, ÖN 2534, BN fr. 71 (illumination never filled in), and BN fr. 2807.

Volume 2 survives in 5 manuscripts: BN fr. 76-77, BN fr. 87, The Hague 133 A 7^I / Laud Misc. 753, BN fr. 72, Huntington 28562.

Volume 3 survives in 3 manuscripts: BN fr. 78-79, BL Royal 14 E iv, and The Hague 133 A 7^{II}.

Volume 4 survives in 2 manuscripts: BN fr. 80-81, and Walters Art Gallery W. 201.

Volume 5 survives in 2 manuscripts: BN fr. 82-83 and The Hague 133 A 7^{III}.

Volume 6 survives in 1 manuscript: BN fr. 84-85.

Large sections of volumes 4, 5 and 6 survive in 'pirated' redactions (see above, BN fr. 15491, 20358, 20359, ÖN 2545, 1546). / *varia*

8. The parts of the *Recueil* that have been edited by Dupont (1858) and Hardy (1864).

Prologue / dedication to Waleran de Wavrin: printed Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 1-4; printed Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 1-4; printed Paris, *Mss français*, vol. 1, pp. 89-91.

Dedication to Edward IV: printed Dupont, vol. 1, pp. xlvj-xlvij, n. 47; Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 608-11.

Volume 1,

bk 1, chs 1-5 (Albina): chapter headings Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 6-7; *table des rubriques* Hardy, vol. 1, pp. ccxxi-ccxxii; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 5-36.

bk 2, chs 1-59 (Brutus to the death of Vortigern): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 7-18; *table des rubriques* in Hardy, vol. 1, pp. ccxxii-ccxxviii; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 36-293.

bk 3, chs 1-53 (Aurelius Augustinus to death of Cadwallader): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 18-25; *table des rubriques* in Hardy, vol. 1, pp. ccxxix-ccxxxiv; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 1, pp. 294-501.

bk 4, chs 1-56 (sons of Cadwallader to accession of William I): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 26-32; not in Hardy.

bk 5, chs 1-85 (coronation of William I to death of Edward I): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 33-41; not in Hardy.

bk 6, chs 1-60 (accession of Edward II to Edward III invades Scotlans): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 42-85; chs 18-19, 30, 37, 49, 52-56 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; not in Hardy.

Volume 2,

bk 1, chs 1-49 (1339-1343): chapter headings in Dupont vol. 1, pp. 87-93; not in Hardy.

bk 2, chs 1-24 (1344-1346): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 94-97; not in Hardy.

bk 3, chs 1-24 (1346-1359): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 98-102; not in Hardy.

bk 4, chs 1-21 (1359-1365): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 103-107; not in Hardy.

bk 5, chs 1-22 (1365-1369): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 108-12; not in Hardy.

bk 6, chs 1-29 (1369-1376): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 113-18; not in Hardy.

Volume 3,

bk 1, chs 1-23 (1377-1380): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 119-20; not in Hardy.

bk 2, chs 1-26 (1380-1382): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 123-26; not in Hardy.

bk 3, chs 1-43 (1382-1385): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 127-32; not in Hardy.

bk 4, chs 1-51 (1385-1386): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 133-38; not in Hardy.

bk 5, chs 1-42 (1386): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 139-43; not in Hardy.

bk 6, chs 1-15 (1386-1387): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 144-45; not in Hardy.

Volume 4,

bk 1, chs 1-54 (1387-1388): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 147-55; part of ch. 53 printed Dupont, *ibid.* pp. 153-55; not in Hardy.

bk 2, chs 1-39 (1388-1392): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 156-62; part of ch. 26 printed Dupont, *ibid.* pp. 160-61; not in Hardy.

bk 3, chs 1-27 (1393-1397): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 163-67; part of ch. 19 printed Dupont, *ibid.* pp. 165-66; not in Hardy.

bk 4, chs 1-34 (1397-1399): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 168-73; not in Hardy.

bk 5, chs 1-13 (1399-1401): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 174-75; all chs printed Hardy vol. 2, pp. 1-55.

bk 6, chs 1-31 (1402-1413): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 176-96; chs 1, 2, part of 19, 20, part of 31 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 56-160.

Volume 5,

bk 1, chs 1-34 (1415-1420): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 197-204; parts of chs 2, 11, 14, 29 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 161-316.

bk 2, chs 1-30 (1420-1422): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1 pp. 203-13; parts of chs 2 and 4 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 2, pp. 317-431.

bk 3, chs 1-51 (1422-27): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 214-76; chs 11-17, 28 and the greater part of 29 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 3, pp. 3-222.

bk 4, chs 1-34 (1427-1431): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 277-98; chs 10-13 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 3, pp. 223-405.

bk 5, chs 1-45 (1431-1438): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 299-311; ch. 37 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed in Hardy, vol. 4, pp. 3-250.

bk 6, chs 1-20 (1438-1443 44): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 1, pp. 312-41; part of ch. 12, chs 13-14, 17-18 and 20 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed in Hardy, vol. 4, pp. 251-387.

Volume 6,

bk 1, chs 1-19 (c.1443 44-1448): all chs printed Dupont, vol. 2, pp. [1]-162 and Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 3-119.

bk 2, chs 1-42 (1448-1453): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 163-69; all chs printed Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 120-238.

bk 3, chs 1-50 (1453-1461): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 170-291; part of ch. 5 and all of chs 6-50 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed in Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 239-348.

bk 4, chs 1-34 (coronation of Edward IV to 1464): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 292-328; all of chs 1-4, 20, 26-27, part of ch. 29, all of chs 30-34 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed in Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 349-455.

bk 5, chs 1-47 (marriage of Edward IV to 1469): chapter headings in Dupont, vol. 2, pp. 329-409; all of chs 1-2, 25-47 printed Dupont, *ibid.*; all chs printed in Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 456-583.

bk 6, chs 1-32 (1469-1471): all chs printed Dupont, vol. 3, pp. 1-147 and Hardy, vol. 5, pp. 584-676.

Appendix G. The work and milieu of the scribe and translator Jean Du Chesne.

Jean Du Chesne was the *scribe* of:

BL Royal 17 F i, possibly early 1470s, written at Lille, Vasco de Lucena's translation of Curtius' *Life of Alexander*, which bears no signs of ownership; illustration close to the 'Masters of the *Recueil*;

Malibu, Paul Getty Museum Ludwig XV 8, c. 1475, *Esript par Jean du Quesne*, Vasco de Lucena's translation of Curtius' *Life of Alexander*, which may have belonged to a member of the Croy family as traces of their erased arms (the three axes) remain, illustrated by the Master of Margaret of York; Plotzek, *Ludwig*, vol. 4, pp. 240-55; McKendrick, *Alexander*.

BL Royal 17 F vi and vii, date?, written at Lille, Pierre Richart, *La Forteresse de la Foy*, perhaps illuminated by Loyset Liedet (Royal 17 F i and 17 F vi, vii bear no signs of ownership though all are very similar to the ones Edward IV and some of his courtiers acquired in Flanders in the 1470s and 1480s);

Saint-Quentin, BM 109, date?, *escript a Lille par la proper main de Jehan du Quesne*, Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor*, for Margaret of York and signed by her;

BN fr. 191, date?, written at Lille, *Jan Duquesne*, Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor*, , illuminated by the Master of the Golden Fleece (who did many miniatures of BL Royal 14 E iv, Wavrin, vol. 3), for Louis de Gruuthuse;

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale L. I. 6, 1466, vol. 1 of St Augustine's *City of God* (vol. 2 is now Turin, Archivio di Stato III. 12 J, illuminated by Vreelant) for Anthony of Burgundy, bearing his arms and emblems);

Oxford, Bodl. L. Hatton 13, 1469, household ordinances of Charles the Bold, written at Lille, for Duke Charles, see de Schrijver, 'Nicolas Spierinc', pp. 438-39, 451-52.

Paris, Arsenal 5208, 1470-72, *Histoire de Jean d'Avesnes*, illuminated by Dreux Jean, belonged to Jean de Croy, text related to Wavrin's copy, BN ms. fr. 12572.

Copies of his Caesar *translation* belonged to:

Louis de Gruuthuse, BN fr. 38, written 1482, without Du Chesne's name;

Philip of Cleves, Copenhagen, Koniglige Bibliothek Thott 544, date?, with Du Chesne's name;

perhaps Edward IV, BL Royal 16 G viii, Lille 1473, with Du Chesne's name, illustration very close to the 'Masters of the *Recueil*;

Jacob Donche, counsellor of Charles of Burgundy, New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke 226, written 1476, with Du Chesne's name;

the Saintré family, Bodl. L. Douce 208, 1480s, without Du Chesne's name.

Other copies are BN ms. fr. 280, 1473, a plain ms., with du Chesne's name; BL Egerton 1065, 1480s, without Du Chesne's name; Longleat Botfield 2, date?, with Du Chesne's name. (Douce 208 and Eg. 1065 are very similar in execution).

It has been assumed that Du Chesne learned his trade in Aubert's workshop in Bruges and started in Brussels (*Vlaamse Miniatuur*, p. 186). See also Bossuat, 'Traductions', pp. 263-90; Gaucher, *Biographie*, p. 26.

Appendix H. Some standard phrases in Wavrin's account of the battle of Shrewsbury (4, 6, 2) compared to similar phrases in some of the 'historical novels' more or less associated with him: *Jehan d'Avesnes*, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, *Gilles de Chin*, *Histoire des seigneurs de Gavre*, *Chastellain de Coucy*, *Jacques de Lalaing*, *Jehan de Saintre* and *Roman du Comte d'Artois*.

Very helpful for this comparison was the list in the *Appendice* of Bayot, *Gillion*, pp. 129-94, in which the author notes similarities between *Gillion* (ed. Wolff), *Chin* (ed. Chalon), *Faits de Lalaing* (ed. Chastellain-de Lettenhove) and which he calls an *étude de stylistique*. This list is referred to below by e.g. Bayot, no. 10. The instances from Bayot are given when their number did not make it impracticable to do so. In addition I have searched for such phrases in *Jehan d'Avesnes* (ed. Quérue), *Gavre* (ed. Stuij), *Coucy* (ed. Petit/Suard), *Comte d'Artois* (ed. Seigneuret) and *Saintre* (ed. Misrahi / Knudson); in the last two I did not find any genuinely similar phrasing. Finally I have searched for examples in texts not linked to Wavrin but of similar nature: *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (ed. Zink), *Mabrien* (ed. Verelst) and *Erec en prose* (ed. Colombo Timelli); these last three are very different in style and produced very few similar phrases, but their number also depends, of course, on the occurrence in the text of full-scale battles – completely absent in *Cleriadus*.

1. Change from one section to another (Bayot, no. 1, many instances in all his texts); generally common in Wavrin. Rasmussen, *Prose*, pp. 72-73.

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2, at the beginning: Or donques pour retourner a nostre propos, ...; at the end: Desquelz quant a present lairons ung peu le parler tant que heure soit dy retourner.

Gavre, p. 160: D'eulx vous lairons ester, et tournerons a parler de ceulx d'Attaines.

Avesnes, p. 151: ..., nous retournerons nostre compte aux Engloys ...

2. Gather one's forces (Bayot, no. 111, several instances in all his texts).

Wavrin (4, 6, 2): ... chascun de sa partie manda gens, amis et alyez ...

Chin, p. 90: ... et fist publyer partout que chascun s'appresta.

3. Prepare the battle order (Bayot, no. 114).

Wavrin (4, 6, 2): ... puis quant le roi se trouva auz champs il fist son ordonnance davant-garde, bataille et arriere-garde ...

Chin, p. 114: ... ilz ordonnaissent leur batailles, ...

Avesnes, pp. 152, 165, 174; p. 174: Si se meirent en armez et ordonnerent .IIII. bataillez, ...

Gavre, p. 153: Loys de Gavre et Eminidus, ..., ordonnerent leurs batailles, ...

4a. Noise that is horrible or marvellous to hear (compare Bayot, no. 17, many instances in his texts).

Wavrin (4, 6, 2): Si eust a ceste heure illec si grant bruit et noise du trompettes, clarons et hannissement de chevaulz que grant horreur estoit a oyr, ... (continued in 4b).

Avesnes, p. 126: ... trompettes, clarons, tambours et aultrez instruments tant haultement sonner que c'estoit merveillez ...

4b. The mountains reflect the sound.

Wavrin (4, 6, 2): ..., car les montaignes en retentissoient ... (continued in 4c).

Avesnes, p. 151: ... et lez montaignes et failloisez resonans aux sons dez cors et trompez ...

Erec, pp. 162, 254: ... font sonner trompettes et clarons moult haultement tant que la plaine en retentist.

4c. Noise so loud that 'you could not have heard God thundering' (Bayot, no. 137).

Wavrin (4, 6, 2): ... par tel facion que on neust oy Dieu tonner; ... (continued in 4d).

Chin, pp. 11, 17, 149, 158, 189, e.g. p. 158: Mais au passer qu'ilz faisoient par la rue, on n'y oist Dieu tonnans pour les heraulx, homes, femes et effans qui aloyent cryans ...

Avesnes, pp. 177, 179, p. 177: ... si grande la noise du marteleis d'ambedeux pars que, se Dieux eust tonné, on ne l'eust pas ouy, ...

Erec, pp. 162, 254: ... tel bruit menoient que on ne eust pas oy Dieu tonner ...

4d. Noise so loud that you could hear it miles away.

Wavrin (4, 6, 2): ...; tant estoient les chemins couvers de gens, chariots et chevaulz que plus de deux lieues loingz on oioit le bruit et tombissement, ...

Chin, p. 145: Le cry et le hu fu sy grant que pres d'une grant lieue on en pouvoit oir le son.

Coucy, p. 60: ... demenerent sy grant bruit que d'un grosse lieue on les pooit oyr pour le grant tombissement des destriers quy marchoyent sus la terre ...

Gavre, p. 153: trompettes, cors, buisines et tambours commencerent de sonner a sy grant force que plus d'une grant lieue loings on en ooyt le bruit et la noise.

5. Hear mass and have 'sop in wine' before a battle, a tournament or before departing.

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2: ... le roy Henry fist chanter la messe armez de toutes pieches, puis la messe oye prinst un soupe en vin, monta a cheval ...

Chin, pp. 17, 27, 28; e.g. p. 17: ... Appres la messe et avoir pris une soupe en vin, s'en departerent pour aler au tournoy.

Coucy, p. 60: ... après la messe oye et qu'ilz orent prins chascun une soupe en vin, ilz s'armerent ...

Gavre, p. 39: Quant ce vint le bien matin ilz oyrent la messe, sy prindrent une soupe en vin; puis entrerent en leurs navires ...

6. Battle cries (Bayot, no. 117, many instances in all his texts).

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2: ... gectant ung grant et horrible cry qui fut a oyr espoventable, ...

Chin, p. 175: Alors commença le cry et lu sy tres-grant que a loir estoit chose moult espoventable.

Avesnes, p. 128: ... et entre eulx se leva ung moult hault crie ...

7a. A thick cloud of arrows or shot.

Wavrin (4, 6, 2): ..., et les archiers de tyrer si dru et si espes quil estoit advist auz regardans que ce feust une espesse nuee, ... (continued in 7b).

Gavre, p. 81: ... le trait encommença voler sy espesement que a voir sambloit une espesse nuee, ...

7b. The light of the sun is blotted out (Bayot, no. 136).

..., car le soleil, quy lors estoit bel et cler, a ceste heure en perdy sa lueur, tant estoit le trait espes, ... (continued in 7c).

See 7c.

7c. The dust rises up and darkens the day (Bayot, no. 136).

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2: ..., et ad ce aidoit aussy la pouldre quy voloit contremont avec lallaine des hommes qui se commenchoit a eschauffer, tant que lair en estoit tout obscurcy.

Gavre, p. 150: ... adfin que grant poudriere en saille contremont, ...

Gavre, pp. 154-55: La journee estoit belle et clere, mais de la grant poudriere que faisoient les destriers ... et de l'alaine des chevaux et des homez, ..., que tout l'air devint obscur et toly ay soleil sa clarete.

8. They kill each other and there was no mercy.

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2: ... sentreoccioient hommes et chevalz telement que pitie estoit a les veoir; nul nespargnoit son compagnon ne misericorde ny avoit lieu ...

Chin, p. 114: Pitie, mercy ne misericorde n'y avoient lieu, mais detrenchoient sans les prendre a raenchon.

9. The dead and the wounded lie among the horses' feet (Bayot, no. 132, many instances).

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2: ... et cestoit grant horreur a oyr les lamentacions des navrez quy finioient leurs jours miserablement entre les piedz des chevalz ...

Chin, pp. 115, 130, 175-76; p. 115: ..., sy chy mort par terre entre les pies des chevalz.

Gavre, p. 155: La euissies oy pluseurs piteux cris et regres que faisoient les navres et les abatus, entre les pies des chevaux gisans par terre, que onques ne orrent pooir d'eulx relever.

10. Christian blood.

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2: ... tant de sang chrestien respandu ...

Gavre, p. 155: La peussies avoir veu le sanc courir de toutes pars, ...; grant pitie estoit a voir le sanc humain de chrestiens l'un contre l'autre.

11. The hero(es) kill(s) thirty or more opponents; other figures also occur.

Wavrin, 4,6, 2: ... de sa propre mainn il [Henry IV] occist trente de ses annemis, ...

Avesnes, p. 129: ... a brief parler, il en abbat plus de .XXX. l'un après l'autre ...

Avesnes, p. 141: ... tant qu'ilz en occisent plus de .XXX.

12. The hero enters the city.

Wavrin, 4, 6, 2: ... puis il entra dedens la cite, ou les rues estoient encourtinees ...

Avesnes, p. 131: ... s'en alla a Paris ... toutes lez ruez estoient tendues, ornees et parees de draps.

General conclusion

Dii boni, quam inutile labore sed quam iucundo.

Arnoldus Buchelius¹

Conclusions on historical matter (to me) are odious. They are merely the ultimate attempt to impose order on something that is inherently and irremediably chaotic – even if we did have all the facts at our disposal.

To me the study of history has as little or as much social relevance as it had to Jean de Wavrin. It is entertainment, a game played for pleasure, which, when it is played according to its strict rules and with dedication, is as satisfying (though bloodless) as I imagine a successful hunt would be, or a battle won. If by this enjoyable activity I provide pleasure to others, readers or listeners, or if my version of past events widens their view of life or society, adding to their collective ‘memory’ – without which no moral judgment is possible, according to a medieval premise that I would not care to contradict, but to which I would even add that memory is essential to any form of intellectual and emotional life – that is a bonus.

Wavrin, like me, experienced the joy of collecting together as much material as he could and putting it into an – it is hoped – aesthetically pleasing whole. He also felt he was entertaining his readers and helping their ‘memory’. He was fortunate in being more convinced than I am that he would be successful in his aims and that it would do them ‘good’.

If the study of history does add to our collective and highly necessary memory, what has been gained from the research recorded on the preceding pages? Not much more than this:

in the Yorkist period there was much interest in English affairs at the Burgundian court and in the Low Countries, but little prejudice against the English people; Warwick was feared and hated, but not because he was an Englishman. Wavrin was interested in England, but his priority was the recording of deeds of chivalry, whatever the nationality of its exponents, for the entertainment of his peers.

¹ Aernout van Buchell to his friend, Adam Verduin, 20 Sept. 1586, quoted in S. Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum 2001, p. 25, n. 2.

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The names of medieval writers have been put under their surname when this is well known; if not cross-references have been given. Cross-references are also given from modern editors to medieval authors and *vice versa* where this seemed necessary. French surnames beginning with *la* or *le* are under *l*; *du* is under *d*. The principle is that words meaning *of* are not part of the name, but words meaning *the* are. However, Dutch surnames are under the first 'real' word, usually the noun, i.e. not under *van* or *de[r]* or *van de[r]*. *Mac-* is under *m*, and *O'* under *o*.

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