Daniela Břízová

**Transmission of cultural and artistic influence in the fourteenth century
with an emphasis on cultural relations between
Czech lands and England**

diplomová práce

2012/2013

Prohlášení

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V Praze dne 2.4. 2013

Daniela Břízová

Bibliografická citace

Political and cultural relations between Czech lands and England in the fourteenth century and their influence on the mutual exhange of cultural ideas: diplomová práce / Daniela Břízová; vedoucí práce: prof. PhDr. Ing. Jan Royt, CSc. – Praha, 2013. -- 195 s.

Anotace

Tato práce se věnuje otázce politických a kulturních vztahů Českých zemí s Anglií v druhé polovině 14. století. Pozornost je ovšem věnována také mezinárodním vztahům, které vedly ke kulturní a umělecké výměně v západní Evropě ve sledovaném období. Na pozadí historických událostí analyzuje jednotlivé dochované pramenné zprávy a umělecké artefakty, kterými lze tento kontakt dokladovat. Podrobný rozbor dochovaných děl v anglické oblasti druhé poloviny 14. století vzniklých za vlády anglického krále Richarda II. je následován srovnáním se soudobou produkcí v českých zemích. Jejím cílem je nalézt styčné body v umělecké produkci obou oblastí a pokusit se nastínit způsob, jakým docházelo k přenosu uměleckých myšlenek. V té souvislosti je mimořádná pozornost věnována sňatku královské dcery Anny České s anglickým králem Richardem II Plantagenetem v roce 1382.

Klíčová slova

Anglie, České země, Francie Anna Česká, Richard II., Středověké umění, Wiltonský diptych, Karel IV., dvorská kultura, dvorské umění, iluminované rukopisy, umělecká výměna, mezinárodní vztahy ve středověku.

Abstract

This work is dedicated to the question of political and cultural relations of Czech lands and England in the second half of the 14th century. Attention is also paid to international relation in western Europe which led to cultural and artistic exchanges. Using historical events as a background, it analyses extant resources and works of art, by which can be the contact proven. Detailed analysis of the preserved works of art with English origin in the second half of the 14th century during the reign of English King Richard II, is followed by comparison with contemporary art production in Czech lands. The goal is to find features these two groups share and to find a way, through which the cultural ideas were transmitted. In that respect it is especially the marriage of the royal daughter Anne of Bohemia to English king Richard II Plantagenet in the year of 1382.

Keywords

England, Czech lands, Queen Anne of Bohemia, Richard II, Medieval art, Wilton Diptych, Charles IV, court culture, court art, manuscript illumination, artistic exchange, international relations during middle ages.

Počet znaků (včetně mezer): 320 120

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INTRODUCTION

If one would attempt to describe in brief the aim of this thesis, then it would probably be – to summarize and reconsider cultural relations of Czech Lands and England in the fourteenth century. Using various perspectives and assessing the widest field of art and culture at the time, my goal is to find an answer to the question, how were the artistic ideas and innovative design transmitted in fourteenth century Europe – especially between Bohemia and England. Aside from artistic monuments I venture to describe the concept of medieval court, especially in the cultural perspective. On the grounds of literature on dynastical marriages and a developed custom of envoys and travelling artists I also hope to present a better understanding of these communication channels in European context.

It is clear enough from the extant material, the culture and politics were bound by proufound connections and therefore they cannot be evaluated separately, without damaging the chances of objective conclusion. Although the main focus is on the minute aspects of artistic commissions in the fourteenth century, the first introductory chapter should provide a deeper insight into the complexity of political relations of the time, so that the true subject of our interest could be explained with better understanding. Both English and Czech political history creates an indispensable background to the following chapters, dedicated to the cultural aspects of political relations in the later Middle Ages.

The second chapter ought to deal with the court culture in the fourteenth century. The highlights of this chapter will be especially the independent artists and spreading of fashionable design and also a court culture of Edward III and Richard II. As a conclusion of the chapter will be provided a comparison with court of Charles IV and his royal representation. Moreover, the similarities of Richard's and Charles' idea of kingship will be compared. By this comparison should emerge an idea, whether son-in-law could be possibly inspired by his father-in-law, even if it were only the ceaseless craving for splendour and might both kings had in common.

The third chapter is dedicated fully to the history of English painting during the fourteenth century, again with the greatest emphasis on the transmission of the artistic ideas, not exluding Italian, Flemish and French influences. Both the manuscript illumination and the monumental painting will be subjected to closer examination. The key question of this part of the thesis should be related to the routes, the artistic influence were imported to England. Only on that account should be later on reassessed and reconsidered the question of the Bohemian influence over the English manuscript illumination in the second half of the fourteenth century. As an example of the complex and intriguing entirety of artistic influences, merging into a tangled net of half national and half imported visual motives, is presented the Wilton Diptych.

The final chapter is dedicated to the potential influence of Bohemian painting over the English manuscript illumination. On the grounds of related literature and studies on the subject I wish to create the most reasonable conclusion, considering all above mentioned research I have done to understand the general European environment of both cultural and artistic transmission. In order to assess the transmission via the Queen Anne's entourage, a brief description of the historical event regarding the marriage will be presented. Queen Anne also will be presented as a mediator of cultural influences, as perceived by scholars of several fields, cultural and literary.

The question of Czech-English relations in the second half of the fourteenth century, both in a political and cultural sense, were in last decades examined by many scholars of historical and art historical background. Nevertheless, I believe it reasonable to offer this fusion of politics, culture and art, merged into a thesis, aiming to find a point of view which would not be entirely purposeless.

1. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CZECH LANDS AND ENGLAND IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY

This chapter on the Czech and English politics in fourteenth century aims to provide a background for an analysis of cultural connections of England and Holy Roman Empire in the second half of the century. Thorough explanation of the political ambitions both English and Czech Kings were exhibiting, will prove helpful in the chapters on court art, which was inevitably related to the royal status and power of the king. Also detailed description of mutual relations is crucial for the explanation of how the cultural ideas were transmitted.

1.1 Czech king John the Blind and his influence on international prestige of Czech kingdom

If we attempt to seek a specific historical period, from which significant mutual relations of the Czech lands and England were established, we would certainly need to search for it in times of the second half of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, a long time before Czech lands gained their international reputation, achieved during the reign of Charles IV, there were historically anchored contacts and reciprocal consciousness.[1] In the first decades of the fourteenth century a future Czech king found his way into the chronicles of western Europe.[2] It was John of Luxembourg, who ruled as a Czech king between 1310 and 1346 and who was renowned as a diplomat and an important political figure of his time (pl. 1).[3] Even though the chief aim of this thesis is to reveal the cultural interactions of the two independent realms in the second half of the fourteenth century, deeper insight into how they evolved in the preceding decades politically and culturally is indispensable to give a whole picture.

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[1] TADRA 1897, 162

[2] For example: Jean Froissart´s Chroniques, namely relating to The Campaign of Crécy

[3] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 8

For furtner information on John if Luxembourg see: SPĚVÁČEK 1994; A study on this personality in French by CAZELLES 1947; in Italian by AMADORI 1978; THOMAS 1996; John of Luxembourg´s journey from an inexperienced youth to a knowledgeable king (in English) BOBKOVÁ 2011a;

John of Luxembourg was the only son of Count Henry IV of Luxembourg and Margaret of Brabant.[4] His father did not lack political wit, and, even though being politically insignificant in his early years, he managed to become the most successful member of the Luxembourg house to date, by becoming Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire 29th June of 1312.[5] But it were not only the personal qualities of the Count that led to this impressive rise to greater power. The impulse came from the French king Philip IV the Fair (ruling between 1285 – 1313), who was seeking to subordinate the Holy Roman Empire, currently destabilized by political fights between several magnates, to his growing realm.[6] Henry IV of Luxembourg, who was raised at the French court, was one of the king's favourite and foremost courtiers. The strategic position of the Luxembourg territory and the personal capability of the Count rendered him the best choice for the ambitious plans of the French king.[7] To strengthen the alliance with Henry IV, Philip IV the Fair (pl. 2) had given him the hand of his wife's niece, Margaret of Brabant. The marriage was by all means a clever political move, for it drew together members of two strategically important political entities, County of Luxembourg on one side and the Duchy of Brabant on the other.[8]

Philip IV the Fair and his great influence over political events in Europe did not exempt the Church.[9] The king's clash with Pope Boniface VIII, who died in 1303, together with growing tension, resulted in the moving of the papal residence to Avignon and the election of the first pope of French origin, Clement V.[10] Both Luxembourgs could not miss the enthronement and the coronation of the new pope in Lyon on 14th November 1305. Henceforth was the church under direct influence of the

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[4] PAULY 2011, 186
  For more about Henry of Luxembourg see: on the genesis of Henry´s career from Graf to Emperor WIDDER/KRAUTH 2008; for Henry´s description in late medieval source see JÄSCHKE 1988; FRANKE 1992; For a study in German see: DIETMAR 1984
[5] HEYEN 1965, 25
[6] SPĚVÁČEK 1994, 58-59
  For more about Philip IV the Fair see: study about his reign by STRAYER 1956; STRAYER 1980; for the relationship of Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII and state vs. Papacy see WOOD 1976; study in French by FAVIER 1978
[7] SPĚVÁČEK 1994, 58-59
[8] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 20
[9] For more about Phillip IV the Fair´s relations with church see: LIZERAND 1910; WOOD 1976
[10] WOOD 1976, 17
  For more about Boniface VII see: WOOD 1976
  For more about Clement V see: MENACHE 2002; BOUTARIC 1923 Clement V and the Emperor Elect by BOWSKY 1960a

French king, with a majority of cardinals named being French.[11] This direction in church politics was also favourable for further enhancement of the French power in the Holy Roman Empire.[12] The French king installed people loyal to himself into positions of bishops and archbishops in the important area of the Rhineland, all of that through loyal cardinals in the Curia. By his will were therefore installed the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Konstanz and the archbishop of Mainz.[13] The last named was the renowned Peter of Aspelt, who had been previously chancellor to the Czech King Wenceslaus II.[14]

Luckily for Baldwin of Luxembourg, he got a chance during the papal coronation in Lyon to make himself known to Clement V. The Pope then, in accordance with the wishes of the King, proposed Baldwin's name for the title of new archbishop in Trier. Even though he was not of the required age and had not received his ordination, his political loyalty was treasured by the King beyond his factual capability to administer an archbishopric.[15]

With Baldwin becoming one of the seven „kurfürsten", the House of Luxembourg was for the first time in the forefront of the European politics.[16] But even better things were to come for Henry. In 1308 was murdered the Roman King, Albrecht I, the last obstacle to new election of a loyal king to the French empire.[17] After a bold attempt to install on the Roman throne the King's own relative Charles of Valois, which was far too bold for Rhineland's electors, the Henry of Luxembourg began to be discussed as a future king. The influence of Baldwin and Peter of Aspelt, in alliance with the Pope Clement V, secured Henry VII the Roman throne. The French king achieved his goal to

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[11] SPĚVÁČEK 1994, 70
[12] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 23
   For historical and political development of the Holy Roman Empire see: BRYCE 1910
[13] STRAYER 1980, 239
[14] BENEŠOVSKÁ 2011b, 410-422
   For more about Peter of Aspelt see: On his Empire politics: ARENS 1948; On his presence at court DVOŘÁČKOVÁ-MALÁ 2011; For Peter of Aspelt as the Patron in Prague and his Archiepiscopate see: BENEŠOVSKÁ 2011b
[15] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 24
   For more about the emerging Luxembourg dynasty see: PAULY 2011; For the Establishment of the Luxembourg Dynasty in the Lands of Bohemia see SPĚVÁČEK 1996
   For further information about the Baldwin of Luxembourg see: REICHERT/BURHARD 1997
[16] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 24
[17] HASSAL 1908, 94

install a loyal pro-French candidate and Henry IV, Count of Luxembourg, became King of the Romans as Henry VII (pl. 3).[18]

As one of his first political steps he sent forthwith to the pope, demanding the imperial crown, asking for a specific date (28th June 1312) when the coronation should take place. The pope gave him the date and became his ally in his imperial aims.[19] With this bold act he followed the steps of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, who asked the Pope for the imperial crown only a short time after his election in 1220.[20] It was at the time, when Henry VII was preparing for his campaign in Italy when the situation within the Czech Kingdom began to be acute.[21] The turbulent events following the death of Wenceslaus II in 1905 and the murder of his son and heir Wenceslaus III year after, lead to destabilization of the political situation.[22] The death of the last Přemyslid was a good pretext for Albrecht I, who seized the kingdom and granted it to his sons, depriving Henry of Carinthia of his right to rule.[23] After the death of Albrecht's son Rudolf in 1307 the Henry of Carinthia (husband of Anna, daughter of the Wenceslaus II) was enthroned second time.[24] It did not take long for Czech magnates and influential abbots to realize, how incompetent and unsuitable their new king really was.[25]

Diplomatic efforts of two prominent Cistercian abbots Conrad of Zbraslav and Heidenrich of Sedlec with the support of Peter of Aspelt (pl. 4), who was at the time an elector and foremost personality among Henry's advisors, resulted in initiation of talks with Roman king, as to the intervention in the political situation in Czech Kingdom.[26]

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[18] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 24
[19] HASSAL 1908, 95
  For more information on Henry VII Imperial politics see: SCHNEIDER 1924-1928; PAULY 2008
[20] PAULY 2011, 186
  For more about Frederick II of the House of Hohenstaufen see: CLEVE 1972; MASSON 1957
[21] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 40
  For more about the relation of Henry to Italy, especially for The Conflict of Empire and City-State
  between the years 1310–1313 see BOWSKY 1960b; the relation to Italy (in German) PAULER 1997
[22] BOBKOVÁ 2011, 194
  For a general description of the political situation see: SPĚVÁČEK 1982; BĚLINA 2008
  For a history of the Czech Lands and also on the establishment of the Luxembourg dynasty see a
  publication in English by: PÁNEK/TŮMA 2009
  For more about Wenceslaus III see: MARÁZ 2007; DVOŘÁČKOVÁ-MALÁ 2008
[23] HEYEN 1965, 19; PAULY 2011, 187; for further context see: PÁNEK/TŮMA 2009
[24] SPĚVÁČEK 1994, 113
  For more about Anna and her husbant Henry of Carinthia see: TELNAROVÁ 2010
[25] HEYEN 1965, 20
[26] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 41
  For account of Cistercian hist. in Czech Lands in Middle Ages see: JAN 2003; DOLEŽALOVÁ 2011

Henry VII, undoubtedly inclined to attach the Czech lands to the sphere of his influence, launched talks with Czech magnates, who insisted that the future candidate would marry some free female member of Přemyslid dynasty.[27] In that respect seemed to be the most eligible match Elisabeth Přemyslid (pl. 5), daughter of deceased king Wenceslaus II and Guta, daughter of Roman King Rudolph I.[28] King Henry VII, after discussing the Czech political situation with Peter of Aspelt, approved Elisabeth Přemyslid as the only suitable wife for the future king of Czech lands. After protracted negotiations was chosen as a future King of Czech lands Henry´s son, the John of Luxembourg.[29]

There are two resources for the period mentioned, both of them are following closely crucial historical events. The first is so-called Dalimil´s Chronicle (pl. 6), which is describing Czech history from the very beginning and ends by the expulsion of the Henry of Carinthia.[30] Details of a year lasting negotiation are provided in the Chronicle, written by the future Cistercian abbot in Sedlec and Zbraslav, Petr of Zittau, called Chronicles of Zbraslav (pl. 7).[31] This text is also a priceless source of information about the royal marriage of the John of Luxembourg and the Elisabeth of Bohemia, which took place on 1st September 1310 in Speyer (pl. 8).[32] The wedding was a joyful event, which the Peter of Zittau describes with enthusiasm and expectations, optimistic about this historical moment that should reverse the long-lasting misfortune of the Czech kingdom.[33]

The young king had to undertake several military actions to enforce his royal prerogative.[34] Fortunately he had numerable troops provided by his father and his sympathizers to support his approaching success. The first considerable victory was the occupation of Prague and expulsion of the Henry of Carinthia during december of

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[27] PAULY 2011, 187
[28] DVOŘÁČKOVÁ-MALÁ 2011b, 288-290
  For more about Elisabeth Přemyslid see: BENEŠOVSKÁ 2011a; KOPIČKOVÁ 2008;
  SPĚVÁČEK 1996
[29] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 43
[30] BLÁHOVÁ 2011, 36-37
  For a complete edition of texts of the Chronicle see: HONZÍKOVÁ/DAŃHELKA 1988-1995
[31] BOBKOVÁ 2011, 194
[32] BLÁHOVÁ 2011, 37
  For more about the marriage see: BENEŠOVSKÁ 2011a; PÁNEK/TŮMA 2009
[33] BENEŠOVSKÁ 2011a, 28; ŽITAVSKÝ 1976
[34] BOBKOVÁ 2011, 196
  For more about the history see: PÁNEK/TŮMA 2009

1310, which would help John to conquer subsequently the rest of the kingdom.[35] Since the time he had to deal with local problems instead. He had to appease local magnates, who were ready to fight for their rights cost what it may. Therefore the nobles handed the king a list of demands, called inaugural diplomas.[36] Among other things he had to promise that he will not entrust certain positions to foreigners, but only to Bohemians in Bohemia and Moravians in Moravia.[37] In return for their demands they promised the king to "*retain peace and good in Bohemia.*" [38]

Only two years after his coronation in Prague on 7th February 1311 John had to deal with the sudden death of his father, caused either by malaria, or poisoning.[39] Resolved to claim the crown after his father, he launched his short but eventful campaign. His intentions were in the end fruitless, as the crown was seized by Lewis IV of Wittlesbach, called the Bavarian. John, however, became one of his most valuable allies, to whom were all previous rights of a King of Bohemia granted by a document.[40] Returning to the Prague, John had to face a continuing upheaval of nobility which unceasingly demanded their share of power. John, constantly supported by his wife Elisabeth to enforce authoritative regime, was after long political struggle forced to accept a political scheme favouring the nobility.[41] This political compromise led him to focus his attention on a foreign affairs, the area, where he showed great skill and wit.[42]

The main reason to include personality of John of Luxembourg into this chapter, lays in his battle successes. His chivalry and braveness made him known at his time across the Europe as one of the most valiant knights (pl. 9).[43] The next paragraphs will therefore deal with John's international fame and how it possibly influenced the

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[35] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 51
[36] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 51
  For more about the political development foreshadowed here see: SPĚVÁČEK 1994; ČECHURA 2008; PÁNEK/TŮMA 2009
[37] BOBKOVÁ 2011, 198
[38] Ibidem
[39] For more about the last years of Henry VII see: SCHNEIDER 1924-1928; PAULY 2008
[40] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 96
  For more about Lewis IV of Wittlesbach see: BENKER 1980; HUNDT 1995; NEHLSEN 2002
[41] For a more detail on engagement of Elisabeth Přemyslid in politics see: BENEŠOVSKÁ 2011a; KOPIČKOVÁ 2008
[42] BOBKOVÁ 2011, 204-207
[43] AYTON/PRESTON 2007, 20
  Notably in Chronicles by Jean Froissart and Jean le Bel.
  For entire work of Jean Froissart see internet resources by: AINSWORTH 1990
  More attention is paid to the Froissart's Chronicles on the subsequent pages

reputation of Czech kingdom during the fourteenth century, with special focus on an English perception. The emphasis is placed on two contemporary French Chronicles of Jean le Bel and Jean Froissart.

Before approaching the work of remarkable chronicler Jean Froissart, it is necessary to mention his predecessor, Jean Le Bel (1290-1360), whose Chronicles not only inspired Froissart, but also served him in many places as a resource from which he derived some of his own passages (pl. 10).[44] According to the fact that Le Bel was a chronicler of the deeds of an English king, it is substantial to follow closely all his remarks on the Czech king. This aristocrat, who was born in Liége served as a soldier in the army of Edward III and took part in his Scottish campaign in 1327.[45] As an eyewitness he took an intention of recording *the true history of the noble and valiant Kind Edward"*, whose victory, especially the one experienced at Crécy, was to him a source of great pride.[46] Unlike copious specimen of the Froissart Chronicles, Le Bel's Chronicle survived in one single copy that was found as late as the 18th century. Even though his work was lost and less copied than Froissart, it is vital to explore the passages, where King John of Bohemia is presented.[47]

The first remark confirms king's proverbial obsession with tournaments, which is also emphasized by Alois Bejblík.[48] Jean le Bel here states that after joyful and glorious coronation of the English King Edward in the year of 1327 in London,[49]

> he (King Edward) heard that the noble King of Bohemia and his brother the Count of Hainault and a great many Lords of France were gathering for a tournament at Condé-sur-l´Escaut. No plea then would make him stay, such was his desire to be at the tourney and to see his noble lord and

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[44] BRYANT 2011, 1
  For more about the work of Jean le Bel see THOMPSON 1966; a study in French: CHAREYRON 1996;
[45] THOMPSON 1966, 8
  For more about the Scottish Campaign of Edward III see: GREEN 1966; COOKE 1734; ORMROD 1990b; GRIFFITHS 2005
[46] CHAREYRON 14-17
  For more about the Battle of Crécy see: BURNE 1955; its political reasons and origin in the English invasion of France in 1346 see: LIVINGSTONE/WITZEL 2005; For a good study on the Crécy war in general see: AYTON/PRESTON 2007
[47] BRYANT 2011, 1
[48] BEJBLÍK 1989, 82
  He is an author of the "Shakespeare a Dobrá královna Anna", written in 1989
[49] BRYANT 2011, 33

brother and all the others, especially the worthiest King there ever was – that is, the noble, courteous, generous King of Bohemia... [50]

This remark by itself would prove a high rank and appreciation of the King of Bohemia. Being a great supporter of the courteous chivalry and in the same time having an unceasing urge to attend as many tournaments as possible, he was gradually building his renown on the grounds of his fortitude and gallantry.[51] Another remark that is closely bound to the efforts of the King of Bohemia is to be found in chapter XVII. Le Bel here presents political events in continental Europe, especially the induction of King Charles IV of France, who was uncle to the mentioned King Edward of England. In order to strengthen his position aside the new French King, John of Luxembourg offered him a hand of his sister.[52] J. Slavíček considers John's successful strategy to reinforce his connection with the new French King by the marriage as one of his especially shrewd acts. It lead, just like the majority of his international efforts, to increase of political power of the Luxembourg dynasty.[53] A marriage used as a political tool is also mentioned in the chapter following the beginnings of the Hundred years war between England and France. Le Bell says that Edward did not attempt to win King of Bohemia as an ally, because "*he was known to be strongly bound to the King of France through the marriage of their children (John´s daughter Bonne married future John II of France), who were heirs to the kingdom.*" [54]

Le Bel's obsession with the martial turmoil leads him to mention King of Bohemia now and then as a valuable ally and great help to the French king, but John's role is more or less dependent on the broader military strategies. There is no doubt that the valiant Czech king has Le Bel's respect, which can be explained partially by his inclination to admire kingly figures.[55] Even though Le Bel is generally interested in battles and war, he was accurate enough to give a list of other events across Europe that shaped politics in his day. As a part of the overall situation he mentions King of Bohemia, who after the death of the Roman King Lewis of Bavaria successfully

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[50] BRYANT 2011, 33
[51] BEJBLÍK 1982, 82
[52] BRYANT 2011, 55
[53] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 139-142
[54] BRYANT 2011, 68
[55] BRYANT 2011, 79-80

secured the Roman throne to his son, Charles IV.[56] Le Bel follows closely Charles' struggle for power after his father's death, his coronation and other informations with remarkable detail.[57] The fatal Battle of Crécy that brought fame to the King of Bohemia more than anything else, is described by Le Bel also in minute detail. For the unfortunate death of valiant Czech king he uses eyewitness testimonials summoned among german knights. King of Bohemia is mentioned as the first, most noble and most worthy of all the dead princes and barons, who had fallen.

> *... That was the Valiant King of Bohemia, who despite his total blindness, was determined to be in the forefront of battle and commanded his knights, on pain of beheading, to lead him forward no matter what, so that he could deliver a sword-blow to an enemy. [58]*

The chronicler, whose work served to others as a reference, was Jean Froissart. The Chronicles, copied many times by his followers, were written between 1369 and 1373 (pl. 11). Froissart himself has not experienced The Battle of Crécy, and because more than twenty years past since then, he had borrowed the main information from the Chronicles of Jean le Bel.[59] He is author of the message about the death of King John that was used innumerably by other chroniclers in the years to come.[60] Unlike Le Bel, Froissart is much more specific about King John's death, providing readers with more detail. Whether it is due to the fact that he had a source of information Le Bel did not, or whether he made up some parts of the story, is dubious. His passion for knighthood and valour might have influenced his sense of truth.[61]

> *The valiant and noble King of Bohemia, known as my lord John of Luxembourg, for he was the son of the emperor Henry of Luxembourg, heard that the battle was begun; for although he was there fully armed and equipped, he could not see a thing. ...Then said the King most courageously to his men, "Lords, you are my friends and my companions. Today I beg and request of you specially to lead me forward so that I may strike a blow with my sword." Those who were at his side agreed. There was Le Moine de Bazeilles right alongside him, who would unwillingly have left him behind, as would many fine knights of the county of Luxembourg who were all there with him. So, to fulfil their duty and so as not to lose one another in the fray, they sallied forth with the bridles of their*

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[56] BRYANT 2011, 98
[57] BRYANT 2011, 99
[58] BRYANT 2011, 183
[59] THOMPSON 1966, 11
[60] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 245
    For more about the Jean Froissart see: AINSWORTH 1990; THOMPSON 1966; DUNSTON 1847
[61] THOMPSON 1966, 16

horses all tied together and positioned the King right at the front to fulfil his desire, and in this fashion threw themselves against their enemies.[62]

According to P. Ainsworth, it is very common with Froissart to see strictly historical information on the one side and pure fictional fantasies on the other.[63] Therefore it is rather uneasy to objectively distinct, whether is the character of King John, presented as one of most valiant and noble men that ever lived, exaggerated or not. True or false, this picture of the brave and noble King of Bohemia lasted and we can also assume that this excellent reputation of her grandfather was one of the reasons, why Princess Anne such a desirable match for the English King Richard II.[64] It was Richard's grandfather Edward III, after all, who according to Czech Chronicle writer Beneš Krabice z Weitmile proclaimed standing over John´s dead body: *"Today has fallen the crown of knighthood; never lived anyone who would be equal to this Czech King."* [65]

1.2 Charles IV and alliance between England and Roman Empire

Without attempting to present this crucial figure of Czech history in his full extent, the aim of this chapter is to explain the origins and development of Czech-English political relations during the reign of this remarkable King.[66]

After the death of John of Luxembourg in the Battle of Crécy it was his son, Charles IV who had taken over his father's position as the King of Bohemia (pl. 12). Being in previous years engaged fully in political efforts of his father, he was undoubtedly fully competent to gain this position, both personally and politically.[67] The

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[62] AINSWORTH/CROENEN 2012, Folio 138

[63] AINSWORTH 1990, nepag. Peter Ainsworth, who is also to be thanked for launching website, offering free searchable database of Froissart´s Chronicles, had written a book, concerning the question of truth and myth in Froissart Chronicles, called *"Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History – Truth, Myth and Fiction in the Chroniques"*

[64] BEJBLÍK

[65] BENEŠ KRABICE Z WEITMILE 1987, 224

[66] For more about Charles IV see: JARRETT 1935; SEIBT 1978; SPĚVÁČEK 1979; FAJT 2006 For an Enlish text on culture and politics under Charles IV see: KAVKA 1998

[67] SEIBT 1979, 92-106

personality of this highly respected King has been evaluated in copious books, articles and anthologies, regarding his internal and international politics, his cultural and religious policies, his spiritual inner life and influence over the following generations.

It was in Prague on 14th May 1316, when little Wenceslaus, son of Elisabeth Přemyslid and John of Luxembourg was born.[68] His name, given to him by the explicit wish of his mother, was intended to demonstrate the proud determination of the queen to make him a dignified successor to the Přemyslid dynasty and corresponding political orientation.[69] The nobility received the information about the newborn successor to the crown with big expectations. King John, as was previously said, was unable to break dualism of power in Czech state and was justly worried that nobility might in future try to depose him and enthrone his son instead.[70] The small boy was at an early age subjected to a political intrigues of the nobility and even disputes between the king and the queen, whose opinions on ruling were often contradictory. In effect the young boy spent his first years of life as a captive, held in royal castles.[71]

King John's decision to move seven years old Wenceslaus to Paris was probably motivated by two reasons. First of them was the worry that nobility might try to force him on the throne instead of him. The other was connected to John's extraordinary gift to sense the right opportunity in the field of international politics.[72] King John managed in a short time to engage and marry his son to Blanche of Valois (pl. 13).[73] For eight years Paris became second home to young Wenceslaus, who accepted in honour of the French king the name of Charles. He could feel more at home also due to his aunt Mary, who was married to the French King. Charles IV (pl. 14) liked young Charles very much – as the future Czech King says himself in his autobiography.[74] It was Paris,

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[68] For more about Weceslaus IV see: FIALA 1978; for a study on every-day life of Wenceslaus see ŘÍHOVÁ 1998; for a general narative of Wenceslaus' life see: VONDRA 2011; Wenceslaus court is closely examined in: HLAVÁČEK 1981; HLAVÁČEK 1990; number of further studies by HLAVÁČEK on the subject his court are to be found in Bibliographical databasis of HIU AV ČR http://biblio.hiu.cas.cz/

[69] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 50

[70] SEIBT 1979, 115-120, SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 66

[71] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 68

[72] SEIBT 1979, 116

[73] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 65
For more about Blanche of Valois see: SPĚVÁČEK 1992; KAVKA 2002; LIŠKA 2012

[74] JARRETT 1935, 34
For more about Charles IV le Bel see: PETIT 1900; FAVIER 1978; GOBRY 2011a
For further information about Mary of Luxembourg see this French source: BOUYER 1997

where he received his supreme education, unparalleled in his times among nobility and even among kings. His mentor and teacher was Pierre de Rosieres, who was at the time archbishop in Sens. This well-educated and accomplished prelate (who was to become the Climent VI in 1342), ignited in the young Prince a passion for literature, philosophy and theology.[75]

In 1330 came the first opportunity for the young Prince to show his qualities, when entrusted with an unsettled situation in north Italy. Here he was supposed to rule as a governor over the group of cities conquered by his father, namely Bergamo, Modena and Lucca, facing mortal peril and several daring military actions.[76]

Charles' political career as the Margrave of Moravia was launched in 1333, when he, after eight years, finally beheld his motherland again. From the very beginning of his rule in Czech kingdom was obvious that Charles follows political orientation of his deceased mother, rather than international and therefore necessarily foreign policies of his father. Unlike King John, Charles showed great eagerness to grasp local problems, determined to become part of the society rather than present a foreign element as his father did.[77] The nobility in the kingdom, which held an uncommon large share of power, also realized, how changed will be the situation. As a mark of positive change was perceived Charles' decision to surround himself with local nobility instead of foregin advisors. Charles was very skilled in building systematically his reputation as a future King, who has expressively patriotic feelings, following the noble tradition of the Přemyslid dynasty.[78] Even though having only title of a margrave, he had enough liberty to make significant changes in the situation in the kingdom, especially by building a new power group of internal allies. Very much aware of the dangers represented by some defiant members of the aristocracy, he started to build stronger relationship with mighty representatives of the church.[79]

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[75] CHALOUPECKÝ 1973, 8-9
[76] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 83
   For more about Charles IV and Italy see: KALISTA 2004; For more about Charles' general itinerary see: PAVEL 1969; For a study on German kings and their relation to Italy in 14th century see: PAULER 1998
[77] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 106
[78] CHALOUPECKÝ 1973, 16-17
[79] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 107-108

The promising development was interrupted for some time by King John, who was probably incited by several Czech aristocrats against Charles. Some unyielding members of the nobility could not accept Charles' efforts to recover royal property and his support of big monasteries. By seeding suspicion and mistrust to the King John's mind, the magnates achieved Charles' contemporary withdrawal from the Czech kingdom. To relieve the tension, Charles answered imploring of his brother John Henry and started from Prague to help him with a dangerous political situation in the area of Tyrol in 1335.[80] It was this particular area of Austria, where the conflict between the Luxembourg's and the Wittelsbach Emperor Lewis had begun. In order to widen the sphere of Luxembourg power, Charles had in 1336 arranged marriage of his fourteen year-old brother to Margaret Maultasch of Tyrol. However as a result of a baronial revolt both of them were expelled from the country and the Lewis used the opportunity to marry his son Lewis of Brandenbourg to Margaret. This conflict of interests marked the beginning of protracted disputes between the Wittelsbach and Luxembourg dynasties.[81]

Charles' decision to acquire the crown of the Roman King and prevent Lewis from further damage of Luxembourg interests was supported by lucky coincidence. Pope Benedict XII died and was replaced by Clement VI the mentor of Charles.[82] This change would lead to complete alteration of the papal politics. Clement VI (pl. 15) was not only very ambitious and educated, but also craved sumptuous splendour and strong political influence. The combination of these characteristics was also very favourable to Charles, who felt infallibly the unique opportunity to seize the crown with his help.[83] Supported by his powerful uncle, Baldwin of Trier and his father, hand in hand with Rhenish ecclesiastical electors, he was elected the King of Romans. A necessary political confrontation with Lewis was interrupted by the Battle of Crécy (pl. 16) in August 1346, where his father died in a final act of valiant chivalry.[84] Again, just as if

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[80] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 120-122
[81] GARRETSON 1980, 71
[82] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 157
  For more about Climent VI see: WOOD 1989; MOLLAT 1960; LÜTZELSCHWAB 2007
[83] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 157
  CHALOUPECKÝ 1973, 193-194
[84] For more about the Battle of Crécy see: BURNE 1955; its political reasons and origin in the English ínvasion of France in 1346 see: LIVINGSTONE/WITZEL 2005; For a good study on the Crécy war in general see: AYTON/PRESTON 2007
  A study on Czech-French relations and Luxembourgs in the battle of Crécy by: ATTEN 1997

God himself revealed his will (at least that must have been Charles' perspective) in 1347 King Lewis accidentally died, leaving him the only legitimate King of Romans.[85] A year after his coronation in Bonn he also received the Crown of the Czech King from the hands of the Czech Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice (pl. 17).[86]

Expectedly enough, the oldest son of deceased King Lewis, Lewis of Brandenbourg, was not giving up that easily.[87] From the very beginning he strived to set a competition to Charles. As he could not be elected king nor emperor himself (he was previously proclaimed to be a heretic) he sought to install some counter-candidate instead.[88] This is the first time, where the interests of a Czech king met the interests of a King of England.[89] In this case it was Edward III (pl. 18), the same king, who was fighting against the alliance of the French king in the Battle of Crécy.[90] Lewis of Brandenburg and some of his allies resolved to persuade an English king to play the part of Charles' counter-candidate in the fight for imperial crown.[91] A delegation had been sent to the Westminster palace to receive an answer to Lewis' inquiry. King did consented, but he was cautious enough not to make any official oath or sign a treaty.[92]

It is highly likely that the original intention of the English king was not to seize the crown himself, but prepare a ground for a revival of the English-Imperial alliance.[93] As J. Spěváček assumes, great caution and alertness showed also in his decision not to be personally present during the election, which took place in Oberlahenstein on Rhine on 10th January 1348.[94] King's representative, Ives de Clinton, met on this occasion advisers of Lewis of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine, Henry of Mainz and Duke of

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[85]   SEIBT 1979, 153
[86] GARRETSON 1980, 71
    For more about Ernest of Pardubice see: Vilém z HASENBURKA 1994; For a detailed study on the iconography of Ernest of Pardubice see: ROYT/HRUBÝ 1997; CHALOUPECKÝ 1946; for narrative of Ernest's life see: KRAUTWALD 2000; for a position of Ernest of Pardubice in Czech historiography see: BENEŠ 2005; Ernest as Charles' diplomat: BOBKOVÁ 2005; HLEDÍKOVÁ 2008
[87] For more about Lewis of Brandenbourg: HEINIG 2006
[88] SEIBT 1979, 159
[89] JARRET 1935, 111-112
[90] See page 28 for more information about King Edward III
[91] GARRETSON 1980, 71
    Political history resources on the reign of Edward III: GREEN 1966; COOKE 1734; ORMROD 1990b; GRIFFITHS 2005
[92] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 208
[93] ORMROD 2011, 325
[94] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 208

Saxony. There Edward's representative was informed that these four electors had decided to elect him the King of the Romans.[95] It should have been shown soon that it was nothing more than a clever political move of Edward, attempting to recreate the alliance. The hopes of Lewis of Brandenburg were after that transferred to the Margrave of Meissen.[96]

Edward's decision to seek Charles' support and alliance with the Holy Roman Empire was motivated by the need to weaken the position of the French king. Surprisingly, Charles was willing to support and even initiate this new alliance.[97] In order to promote it, he showed his readiness to support Queen Phillipa of Hainault (Edward´s wife) in her claims to a portion of the lands she should inherit after her deceased brother (pl. 19).[98] What is more important, he also promised to withhold any further military assistance to Philippe VI against Edward.[99] This Charles' decision marked significant moment, for it was for the first time, when member of the House of Luxembourg refused allegiance to the French king.[100] Edward himself was in return more than supportive when Charles was about to become the Holy Roman Emperor.[101] Both kings, lead by the common necessity to find an ally against the French king, signed a friendship treaty on the 23th April 1348 containing an Edward's promise that he will never make an alliance against Roman king, only in case of protection of his rights either in England or in France. This treaty was followed by Charles' charter, specifying details of the alliance, only weakened in the point of military assistance. By that Charles secured his own position. If there was a conflict, he would not be obliged to go against the French king.[102]

To enhance and strengthen this alliance, Edward offered the hand of his daughter Isabella to Charles. However, Charles' political sense was advising him to choose his new bride in the area of Palatinum (Rheinpfalz), where were his political interests most

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[95] OFFLER 1939, 629
[96] OFFLER 1939, 629
[97] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 208
[98] For more about Philippa of Hainault see: SURY 2010
     The queen is subsequently mentioned in the chapter --- as a patroness of manuscript illumination.
[99] ORMROD 2011, 325
     For further information on Philippe VI see following French resources: ZELLER 1885;
     CAZELLES/MOLLAT 1984; GOBRY 2011b
[100] OFFLER 1939, 630
[101] ORMROD 2011, 325
[102] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 208-209

profound at the time. The good relations fortunately were not damaged by this refusal.[103] The next big opportunity to deepen the alliance through a marriage came during the reign of Charles' son Wenceslaus IV, who married his sister Anne to English King Richard.[104] There is no doubt that previous development in the field of diplomacy between England and Czech lands had a decisive influence over this historical event.

1.3 Wenceslaus IV, his policies towards papacy and its influence over Czech-English relations

There was one aspect in the life of Czech king and Roman Emperor Charles IV, where he experienced continuing misfortune. Charles' strong dynastical orientation and sense of royal continuity was inevitably related to his wish to hand over the crown of Czech king and Roman Emperor to a rightful heir. However, until his forty-fifth year, he did not produce a male heir, who would survive childhood.[105] Charles himself felt sorely this unfavourable reality and it is therefore understandable, what happiness brought to him birth of a son on 26th February 1361.[106] His third wife, young Anna of Schweidnitz (pl. 20) gave birth to this first son, who lived through childhood, in Nürenberg. To demonstrate continuity of Přemyslid dynasty, child was christened Wenceslaus (pl. 21).[107]

Unfortunately, king Charles was not only a great political figure, but also uncommonly caring father.[108] Desperate longing for a son rendered him unable to think critically once the son finally came. In his pursuit to secure his successor as straight way to power as possible, he brought up a boy, who was positively unsuitable to follow

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[103] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 214
[104] BEJBLÍK 1989, 95
   This marriage is throughly followed on pages 41-47
[105] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 29-30
[106] VLKOVÁ 2012, 15
[107] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 29-30
   For more about Anna of Schweidnitz see: SPĚVÁČEK 1992; KAVKA 2002; LIŠKA 2012
   For a history of the Přemyslid dynasty see: VOCEL 1863; FRIEDL 1938; ŽEMLIČKA 2005; for
   a detailed publication with an extensive bibliography and number of studies see antology by:
   SOMMER/TŘEŠTÍK/ŽEMLIČKA 2009
[108] BEJBLÍK 1989, 30

daring and strong politics of his father. Young Wenceslaus was not used to decide independently and his upbringing only enforced his natural character with inclination to indecisiveness, carelessness and tendency to escape unpleasant reality.[109] The first pompous manifestation of Charles' warm affection to his son and of his anxious will to make him a legal heir, was his coronation on 15th June 1363.[110] Wenceslaus was only two years old, when Charles enforced this otherwise serious political act to be executed. Charles did not pay any attention to the protests of his friend, Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice and exposed himself to an astonishment and ridicule of magnates and nobility, who were present to this event.[111] His intention was to ensure his first son the right of the crown, in case he had any other male descendants with his wife-to-be, Elizabeth of Pomerania.[112]

Until the moment of his death on 29th November 1378, Charles was working relentlessly towards a single goal: unify the Empire and the Czech lands under the protection of his son Wenceslaus, his successor.[113] Not only he managed to get Wenceslaus the crown of a Roman king (6th July 1376), even though he was still alive himself, but he also forced his son since young age to take part in all diplomatic events and social occasions. Unfortunately, the overprotective character of Charles' approach to his son had a directly opposite effect on the child. Young Wenceslaus took part in all official responsibilities of his high standing, but his father did not allow him to make any political decisions whatsoever. As a result of this counterintuitive upbringing, Wenceslaus suffered from indecisiveness and also urge to seek less serious employments in a society of his favourites.[114]

When his father died, eighteen years old Wenceslaus had to face the unpleasant reality of standing alone in a forefront of a vast Empire, surrounded by skilled advisors of his father, but still without any effective help. Turbulent situations in all parts of

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[109] VLKOVÁ 2012, 16-17
[110] PALACKÝ 1968, 241
[111] HLEDÍKOVÁ 1991, 46
[112] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 46
  For more about Elizabeth of Pomerania see: SPĚVÁČEK 1992; KAVKA 2002; LIŠKA 2012
[113] VLKOVÁ 2012, 17-20
  For more about the death of Charles IV see: HLOBIL 2009;
  On the occasion of Charles' death were pronounced funeral orations by Prague archibshop Jan Očko of Vlašim and Vojtěch Raňkův of Ericinium.
  For the funeral orations see: EMLER/TADRA 1882
[114] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 105

Europe, including the Hundred years war in the west and the approaching Papal schism in Italy and France, were only the most acute problems of the day.[115] Wenceslaus had to deal with an internal situation in the Czech lands as well and all of that at times, when a social tension threatened to unleash a dangerous turmoil.[116] However important was Wenceslaus and his reign to the approaching Hussite revolution, the aim of this chapter is to focus on his international politics, especially in relation to the English question.[117] In order to explain this particular part of Czech foreign politics it is therefore necessary to draw attention to the papal policy regarding the Western schism. Its origins and aims of the Avignon pope Urban VI (pl. 22) are significant to understand the arranged marriage of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia.

Even before Wenceslaus had to deal with a complex situation of the Papal schism, his father also had to take a position concerning the unavoidable and fairly important political sphere of papal politics.[118] In the last decade, preceding Charles' death, he was supporting the decision of Pope Urban V to move back to Rome again in 1368. This move by which Charles sought to strengthen his position in the Italy, was met with sharp denial by the French king Charles V and the College of Cardinals.[119] Providing the pope with a formidable army that escorted him to Rome, Charles with a ceremonial pompe accompanied the pope to the entrance of the church of Saint Peter and Paul.[120] The ovations of clergy, praise of Francesco Petrarca (pl. 23) and the fact that he would crown Charles' wife Elisabeth of Pomerania (pl. 24) seemed to approve the rightness of the decision.[121] However convincing this entrée had been, the pope's decision did not last long. The revolt of several papal cities and continuing pressure from the Cardinal College hand in hand with an unsatisfying level of power pope experienced there, all that persuaded him to move back to Avignon four years later. Nevertheless, several days after this tiresome journey, he fell severely ill and died in a short time. After his death pro-French Gregory XI was installed in his place and a close alliance of the

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[115] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 105
For more about Great Schism see: SMITH 1970; BLUMENFELD–KOSINSKI 2006; ROLLO-KOSTER/IZBICKI 2009
[116] VLKOVÁ 2012, 18-20
[117] For more about Wenceslaus' role in polit. situation leading to the Hussite revolution see: BARTOŠ 1947; FIALA 1978; ČECHURA 2008
[118] For a short history of the Papacy in the Middle Ages see: ULLMANN 2003
[119] For further information on Charles V see these French resources: AUTRAND 1994; PISAN 2009
[120] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 256-257
[121] For more about Francesco Petrarca see: SPECK/NEUMANN 2004; BELLONI 2007

French king and the pope in Avignon was renewed.[122] This political turn forced Charles to follow some of his interests concerning central Europe, instead of trying to stabilize his power in Italy. This change in political orientation, symptomatic by the tendency to neglect the Italian and French politics, is perceived as a typical sign of the last decade of the Charles' reign. [123]

This short retrospective into the politics of Wenceslaus' father provides us with an opportunity to understand the decision of Wenceslaus to support the Roman pope in the years to come. To Wenceslaus' great misfortune, his father died the same year the Papal schism had started, so he had to seek his own political orientation.[124] Even though having numerous group of loyal advisers – the John Očko of Vlašim (pl. 25) being the foremost of them – he was rather uncertain in choosing a new course for his political efforts.[125] Unsuccessful negotiations with the French king in the last stages of Charles' life made further co-operation impossible and by supporting the Roman candidate to the pope, Wenceslaus openly affirmed this course.[126]

The first pope, who boldly moved to Rome in 1378 and interrupted the Avignon papacy, was Gregory XI (pl. 26), who died in 1378. His successor was Urban VI, born as Bartolomeo Prignano. He was previously the Archbishop of Bari, working as an administrator in the papal chancery in Avignon.[127] The College of Cardinals chose this Neapolitan out of the fear that furious crowd of people would attack them, once they left the papal palace, if they do not choose Italian.[128] The College of Cardinals was soon to regret their decision. Their new pope proved himself to be suspicious, domineering and prone to outbursts of temper. Shortly after the election the majority of Cardinals left Rome and they decided to elect a new pope. Robert of Geneva was elected as an

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[122] For more about Avignon Papacy see: CLARK 2010; For the Avignon Papacy and the Crusades see: HOUSLEY 1986; GUILLEMAIN 1962; For a cultural connection of Avignon and Bohemia see: MATĚČEK 1923; For the diplomatical aspects of the relation see: VLKOVÁ 2012
[123] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 258-259
[124] VLKOVÁ 2012, 19
[125] BEJBLÍK 1989, 93
[126] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 108
[127] ROLO-KOSTER/IZBICKI 2009, 10-11
  For more about the Pope Urban VI see this Italian resource: PRIGNANO 2010
[128] SMITH 1970, 19

antipope on September 20th of the same year. Pope Clement VII, as he chose to call himself, moved again into the papal court in Avignon.[129]

Pope Urban VI, who was in a highly unstable situation, sought the approval of all mighty political figures he possibly could. In a situation like this, the pope was eager to assist Wenceslaus in approbation of his coronation, performed in Aachen on 6th July 1376, to secure him as an ally against the Avignon faction and the French king. Antipope Clement VII had a similar idea, so Wenceslaus' new title was approved by both popes. J. Spěváček assumes that hold into his father´s politics in changed situation was the reason of Wenceslaus' failure to adopt effective strategy. To create his own way and adapt to all the changes, through which politics went since the death of his father was very difficult task.[130] During the Papal schism two alliances were created. One, siding with the Clement VII and the other favouring Urban VI. First of them consisting of France, Aragon, Castile, Cyprus, Burgundy, Savoy, Naples, and Scotland and the other of Denmark, England, Flanders, the Holy Roman Empire, Norway, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, the Republic of Venice and City States of northern Italy.[131]

The next stage of Czech-English diplomatic relations, which developed during the reign of Wenceslaus, we owe to the political efforts of Urban VI, rather than to Wenceslaus himself.[132] In his search for allies Urban was considering some enforcement of his currently achieved diplomatical successes by creating stronger bonds among his allies. One of them occurred as especially effective – an alliance of the Roman Empire and England. Two of his most powerful allies together would help him achieve his goal of destroying his opponent more quickly.[133] It is therefore highly likely that the idea of marriage of Anna of Bohemia with Richard of England was Urban's idea.

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[129] ROLO-KOSTER/IZBICKI 2009 15-16
For more about Antipope Clement VII see: BALUZE 1693; BRUCHET 1897; BINZ 1997
[130] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 113
[131] SMITH 1970, 20
Further information about the situation two studies in French: CHANTREL 1895; For an explanation of the beginnings of the Great Schism see: HAYEZ 1980; Italian study on the same subject by: MARINI 1982
[132] See VLKOVÁ 2012
[133] BEJBLÍK 1989, 93

Due to Urban's efforts to reinforce his own political position, relations of the two kingdoms were re-established. The resurrection of the previous good relations, renewed by the alliance of Edward III and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV in 1348, was finally sanctified through the means of marriage policy.

1.4 The reign of Richard II with emphasis on internal politics

Richard II (pl. 27) is one of the late medieval figures that always incited keen interest of historians and art historians.[134] Unlike his predecessors, who gained their renown and fame on battlefields, Richard was the king, who preferred to demonstrate his power and position by stately architecture, sumptuous clothing and elaborate art.[135] Even though in his time he could not reach the reputation of his father and grandfather, the art production of his court made him widely recognized more than five hundred years after his death.[136] Art in the turbulent times of Richard's kingship is inseparably connected to the current situation, and it is therefore inexplicable without the wider background of Richard's rule. However extensive and intriguing is the subject of Richard's history, the aim of this chapter is to summarize most important points.

When Richard was born on 6th January 1367, it was his grandfather Edward III (pl. 28), who held firmly reins of the English kingdom. This celebrated restorer of the English realm was known for his military capability and it was due to him that England became one of the most redoubtable military powers in Europe (pl. 29).[137] By declaring himself a French king in 1337, he started the Hundred Years war and achieved some truly remarkable military successes in the process.[138] Not only he had won the Battle of

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[134] BARRON 1997, 9
In naming few essential studies dealing with Richard II, one cannot miss: STEEL 1941; DU BOULAY 1971; TUCK 1973 GILLESPIE 1997a; SAUL 1997a; SAUL 1997b; FLETCHER 2008
[135] STEEL 1941, 7
The most important studies and anthologies dealing with Richard II's court and culture: MATHEW 1968; SHERBORNE/SCATTERGOOD 1983; GILLESPIE 1997b; GORDON/MONNAS/ELAM 1997; GOODMAN/GILLESPIE 1999;
[136] Term "widely recognized" related to the issue of an Anthology by GORDON/MONNAS/ELAM 1997; ASHMOLE 1715
[137] STEEL 1941, 7
[138] AINSWORTH/CROENEN 2012, Book 1, Folio 2 v.

Crécy and the Battle of Poitiers (pl. 30), but also had pushed through the Treaty of Brétigny as a result, receiving several French regions and other advantages.[139] Jean Froissart mentions on several occasions also his fights with Scots, claiming that Edward *"... had been much occupied against the Scots and conquered them three or four times, and the Scots could never gain any lasting advantage or victory over him."* [140]

However strong was the king's reputation as a valiant knight and capable military strategist, his reign was not filled only with wars and campaigns. Edward excelled also in the field of internal politics. Creating an environment of camaraderie between him and his supporting magnates, he skilfully reinforced essential relation, this cornerstone of medieval internal politics, which either his father, nor his successor Richard were able to maintain.[141] Edward raised to power number of new earls and was not hesitant to rely on his nobility in home and international aims. As a part of this policy he introduced the title of duke, designated for king's close relatives.[142] By this substantial enlargement in the numbers of the nobility, he undoubtedly sought greater support for his warfare. Further unification of higher magnates was also supported by the Order of the Garter (pl. 31), a chivalric group of nobles, founded by King Edward, supposedly in 1348.[143] As a positive side effect of this rise of aristocracy, there was an awakened sense of national identity and unity, further strengthened by the threat of French invasion.[144]

Edward III was the last king from the House of Plantagenets (pl. 32), whose divine right to throne remained unchallenged and whose fifty years long reign was perceived as a sign of God´s favour.[145] Being one of the line of kings, who were *"distinguished for manly vigour and determined will"*, he launched his kingship being fourteen years old.[146] His sovereignty and power, following the best tradition of English medieval

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[139] LONGMAN 1869, 239-254
[140] AINSWORTH/CROENEN 2012, Book 1, Folio 2 v.
[141] ORMROD 1990a, 102-105
 More about the relation of Edward III to nobility see: ORMROD 1990b
 More to the problem of Richard II's relation to nobility see: TUCK 1973
[142] PRESTWICH 2005, 43
[143] COLLINS 2000, 1-3
 For more about the Order of the Garter see: BELTZ 1841; BEGENT 1999; COLLINS 2000
[144] ORMROD 1990b, 105
[145] STEEL 1941, 7; ORMROD 2011, 1
 For more about the House of Plantagenet see: BROOKS 1975; HAMILTON 2010
[146] LONGMAN 1869, 1-2

kings, was for the moment strong and unwavering. This model of medieval ruler was about to be destroyed by his grandson's deposition in 1399, concluding long line of sovereigns, who were holding power and passing it on their sons without interruption.[147] Even Froissart is mentioning him with high regard, saying: *„the good King Edward, was a courageous, wise and bold man, enterprising and fortunate in exploits of war.[148]*

Until 1376 it was Edward the Black Prince (pl. 33, 34, 35), Richard's father, who was supposed to become English king after the death of Edward III.[149] This idol of chivalry was renowned for his phenomenal military acts in the Battles of Crécy and Poitiers.[150] His valour and statesmanship earned him respect of his father, who made him a founding personality of the Order of the Garter.[151] Edward III made him on several occasions his deputy, when he was abroad. Rewarded by his trust, Edward the Black Prince became king's representative in Acquitaine, where he resided with his wife Joan of Kent, bearing the title of Prince of Acquitaine.[152] In Bordeaux he created one of most splendid courts of the time.[153] During the expedition to Spain in 1366 Edward's health was weakened and he never recovered to full health ever since. Mourning the death of his oldest son, Edward, he returned with his wife and their only surviving son Richard to England in 1371. After that his illness was getting worse and he dropped all his public appearances. He died on 1376, leaving his only son Richard successor to the Edward III.[154]

A large amount of secondary literature was dedicated both to Richard's personality and his reign. All of the informations used in the secondary literature are derived from original resources, generally chronicles. The reign of Richard was covered by several

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[147] STEEL 1941, 7
[148] AINSWORTH/CROENEN 2012, Book 1, Folio 2 v.
[149] GREEN 2007, 10
   For more about the Black Prince see: BARBER 1978; GREEN 2007
[150] HEWITT 1958, 1-13
   For more about Black Prince's expeditions see: BARBER 1979
[151] COLLINS 2000, 288; BARBER 1978, 80-110
[152] BARBER 1978, 110, 170
[153] GREEN 2007, 10
[154] BARBER 1978, 192

chroniclers, including Jean Froissart, Adam Usk, Thomas Walsingham and Holinshed, here used in a form of a more accessible translated and edited versions.[155]

Richard was born at the court of his father in Bordeaux on the feast of Epiphany (6th January 1367).[156] His grandfather had given him all titles of his deceased father: title of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester. It was the king's will to have Richard his successor over his own children and Richard's uncles, John of Gaunt, Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock.[157] Richard was enthroned in June 1377.[158] The coronation was recorded by a majority of contemporary chroniclers.[159]

The Chronicle of Thomas Walsingham is very eloquent on the occasion. Abundance of information, related to this event reminds one of modern journalism, in its detailed and vivid description of events, major and minor. He mentions not only the participants, but also provide readers with the details of how the preparations for the coronation were proceeding. He includes the ceremony of the king's coronation itself. Chronicle contains information on the coronation mass, banquet and events following in subsequent days.[160]

However, in the years to come it was a clique of magnates, with John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster in the front, who were to decide instead of him. This ambitious magnate was an eager supporter of the royal prerogative. Regardless of his political orientation, he was for a long time „*suspected in some quarters of harbouring designs on the crown himself*" and therefore widely mistrusted by the House of Commons.[161] In the subsequent three years, government was directed through the means of „continual councils" which approved legislation and engaged in formal matters. Unfortunately for Richard, the year of his succession was also the year, when the truce with France

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[155] For Jean Froissart's Chronicles was used: AINSWORTH/CROENEN 2012
For Adam Usk's Chronicles: GIVEN-WILSON 1997
For Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles: CLARK 2005
For Holinshed´s Chronicle: WALLACE/HANSEN 1917
[156] HAMILTON 2010, 183
[157] HAMILTON 2010, 183
For more about Edmund of Langley see: HAYTHORNTHWAITE 1927
[158] HAMILTON 2010, 183
[159] See: GIVEN-WILSON 1997, 3
[160] CLARK 2005, 38-44
[161] SAUL 1997a, 27

expired.[162] England was catastrophically unprepared and French campaigns onto English territory had serious consequences. The need for military funding resulted in series of poll taxes, first of them levied in 1377 with approval of the commons.[163] The most symptomatic French campaign, resulting in the capture of the Isle of Wight is mentioned in detail in the Chronicle of Thomas Walsingham, who continues with the French attack at Winchelsea and town of Ardres.[164]

The money generated in the first poll tax was invested into building of a new fleet. In April 1379 however, another Parliament took place and „*granted a subsidy so wonderful that no one had ever seen or heard of the like.*"[165] In those days it became apparent that laity and clergy cannot bear the extension of the taxes and growing tension resulted in people trying to evade paying taxes at all costs. A third poll tax in 1380 resulted in the outbreak of unrest all over the England and led to the biggest revolt against the king's government in medieval history, called usually The Great revolt of 1381.[166]

One of the most detailed and accurate descriptions of the events was taken by chronicler called Thomas Walsingam, a monk at St. Alban's Abbey, who recorded a period of English history from 1394 to 1422.[167] His description is by no means objective, for he regards the peasants revolt a crime against the natural order of things. Even though he is obviously biased and despises the rebellion, his symptomatically minute description provides recent historians with a great source of information, regarding the Great revolt.[168]

The rebellion quickly spread from Kent and Essex. John Ball, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw took over the leadership of the revolt (pl. 36).[169] For the purpose of this thesis is

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[162] HAMILTON 2010, 185
[163] HAMILTON 2010, 185
[164] CLARK 2005, 44-46
[165] HAMILTON 2010, 185
[166] SAUL 1997a, 56
    For more about The Great revolt of 1381 see: OMAN 1907; DUNN 2002; DOBSON 1970;
[167] TAYLOR/CHILDS/WATKISS 2003, xviii
[168] CLARK 2005, 13
[169] DUNN 2002, 59. Alistair Dunn author of "The Great Raising of 1381" states in his publication, it
    was one of those rare occasions, when members of common class made a lasting mark in the
    English medieval history. Names of Jack Straw and Wat Tyler are occuring in popular culture till

the most important the moment, from which the Great revolt started to attract attention of the King Richard II. It is assumed that this dangerous situation and the way, by which it was solved by the king, had great consequences for his further reign. The Great revolt was the first occasion on which the King himself had shown his own initiative.[170] In 1381 was Richard only fourteen years old, yet the way he decided to solve the problem shown some personal stubbornness and determination. When it became apparent that the revolt overgrown its place of origin and that the groups of rebels were creating a huge mass of armed forces, heading to London, the king sought a shelter of the Tower. There he hid himself with several of his intimates, namely Lord Chancellor Simon of Sudbury (the Archbishop of Canterbury), the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Warwick, Salisbury and Henry of Bolingbroke.[171]

As Thomas Walsingham states, the large group of rebels arrived at Blackheath. From thence they demanded a king's answer to their claims. Those of the king's advisers, who dissuaded him from this step, were also most responsible for the taxation – Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury (Lord Chancellor) and master of the Hospital of Saint John, Sir Robert Hales (the Treasurer). They were the first nobles, who should taste the wrath of the rebels.[172] Shortly after the rebels reached and entered London, they destroyed the Savoy Palace, belonging to the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt.[173]

Even though the leaders of the rebellion were attempting to overthrow the current system and destroy all connected to it, their chief aim was to persuade the king to negotiate conditions of appeasement. King and his intimates were shut in the Tower, save haven for the time present, but without any possibility to flee. This was the first opportunity for king to show his will, facing the grave situation.[174]

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this day. Also personality of radical preacher John Ball gained great attention for his "radical egalitarianism" prevalent in his letters and speeches.

[170] HAMILTON 2010, 76
[171] SAUL 1997a, 63
[172] CLERK 2005, 122
For more about Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury see: WARREN 1956; BERRY 1995
[173] OMAN 1969, 58
For more about John of Gaunt see: GOODMAN 1992; ARMITAGE-SMITH 1904; For his expeditions, and his Right to the Kingdom of Spain and also his issue and marriages see: COLLINS 1740; For John of Gaunt and his retainers see: WALKER 1986
[174] DUNN 2002, 65

After several attempts to fool the rebels, the king decided to meet the leader of the rebels, Wat Tyler at Mile End. This famous meeting was a great personal risk for the king, because he was in a positively vulnerable situation, travelling to the place with a very small retinue. He was accompanied by the members of the council, of which two fled during the way, fearing death.[175] After some negotiation it was agreed that another meeting will be held another day in Smithfield. When the discussion was launched, the king had no other choice than to approve every Tyler's claim, including the abolition of serfdom, an end of an artillery, a disendowment of the church and equality of all men below the king.[176] During these negotiations rebels broke into the Tower in London and killed the hated Lord Chancellor Simon of Sudbury and treasurer Robert Hales. This event was in great detail described by Thomas Walsingham in his Chronica Maiora.[177]

Of what happened after that the chroniclers are disunited. Presumably, one of the king's esquires denounced Tyler the 'most notorious thief in the country'. In the fight that started as a result, Wat Tyler was badly wounded by Mayor Walworth and died shortly after, probably by the hand of the king's soldiers.[178] Whatever the true event really was, it was fatal for Peasant revolt. The rebels, broken by the loss of their leader lacked an effective strategy and in London the rebellion was over. The Council worked quickly to restore order in the realm.[179]

During the Parliament in 1381 it was determined that the other leaders of the rebellion were to be beheaded.[180] King revoked all promises made at Mile End and Smithfield, arguing that he has no power to execute any charters without consent of the parliament. It was obvious enough that the king had no intention to fulfil any of his promises, made under pressure.[181] Thomas Walsingham is providing readers with his

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[175] OMAN 1969, 72
[176] SAUL 1997a, 70
[177] CLERK 2005, 124
[178] SAUL 1997a, 71
    For more about the personality of Wat Tyler see: SOUTHEY 1989; also Life and adventures of Wat Tyler (published 1851), now accessible through the means of Google Books as a free book.
[179] SAUL 1997a, 73
[180] For more about the Parliament in 1381, where the decision of the execution was made is analysed in detail by: FRYDE 1970
    The crisis of 1374-1390 is summarized in set of texts compiled by the Modern History Faculty Library in Oxford in 2007, under the title "England in crisis c.1374-c.1390"
[181] OMAN 1907, 151

'Letter for the revocation of liberties', where Richard himself states about his charters approved in the Smithfield:

> ... the letters clearly caused the greatest harm to us and our crown, and have disinherited not only us and the bishops, lords and magnates, but also the Sacrosanct English church, while bringing losses and troubles upon the whole state, on the advice of our council we have revoked, washed, invalidated, made null and void those letters. [182]

This experience with a defiant peasantry made a great impression on Richard's evolving sense of royal prerogative. It is therefore assumed that Richard from these times onwards felt a great urge to suppress any kind of revolt and rebellion, of either lay or clerical origin. He therefore sought to strengthen his royal status by all possible ways, perceiving himself as God's direct deputy.[183] It is also for the first time, when Richard II starts to play independent role in Chronicles.[184]

As was stated previously, Richard did not show great political wit, concerning magnates and nobles who surrounded him. His position as a youth, who has to be advised by influential, mature advisors, was typical for the first years of his reign. In 1380's however he launched more independent politics.[185] Since his valiant face-to-face meetings and subsequent marriage, Richard had as a fourteen year old left his „pueritia" to „adolescentia", claiming a more active role in internal politics. Heavily criticized was king by his former advisors and authoritative figures at his court, when he started to surround himself with a group of young courtiers, most significant of them being Robert de Vere, who was a king's constant companion. He also started to replace important offices all over the country by loyal members of the Chamber.[186]

It was also the group of obedient members of the Chamber, who handled the negotiations for the Anglo-Luxembourg alliance. In the course of 1380's Richard built up the Chamber in the very centre of his developing network of political influence, to a great displeasure of his former political advisors who still had immense power. King's favourites were as a rule those, whom he chose for their personal qualities rather than

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[182] CLARK 2005, 155
[183] SAUL 1999, 37
[184] BARRON/BOULAY 1971, 424
[185] HAMILTON 2010, 191
[186] TUCK 1973, 60
For more about the political situation of the time see: BARRACLOUGH 1968;

for their immaculate pedigree.[187] An example of Simon Burley, who emerged from obscurity to one of the most powerful men in the realm, is showing the extent of king's favouritism.[188] As such Burley had exclusive access to the king and also could to a great degree influence who of other nobles was able to see the king. From 1383 there also was a powerful figure Michael de la Pole, who was Richard's chancellor and later earl of Suffolk.[189] This apparent retreat of aristocratic influence over the king was met with defiance of those, who were affected the most: Thomas of Woodstock – Duke of Gloucester, Thomas de Mowbray – Earl of Nottingham, Henry Earl of Derby and Thomas de Beauchamp – Earl of Warwick. This group of nobles is known as Lords Appellant. [190]

The conflict was unleashed by an attempt of Michael de la Pole (Lord Chancellor at a time) to demand high taxation in order to protect the realm against the growing danger of a French invasion.[191] To king's surprise, parliament of 1st October 1386 not only refused to do so, but also stated that as long as de la Pole was Lord Chancellor, they would not consider any demands.[192] The King's first reaction was adamant, but after a threat of deposition, he had to, willing or not, let Michael de la Pole leave the office. It is assumed that this parliament gathering, called later the Wonderful Parliament, was influenced by the Earls of Gloucester and Arundel.[193] These events clearly proved an emerging power of the Parliament, which openly announced that the king himself was not immune from the consequences of the parliamental discussion.[194] This bold attempt to meddle in the king's administrative was worsened by forcing other

[187] TUCK 1973, 65
[188] For more about Simon Burley see: LEWIS 1937; FLETCHER 2008
[189] SAUL 1997a, 117
[190] HAMILTON 2010, 196
For a monography on the The loyal conspiracy and the Lords Appellant under Richard II. see: GOODMAN 1971
[191] SAUL 1997a, 157
[192] MACKISACK 1959, 443
For more about Michael de la Pole impeachment see: ROSKELL 1984
[193] SAUL 1997a, 161
The Wonderful parliament examined in a study called: The Lancastrian faction and the Wonderful Parliament in: CLARKE/SUTHERLAND/MCKISACK 1958; For a study on the general aspects of parliamentary system in Later Middle Ages see: HASKINS 1947; For a detailed study on the aspects of parliamentary system in England of Later Middle Ages see: DAVIES 1981
[194] GREEN 1966, 227

ministers to be dismissed from their offices, inclusive of the Treasure and the Keeper of the Privy Seal.[195]

The King himself felt this process as a positively treacherous act, questioning his royal prerogative. Within this perspective he also summoned judges of the Chief Justice, whom he interrogated on the legal perspective of the situation. Armed with sealed document, stating Parliament's behaviour as treacherous, he started to gather an army. Supported by his faithful Robert de la Vere, he carried out a military action, which ended in the victory of the Lords Appellant. They did not deposit the king, but reinforced their own positions within the realm, so that they could not be so easily disregarded.[196] Lords Appellant took over the king's household, fired some of his servants and important positions were assigned to loyals. All necessary policies should be soon sanctified by the means of Parliament, which was called for its bloodthirstiness „Merciless Parliament".[197] To the king's horror they were not so easily satisfied and as a precaution they got rid of all formal king's advisors.[198] During the Parliament eight men were condemned to death and executed. Not only the chief justice of the king's bench, who was sentenced to death, but also many others were sentenced to exile. Simon Burley was beheaded.[199]

As a result of the Lords Appellant seizing the power, three months after the Merciless Parliament was Richard virtually prevented from any real decision making, retrieved from an active role in politics.[200] Even though the clique of nobles practically overtook power, they did not attempt to secure their power or guarantee their future political position. As members of the council, they had several opportunities to reinforce their power and restrict the king's authority.[201] Mollified by the king's apparent impotence rendered them rather inattentive. Their blindness to his awakening sense of pride and self confidence was soon to show its consequences.[202] King was for a moment plunged in a hopeless situation that however should not last longer than two

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[195] HAMILTON 2010, 195
[196] HAMILTON 2010, 196
[197] TUCK 1973, 120-121
    For more about the Merciless Parliament see: JOKINEN 2007
[198] SAUL 1997a, 229
[199] CLARK 2005, 262
[200] SAUL 1997a, 196
[201] For a detailed description of the situation see: GOODMAN 1971
[202] OMAN 1907, 233

and a half years. On 3th May 1389 at the council meeting in the Marcolf chamber he officially claimed himself being of age and announced his intention to appoint his own ministers.[203] From his previous experience it was apparent that Richard saw the only possible way to a peaceful kingdom in the reign of a king, who holds the reins of the kingdom with a firm hand, uninterrupted by unworthy advisors, who are craving power.[204] Having both politically humiliating defeats in vivid memory, he resolved to promote royal prerogative in a form that seemed the most righteous to him. Richard himself revered his royal ancestors, whose example he wished to follow.[205]

Richard, even though inclined to wear sumptuous dresses and eager about building wonderful architecture, also longed to show his military excellence. Aside from calming continuing tension with France, he launched his Irish campaign in 1394. His aim was to stabilize English supremacy over the area and reinforce the position of his deputy, who was entitled to administer it, against the claims of local nobility.[206] As Thomas Walsingham states: *"... when he (Richard) came to Ireland, at first indeed he seemed to prosper and to hold the whip hand over his enemies."* [207] Another of his successes was agreement of twenty–eight years lasting truce with France, supported by marriage of Richard to 7–year–old daughter of the French king Charles VI, Isabella.[208] Two years after the death of the Queen Anne it was obvious and effective political marriage.[209] The truce and marriage are closely examined in the chronicles of Adam Usk, who states that the truce should bring:

> *... beneficial agreements, peace and harmony between the aforesaid kings should be swiftly and effectively brought into being, to last for a long time in the future, and that bonds of kingship should be established between these kings and their successors, and that friendship and co-operation... should be fostered between their kingdoms.* [210]

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[203] SAUL 1997a, 239
[204] OMAN 1907, 233
[205] For Richard II and his notion of kingship see: GILLESPIE 1997b; For a kingship and a cult of saints see: MITCHELL 1997; SAUL 1997b; GOODMAN /GILLESPIE 1999
[206] HAMILTON 2010, 204
[207] CLARK 2005, 307
[208] About relations in the Middle Ages between England and France: TOUT 1922; For a comparative History of England and France during the Middle Ages see: LANGLOIS 1890
[209] HAMILTON 2010, 204
[210] GIVEN-WILSON 1997, 103

The period of his rule, ending with his deposition in 1399 was regarded by older historians as a decade of 'tyranny'.[211] One of the opinions of contemporary chroniclers is that once Richard felt himself strong and sure enough, he decided to retaliate for the humiliation Lords Appellant caused him during their short tenure.[212] One of more recent opinions tends to assume that growing tension between the king and Earls of Arundel and Gloucester were threatening to overgrow into a potentially dangerous situation and Richard simply used this situation to get rid of his old rivals.[213] Be it as it may, Richard replaced bishop Arundel, who held the office of the Chancellor by William Wykeham, who used to be a servant of Edward III. Both Earls of Gloucester and Arundel were dismissed from the council.[214] The former Lords Appellant were to be disposed off the same way Richard was. Therefore on 17th September 1397 the Parliament met at Westminster and this time it was positively subservient to the king's wishes.[215] Earl of Gloucester was arrested on the 10th July 1397 and sent to Calais shortly afterwards. Even though there is not a relevant resource to prove it, it is supposed that he was murdered in there.[216] Earl of Warwick confessed his guilt and was sentenced to loose all his property and sent to exile in the Isle of Man. All consequent steps were taken to reinforce king's prerogative. Acts of 1388 were annulled and the king also received generous subsidies from wool and leather, for term of life.[217]

However umerciful was Richard's solution of the political threat, there still was another very powerful political group, with Richard's uncle John of Gaunt – earl of Lancaster in the forefront.[218] His position was well established and his political ambitions found their way in acquiring a title of a King of Castile and Duke of Aquitaine.[219] The relationship between Richard and the House of Lancaster were not very close, especially before 1385.[220] John of Gaunt was during Richard's youth kingship the most influential figure, making decisions instead of his immature nephew.

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[211] SAUL 1997a,
[212] TUCK 1973, 185 quoting The Kirkstall Abbey chronicles
[213] Ibidem
[214] HAMILTON 2010, 199-200
[215] GREEN 1966, 237
[216] TUCK 1973, 186
[217] GREEN 1966, 238
[218] SAUL 1997a, 196
[219] GOODMAN 1992, 111
[220] For more about England under the rule of Lancastrians see: FLEMMING 1921; For a history of the political development of Lancastrian dynasty see: PICKERING 2000

Once Richard started to promote his independent rule, they started to grow away. After several years Richard found a common word with Gaunt regarding his Imberian ambitions.[221]

The end of Richard's rule was abrupt and caused by many circumstances.[222] Henry of Bolingbroke – duke of Hereford, who was the son of John of Gaunt and Richard's cousin, was about to play a crucial role in the final years of Richard's life. In the end it was Richard's personal feeling of insecurity that contributed to his deposition and death.[223] The event that in-stayed the beginning of Richard's deposition, was an argument between Henry of Bolingbroke and Thomas Mowbray – Duke of Norfolk.[224] Chroniclers' notes on the event are various, some of them are favouring Henry of Bolingbroke and some of them Thomas Mowbray.[225]

King Richard decided to solve the dispute by a duel of these two nobles at the Court of Chivalry in Coventry on 16th September 1398. The result is well known, for the king in the end decided to stop the bloodshed by sending both of them to exile, duke of Norfolk for life and the duke of Hereford for ten years (later reduced to six years).[226] After the death of John of Gaunt in February 1399 Richard was facing a great opportunity to deny Henry of Bolingbroke, who was still in exile, to enter his inheritance.[227] He was very well aware of the fact that his cousin will by the time very hostile towards him and being popular as he was, could present a danger to his sovereignty. Therefore he decided to ban Henry from coming back to the country and extended his ten years exile to life in exile.[228]

The following events are described by Thomas Walsingham, who obviously and with observable joy favours Henry of Bolingbroke, who was soon to become the king

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[221] GOODMAN 1992, 88
 For John of Gaunt expeditions, and his Right to the Kingdom of Spain see: COLLINS 1740
[222] A detailed study on the Richard's deposition see: CLARKE/SUTHERLAND/MCKISACK 1958;
 For a Contemporary Account of the Fall of Richard the Second see: THOMPSON 1904
[223] HAMILTON 2010, 210
[224] For scholarly article on the subject see: GIVEN-WILSON 1994
[225] HAMILTON 2010, 210
[226] TUCK 1973, 208
[227] GIVEN-WILSON 1994, 553
[228] HAMILTON 2010, 215

Henry IV (pl. 37).[229] Henry had no intention to put up with Richard's decision to deny him his hereditary right. The last campaign of Richard lead him again to Ireland, where he had to deal with further problems. Thomas Walsingham, eloquent in explaining all Richard's crimes against nobles and his subjects, commented the situation as follows:

> *Meanwhile Henry, once duke of Hereford but now by paternal right duke of Lancaster, who had endured his banishment with a heavy heart, but his exile and disinheritance with a much heavier one, now could see that the king was being unjust to all his subjects... so he seized the opportunity of the king's absence and decided to return to England to seek his inheritance.* [230]

It was to be very soon clear enough to Richard that he should not listen to his omnipresent anxiety and allow Henry, the strategic ally and potential supporter, to claim his inheritance – his exile was after all honourable and he was allowed to stay at French court.[231] Henry, using the opportunity of king's absence, summoned forces and arrived to England. Bolingbroke's army was joined by many other nobles and outnumbered Richard's army.

Shortly after Richard landed in England, he was taken captive by Bolingbroke's troops and placed in the highest tower of the castle in Chester.[232] What happened afterwards is witnessed only by pro-Lancastrian chroniclers and therefore is not very credible. According to them Richard gave up his crown willingly and named Henry as his successor.[233] Considering all features of Richard's character and all his previous reign, it seems highly unlikely.[234] In parliament on 30th September of 1399 at Westminster Hall the renunciation was presented.[235] Its essence is presented within the first article stating that: *"the king is indicted on account of his evil rule."* [236]

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[229] For more about Henry IV see: BEVAN 1994; MORTIMER 2007
[230] CLERK 2005, 307
[231] TUCK 1973, 212
[232] HAMILTON 2010, 219
[233] For more about the Richards deposition see: WILKINSON 1939
[234] HAMILTON 2010, 220
[235] Richard's architectural changes of the Westminster Hall and its role in promotion of his royal image are explained in the chapter 2.5.2 Richard II and his royal image, page 63
[236] HAMILTON 2010, 220

2. INTERNATIONAL COURT CULTURE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Facing the question of Bohemian influences in the English painting after 1350, there is an obvious need to explore, to what extend was court art in England formed by international influences. Considering dynastic politics of the foremost magnates in Europe who tended to strengthen their alliances with political marriages, there was an unceasing contact of cultural centres. The idea of a melting-pot of European influences in London in the second half of the fourteenth century brings in the question, whether the Bohemian influence over the English painting of the period would be distinguishable in this melting-pot of international artistic tendencies. Only with an understanding of communication channels used in the later medieval environment of kingly courts it is possible to assess the question objectively.

2.1 Significance of international court culture

The court culture as a social phenomenon with typical features achieved it's lasting form in the fourteenth century and was clearly distinguishable from early medieval Curia Regis, court of King's advisors and administrators.[237] Whereas Curia Regis was an assembly of magnates, summoned three times a year to aid the king with the important business of the realm, the royal court of the fourteenth century had much broader function and characteristics.[238] Unlike the early medieval form of court, in the late middle ages were established the essential features of royal court which were about to last until the beginning of the twentieth century. Hand in hand with this development emerged the court culture, a complex variety of art, literature, music, fashion and

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[237] MATHEW 1968, 1
   For more about early medieval courts see: JAEGER 1985
[238] MORRIS 1929, 772
   For more about the Curia regis see: HOLDSWORTH 1922

courtly manners (pl. 43).[239] In this environment the king took a position of central figure, whose personal preferences determined contemporary fashion in clothing, manners and amusement.[240] His example was followed with eagerness by nobles and knights, whose behaviour was subjected to more rigid rules and who were expected to unite prowess with refined manners, based upon ideals of chivalry and noble breeding.[241] General behaviour at court was restricted by many directions and complex system of ritual and ceremony was increasingly influencing everyday life at court.[242]

Due to the ceaseless contact between the European courts fostered by the diplomacy and promoted by envoys, heralds and publicists, the development in various courts was synchronised. At the same time informal contact through the means of visits and tournaments among nobility helped to spread new courtly trends and ideas of culture, manner and protocol. As a result the court culture acquired truly cosmopolitan nature.[243] In the second half of the fourteenth century there are several observable principles by which is this particular stage of development distinguishable from the previous stages. Growing formalism was reflected in the ruler´s tendency to keep his distance from his subjects, which was used to emphasize the king's superiority. Also the way of sophisticating hierarchy and protocol and arrangement of ceremonial pageants distinguished the second half of the fourteenth century from the previous development.[244]

In recent scholarly works of the foremost specialists in medieval history and its culture, the term "court" is treated with great carefulness.[245] Considering the nature of the king's environment, it is impossible to give the idea of king's court clear demarcation. Kings in the fourteenth century were surrounded by a Camera Regis, a private area, where only intimate relations and favourites of the king were admitted. Around this inner circle was a much more indistinct group of courtiers, which could

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[239] MATHEW 1968, 1
[240] SHERBORNE 1983, 6
[241] BARTON 2009, 513
[242] BARTON 2009, 513
[243] RICKERT 1954, 147, mentioned English painting as a medium, through which the new artistic influences were spread from continental Europe (by war conflicts, marriages and ecclesiastical relations with papal court in Avignon)
[244] SAUL 1997a, 346
[245] Especially by: BURROW 1983; SCATTERGOOD 1983

change with time, place and circumstances.[246] Remarkable changes were observable in England. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century the term "courtier" was also used for the attendants of the Parliaments, who were not in the everyday presence of the King and who arrived at court just to attend the Parliaments. Due to this events the number of courtiers greatly fluctuated.[247]

2.2 Independent artists and spreading of fashionable art

There probably would not be such a stylistic connection between cultural centres of Europe in the fourteenth century, had not it been of independent artists, who ventured to seek patrons in different parts of Europe and mediated new fashionable design ideas and forms. In England the position of craftsmen and artists in the fourteenth century contributed to an unprecedented spread of Gothic form and style. These men were often hired by the Crown and after completion of required tasks they sought new commissions elsewhere, equipped with favourable reference of their previous service to the king.[248]

It was in the region of Italy, where the rise of the artist in the western culture took place, introducing one of the key aspects of the international court culture, prevalent from the fourteenth century onwards.[249] Challenging earlier theories about the role of urban civilization in this process, M. Warnke emphasises the role of princely courts as a more likely environment for awakening self-conscience of artists in the fourteenth century.[250] Considering this theory, courtly support and patronage of artists could be after all an important force behind the unparalleled thrive of visual arts in late medieval Italy. "Liberated" artist was allowed broader artistic freedom thanks to the regular salary and was allowed to develop further innovative artistic ideas.[251] The consolidation

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[246] BURROW 1983, ix
[247] SHERBORNE 1983, 2
[248] RAMSAY 1987, 49
[249] VALE 2001, 260
[250] WARNKE 1993, 1-6
[251] WARNKE 1993, 2-3, 12-16

of power and centralisation is thought to be the determining factor for both literature and art to adopt the position of indispensable cultural aspects.[252] In this new atmosphere, artist was not only more likely to earn a considerable amount of money, but he also had the prospect of social distinction that could result in a higher rank. Those of gifted artists who earned recognition of one Prince or another, were very likely to improve their social status and also gain the attention of other powerful magnates and rulers, who would summon them to work on their commissions.[253]

As was stated by Gervase Mathew the first court culture in the sense of above described characteristics was established in Naples, during the reign of King Robert of Anjou between 1309 and 1343 (pl. 41).[254] This descendant of Neapolitan dynasty was bound by a close relationship to the royal house of France and this connection influenced his cultural and political aims.[255] His court and its features could be explained as a combination of French current – demonstrated in a massive popularity of tournays – and mixture of Provencal and Byzantine influence.[256] The Angevin court in Naples was apparently accustomed to both secular and sacred music, dances and instrument playing.[257] Robert of Anjou also summoned to his court some of the most remarkable literary figures of his time and by his preferences and favouritism he shaped the idea of fashionable and contemporary in arts and literature.[258] King was as a learned man interested in culture. He collected manuscripts and diligently cultivated personal relations with scholars and artists of excellence.[259]

King Robert´s interest in "good letters", even those written in the vernacular, contributed to transformation of the literary culture in medieval Europe, where the

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Argument on the relevance of urban civilisation to the emergence of liberated artist is continuing, most remarkably sumarized by J. Cambell in CAMBELL 2004.The impact of princely courts is yet to be decided and therefore every speculation on the point remains a speculation.

[252] VALE 2001, 261
[253] CAMPBELL 2004, 9
[254] MATHEW 1968, 2
  For more about Robert of Anjou see: BARBERO 1983
  For more about the Angevin court see: HEULLANT-DONAT 1998
[255] KELLY 2003, 5
[256] MATHEW 1968, 2
[257] VIVARELLI 2007, 6
[258] KELLY 2003, 12
[259] KELLY 2003, 24

personality of a poet started to enjoy unparalleled attention of mighty patrons.[260]
Personalities of four geniuses of the fourteenth century – Francesco Petrarch, Giovanni
Boccaccio (pl. 42), Dante Alighieri (pl. 43) and Geoffrey Chaucer (pl. 44) were
essential in spreading of the new literary style.[261] A realist comedy of manners with
rather amoral cast and unhappy endings which were in deep contrast to romantic novels
of the time, intrigued courtiers as well as the king.[262] Robert's close relationship with
Petrarch and Boccaccio was a model of patronage to be mimicked by many affluent
nobles in the decades to come.[263] A transmission of the new style, promoted by these
four poets, is a valid example of cosmopolitan and truly international influence of
cultural ideas. Geoffrey Chaucer's *Knightes Tale* and *Troilus and Criseyde* originated in
Naples – a remarkable proof of connections of Neapolitan and English royal court. [264]

Aside from poets and rhetoricians Robert of Anjou employed skilled artists to work
on his artistic commissions. One of his most famous painters was Simone Martini (pl.
45). This famous representative of the Sienese school of painting became his court
painter in 1317.[265] The most significant of his Neapolitan commissions was a painting
of Saint Louis of Toulouse crowning Robert of Anjou, now to be found in the Museo di
Capodimonte in Naples.[266] In these early stages of Italian Renaissance artists started to
liberate themselves from the constraints of a guild. With steady income from the patron
artists had creative freedom unheard of before.[267] This was a case of Simone Martini,
who has spent major part of his professional career on the courts of mighty nobles,
republic of Siena, not excluding papal court in Avignon, where he stayed until his death
in 1344. The length of his stay is uncertain, it is supposed to start sometime after

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[260] MATHEW 1968, 2
[261] UTLEY 1974, 181
   For more about the Giovanni Boccaccio see: MUSCETTA 1992 ; WALLACE 1991;
   For more about the Francesco Petrarch see: BELLONI 2007 ; SPECK/NEUMANN 2004
   For more about the Dante Alighieri see: JACOFF 2007 ; REYNOLDS 2006
[262] MATHEW 1968, 2
[263] Ibidem.
[264] MATHEW 1968, 2
   For Chaucer and late medieval world see: BISSON 1998; For Chaucer, literature and historical
   context during the Richard II's reign see HANAWALT 1992; On Chaucer's Knight, the English
   Aristocracy and the Crusade see: KEEN 1983; For Boccaccio, Chaucer and the International
   Popular Tale see: UTLEY 1974
[265] For more about Simone Martini see: MARLE 1920 ; MARTINDALE 1988
[266] GARDNER 1976, 12
[267] VALE 2001, 260

1335.[268] The artistic ideas of Martini had with high probability an influence over evolving court art at Paris under the Charles V.[269] S. Whittingham has no doubt that great influence of Simone Martini would also be found in the portrait gallery of the Duke of Berry (pl. 46), had they been preserved to present.[270] The same can be said about the court art of Charles IV in Prague, where it was probably transferred through the personality of Jan IV of Dražice, bishop of Prague, who was a great patron of arts.[271] A. Martindale in his biographical study about Martini assumes that there are certain connections with English art as well.[272] It is relevant to consider Simone Martini as one of the artists of a truly international impact, whose career was a shining example of an independent artistic personality, sought after by the rulers of Europe to execute his respected art.[273] Through the means of such an artist, whose fame and renown attracted the nobility, was the Gothic style with Italian characteristics brought across the Alps and contributed to the international style with a major share.

The region of Burgundy and Paris as well as the region of Italian territories were endowed with wealthy nobility who wished to secure their political position by sumptuous art and ceremonial splendour. The Burgundian court was furnished with its own artistic workshop, producing luxury goods. Contemporary sources refer with amazement how the artists experienced ruler's attention unparalleled in the past.[274] At the French court under the rule of Charles V many artists gained glory and wealth, also many of them were ennobled, namely André Beauneveu and Jean d'Orléans, who were first in the row of the recognised artists.[275] A contact of the princely courts is documented for an instance by a visit of two artists Jean de Beaumetz (pl. 48) and Claus Sluter (pl. 49) in 1935 at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, where dwelled the Duke of Berry. These two artists were sent by his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi (pl.

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[268] MARTINDALE 1988, 45-53
   For an anthology on cultural, intelectual and scientific environment at papal court in Avignon see: HAMESSE 2006
[269] MATHEW 1968, 8
[270] WHITTINGHAM 1971, 552
[271] MATHEW 1968, 8
[272] GARDNER 1976, 444
[273] CAMPBELL 2004, 34
[274] WARNKE 1993, 19
[275] WARNKE 1993, 19
   For more about André Beauneveu see: NASH 2007; COCKERELL 1906; BOBER 1953; SCHER 1968

50). Similar visit took place the other way round, when master carpenter and master mason were sent from Duke of Berry to the Duke of Burgundy.[276] Even though the true purpose of these visits is unknown and a subject of numerous speculations, from the source is obvious that they were to provide an expertise and knowledge in accomplishing some artistic task.[277] Whatever was the true reason of the visit, it serves as a proof of the contact described previously.

Also career of the mentioned André Beauneveu (pl. 51) is a proof of a remarkable international success which some artists were able to achieve in the new circumstances. Born in Valenciennes around the year of 1335, he was active all over the Southern Netherlands. His talents and artistic skill lead him to an exceptional commission in 1364, when he was employed by the King of France to create a group of effigies, depicting his royal predecessors at St Denis. This opportunity to work for the king himself opened doors for Beauneveu everywhere he went and his fame overgrew his native France.[278] Whittingham claims that Beauneveu worked briefly in England with Jean de Liege (pl. 52), who was Charles V's sculptor and who made the effigy of Philippa of Hainault (pl. 53) in 1367. As Whittingham says, this funeral sculpture, after the effigy of Bishop John de Sheppey at Rochester, is the first obviously realistic effigy in England.[279] In the 1370's he oversaw another funerary commission of great scale for Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, who resided at Courtrai. The last years of his career were dedicated to the most renowned royal patron, Duke of Berry.[280]

French practices regarding artists at court spread over the Europe, unsurprisingly also to the court of Charles IV in Prague. The reality of Charles' youth spent in Paris at the court of his uncle, French king Charles le Bel, offers obvious reasons for the Prague court to adopt many aspects of French courtly culture. The profound contacts supported by Charles' marriage to the French princess Blanche of Valois ignited a further development of these French influences at the Prague court.[281]

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[276] SCHER 1968, 4
[277] SCHER 1968, 4
[278] NASH 2007, 1-192
[279] WHITTINGHAM 1971, 552
[280] NASH 2007, 1-192
[281] WARNKE 1993, 19

2.3   Court culture of Edward III

In an attempt to understand and describe the court culture of the late Plantagenets, all scholars and researchers face the same problem – unsatisfactory amount of extant resources. Whatever the field of study, all branches of humanities struggle to reconstruct their hypothesis out of thin air. Those rare materials that did not perish provide us with a sketchy and impressionistic idea at best. Music, literature, art, all of these disciplines miss information which would allow them to present a truly relevant and historically precise description of the cultural situation at the court of Edward III and Richard II..[282]

Since the court art is invariably centered around the personality of the king, it is justifiable to assume that art and its forms were to a degree a result of king's own interest in art. This perspective was questioned during the Colston Research Society Symposium held in Bristol in the year of 1981. In the publication of conference papers, the majority of authors agreed that *"English kings and their associates were not, in this period, notably energic patrons of the arts – not by comparison with their French contemporaries, or indeed with some of their English predecessors and successors." [283]*

Facing deficiency of resources, J. W. Sherborne and V. J. Scattergood suggest, it is downright impossible on the grounds of the extant material to assess Edward III and even Richard II as art or literature loving kings, even though it is known that both of them were famous for their extravagancy. Judging by this opinion, it would be mere speculation to claim that king Edward as a part of his regal dignity promoted arts and literature. Even though there are some fragments proving the existence of books and literature at the king's court, the role of the king in the process of production and selection of a genre of the books cannot be supported by an evidence.[284] In the opinion of G. Mathew *"... there was a clear emergence of a court art, characterized by delicacy*

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[282] SHERBORNE 1983, 6
[283] BURROW 1983, ix-x
    This claim challenges some of previous opinions, especially those of Gervase Mathew, whose book is perceived by many of the conference authors with criticism. Reactions of the scholars are related to the Mathew's book The court of Richard II, published in 1968.
[284] SHERBORNE 1983, 6

of treatment, a delight in combined colours and by the cost of its materials." [285] In the light of more recently published scholarly works it seems that the freedom of speculation is more restrained and Mathew's lofty interpretations were not taken very seriously.[286] On the other hand, Mathew does not draw a distinct connective line between these characteristics of a court culture and the king himself. Whatever the role of the king, as a "catalytic agent" of the development to more elaborate and distinctive court culture scholars such as R. Boase, J. Vale and J. W. Sherborne name the laicization of late medieval European culture.[287] In the process of this laicization the literature, music and art more and oftener abandoned its original ecclesiastical environment and ventured to conquer court and its inhabitants by its various attractive forms.[288]

One of remarkable features of the Edwardian court certainly remains the fact that it patroned a larger number of women in comparison to the reigns of Edwards' fathers.[289] This development no doubt attributed to flourishing of music, literature and style. Women's year round presence demanded a higher level of entertainment and refinement, compared to the eras of Edward's predecessors. Also the patronage of Edward's wife Phillipa of Hainault certainly contributed to the cultural environment of the court and increased a number of women by bringing with her a numerous group of ladies-in-waiting and maids of honour.[290]

As mentioned in the chapter on Richard II rule, Edward's unification of higher magnates, whom Edward rewarded for their loyalty, was also supported by the Order of the Garter. This chivalric group of nobles was founded supposedly in 1348.[291] Edward

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[285] MATHEW 1968, 12
[286] SHERBORNE/SCATTERGOOD 1983
   CAMPBELL 1971, 833 in his review states, *"This thesis is, at best, half true; few, if any, of the elements listed were new. But Father Mathew's half-truths tend to be illuminating half-truths; and the virtue of his book does not lie in carefully supported demonstrations, but in sensitivity and in intuitions deriving from wide learning…. The courts of the fourteenth century clearly did differ from their predecessors as centres of literary patronage."*
[287] ROSENTHAL 1985, 487
[288] ROSENTHAL 1985, 487
[289] The role of women in arts of late middle ages is described in SEKULES 1987, 41-49
[290] MATHEW 1968, 12
[291] COLLINS 2000, 1-3
   For more about the Order of the Garter see: BELTZ 1841; COLLINS 2000
   For further info about the chivalric culture, prevalent esp. from the 13th century onwards see:
   ALEXANDER/BINSKI 1987; BARTON 2009; COLLINS 2000; ROSENTHAL 1985

was very eager to promote bravery, chivalry and a sense of pride in all members of his noble circle. In order to promote these qualities, he used ceremonial behaviour which glamorised war and glorified its heroes, especially after successful battles. At the court of Edward III was promoted this love for ceremony, combined with a war prowess by stagey ceremonials and corresponding pomp.[292] As presented by J. Vale, this mixture of ceremony, fashion, art and war in a sophisticated environment of chivalric culture is a proof of final adaptation of the originally continental world of tournaments and chivalry.[293]

2.4   Court culture of Richard II

The court which was formed around the personality of the king Richard II was in many respects innovative.[294] Richard was the first of English kings, who adopted the principles of Renaissance culture and who at the same time required the highest degree of deference towards his kingship.[295] His love for ceremony and various demonstrations of his divine right to rule, contributed to further development of courtly manners. It is documented on many occasions, how he enhanced his kingly authority by wearing his crown and sitting on a throne in an ostentatious manner, talking to no one, just observing others. When his gaze fell on someone, the person had to bend his knees.[296]

As a sign of this demanded deference we find Richard to be the first English king, addressed as "Your Highness" and "Your Majesty" (as we know from extant documents). During his reign the court began to adopt more genteel character and number of military courtiers dropped in favor of the noblemen in administrative offices. Also number of women increased significantly. Lengthening of the hierarchy of degree

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[292] ROSENTHAL 1985, 488
[293] VALE 1982, quoted in ROSENTHAL 1985, 488
[294] The Court of Richard II is from one point or another a subject of many studies:
    Wholesome description by: MATHEW 1968
    The King and his court in: SAUL 1999
    Literary culture at the court of Richard II in: SCATTERGOOD 1983
    Fashion and Texts at the Court of Richard II in: BOWERS 1995
    For Richard II and the Invention of the Pocket Handkerchief see: STOWE 1995
[295] For more about Richard's ideas of kingship see: GILLESPIE 1997b; GOODMAN/GILLESPIE 1999
[296] SAUL 1999, 30

contributed to the formalisation of the court and new titles of marquess and baron were established, in reaction to the growing number of nobles. [297]

Although we have a general idea of how Richard's court was maintained and what were his key characteristics, there is much less agreement about the origins of these characteristics. Scholarly works of past decades adopted two major theories about the origin of certain features of court ceremony, culture and its innovation during Richard's reign. M. Gervase assumes that Richard's ceremonial pageants were inspired by the Imperial ceremonial of the Luxembourgs and that Richard was likely to mimic his father-in-law, Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, whose ceremonials were renowned for their splendour and court's hierarchy famous for its rigidity and precisely followed protocol.[298] The respect of Richard towards this mighty King and Emperor is after all proven by the fact, that he decided to marry his daughter and chose her instead of other financially desirable matches.

As I believe, it is to be assumed that Richard's weakness for splendour and deference was of more priority to him and therefore he married a Princess that would bring with her the glamour of the great continental court and add to his prestige. In this respect Mathew's theory seems to have a point. The other theory of Ricardian court's origin is represented by N. Saul, who admits observable similarity between Prague and English court, but rejects the notion that development of the ceremony and protocol in England could have been influenced directly by Prague court. Unlike Mathew, Saul emphasises the role of the French court in the transmission of courtly manners, ceremony and protocol to England.[299]

It is obvious, that Richard was interested in sumptuous clothing, applied arts and architecture (pl. 54). He was fond of jewellery and the inventory of his treasure witnesses his pleasure in delicate luxurious things, executed in minute detail and made

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[297] SAUL 1997a, 340

[298] MATHEW 1968, 17
Charles IV and his love of ceremony is mirrored in his new Ordo ad coronandum regem Boemorum. For further information about this see: ŽŮREK 2007; For number of studies on the subject of regal representation and ceremony as well as important state documents see: KUTHAN/ŠMIED 2009

[299] SAUL 1997, 349

of costly materials (pl. 55).[300] However, it would be short sighted to assume, that Richard adored luxurious goods and illuminated manuscripts just for the sake of his own fastidiousness. His usage of art to express splendour, might and power was in accordance with the efforts and aims of all contemporary European rulers. The impressiveness of the ruler's court was in direct relation with its effectiveness and might.[301] This is proven also by the words of chronicler Jean Froissart:

There was never before any King of England that spent so much in his house as he did by a hundred thousand florins every year; for I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together and... When I departed from him, the King sent me by a knight of his, Sir John Golafre, a goblet of silver gilt weighing two marks of silver, and within it a hundred nobles... wherefore I am bound to pray to God for his soul.[302]

As well as arts thrived at the Ricardian court, literature also flourished. Having no direct resources to back the idea of Richard being devoted admirer of literature and poetry, we can at least claim with certainty that the time of his reign coincided with the appearance of four eminent literary figures – Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, William Langland and another anonymous poet, author of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.[303] Geoffrey Chaucer's life and informations available about his career at the court of Edward III and Richard II (or his circle), provides scholars with a proof of successful poet, who has spent a considerable part of his life in a social circle of the king, receiving numerable honours and sinecures.[304]

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[300] MATHEW 1968, 38
Richard's fondness for jewellery and decorated objects well summarised in: CAMPBELL 1997; In the catalogue Age of Chivalry ALEXANDER/ BINSKI 1987, some objects are closely examined.

[301] SAUL 1997, 355

[302] LETTENHOVE 1967, 234, quoted in CAMPBELL 1997, 95

[303] EBERLE 1999, 232
The usage of art to express splendor, might and power is a key point in Richard's ideas of kingship, as analysed in GILLESPIE 1997b; GOODMAN/GILLESPIE 1999; SAUL 1997b
For more about the literary culture at court of the Richard II see: SCATTERGOOD 1983; For the Court of Richard II and The Promotion of Literature see BENNET 1992; For Chaucer and late medieval world see: BISSON 1998; For Chaucer, literature and historical context during the Richard II's reign see HANAWALT 1992; On Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade see: KEEN 1983; For Boccaccio, Chaucer and the International Popular Tale see: UTLEY 1974

[304] MATHEW 1968, 63

2.5 Richardian royal image in comparison with regal representation of Charles IV and its reflection in art and architecture

As was described, the court culture of the second half of the fourteenth century was in its character cosmopolitan and therefore European courts at the time were likely to follow the similar general course of culture, manners and protocol. However, there always have been distinctive features typical for every one of the courts, be it due to the current situation or due to the person of the ruler. The same applies to the court of Richard II. In following paragraphs will be explained in further detail the similarity of Richardian court art with the court art of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, Richard's father-in-law. Both rulers were fond of pompous demonstrations of their power in a form of festivities, pageants and elaborate ceremonials. Both stood in the middle of a court, which was in comparison with the courts of their predecessors characterised by increased interest in art and culture. Without attempting to claim Richard's perspective on kingship to be directly derived from the Emperor, it is highly likely that Richard was aware of Charles' remarkably strong notion of his kingship and was subsequently inspired by it. The comparison of both rulers offers some interesting perspectives on the problem of the court culture at the time.

2.5.1 Charles IV and his idea of kingship as reflected in his artistic commissions

In Charles IV historians found a rare combination of characteristics which made him one of the most respected rulers and personalities of all time. Not only was he clever and far-sighted politician, but also a man of great piety and great patron of arts and architecture. At the same time he was one of the most educated men with an interest in literature. He was so fond of this dignified entertainment, he had written some pieces of literature himself.[305] His ambitious architecture and urban planning affected not only the city of Prague for centuries to come, but his generous vision of the New Prague Town is still visible in its appearance till this very day. Charles' intention to make Prague the heart of the Holy Roman Empire was proven every day by his

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[305] For more on the literary activity of Charles IV see: VIDMANOVÁ 2000; HILLENBRAND 1979

foundations and by his relentless summoning of holy relics which were deposited in Prague churches. Gifted with remarkable talent for languages and philosophical mind himself, he founded in 1348 the first university in Central Europe.[306]

It is often acknowledged how Charles formed his own idea of kingship. Inspired by his French contemporaries, he tirelessly modelled his unique position of a king and Emperor by searching for ways to give it more legitimacy. In order to support his dynastical and state politics, he promoted cults of various saints. Every each of them had their specific role in politics, be it Czech or Imperial.[307] St. Sigismund (pl. 56) was to prove Charles' rights on Arelatic Kingdom, St. Wenceslaus (pl. 57), his ancestor from the maternal side his right to rule Czech lands.[308] His claims on the Czech crown and the Imperial one, were sanctified not only by his hereditary rights, but also by clever ways, by which he achieved to have all his claims written down and in a form of documents used to strengthen his position. *Maiestas Carolina*, a legal code was proposed by Charles in 1350.[309] The aim of the code, was to increase royal power by restricting expansivity of magnates. Another document, written by Charles or on his order, was *Ordo ad coronandum regem Boemorum*.[310]

Charles also used to his advantage antiquity of his lineage. By emphasizing his ancestry, both from paternal and maternal side, he confirmed for himself and his descendants the right to rule. His maternal ancestry he celebrated with a sumptuous ceremony of translation of their remains in the Saint Vitus cathedral and his paternal ancestry was glorified in a family tree, depicted in the Karlštejn Castle (pl. 58). His maternal ancestry entitled him to rule Czech lands and his paternal predecessors gave him right to rule over the Holy Roman Empire. In order to promote both of these claims, he used iconographical programmes suitable for the representation of one or other claim, usually in good balance. The st. Vitus cathedral (pl. 59) was generally

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[306] For a description of the history of the Charles University in Prague, see: BENEŠ 2000. For historical information on the foundation see: ČORNEJOVÁ/SVATOŠ 1995
[307] BOEHM 2006, 147, dále HOMOLKA 1978; HOMOLKA 1997
[308] The relation of St. Sigismund to the area of Burgundy in BIRNBAUM 1947e, 147
[309] For more about the legal code see: SPĚVÁČEK 1991; KEJŘ 1992; detailed information on the revolt of the noblity and subsequent denouncement of this code see: MEZNÍK 1996
[310] FAJT/ROYT 1997, 171
For further information about this see: ŽŮREK 2007; CIBULKA 1934. For number of studies on the subject of regal representation and ceremony as well as important state documents see: KUTHAN/ŠMIED 2009

more oriented on the tradition of the Czech Kings and the Karlštejn Castle (pl. 60) on his Imperial rights.[311]

There is no doubt Charles' reverence and piety was cultivated during his stay in Paris. As was said earlier, in Paris Charles received his supreme education, unparalleled in his times even among kings. His mentor and teacher was Pierre de Fécampe, who was at the time archbishop in Sens. This well-educated and accomplished prelate (who was to become Climent VI in 1342), ignited in the young Prince a passion for literature, philosophy and theology.[312] Charles' youth and education in Paris is mentioned both in his own autobiography *Vita Caroli Quarti* and also in *Chronica Ecclesiae Pragensis* by Beneš Krabice of Weitmile (pl. 61).[313]

His own texts of *Vita Caroli* and *Vita Sancti Wenceslai* both prove his unusually developed theological thinking and obvious ability to create his own concept of kingship, where the dignity of kingly office is sanctified by God´s favour.[314] His enormous piety was noted by his contemporaries, such as archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim, who praised Charles for his often executed prayers.[315] In order to make Prague a city, comparable to Rome and Paris, Charles wasted no opportunity to summon relics of martyrs, especially those related to the ecclesiastical or stately cult.[316] His connection to the French court provided him with an opportunity to acquire some truly exclusive relics. The Treasure of St. Vitus cathedral was thanks to him enriched with relics of Christ's passion: piece of the Holy Cross (pl. 62), two spines from Christ's crown of thorns, one third of Virgin Mary's veil and so on. One adorned golden cross with a piece of the Holy wood was given to him by the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Denis.[317]

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[311] FAJT/ROYT 1997, 171

[312] CHALOUPECKÝ 1973, 8-9
The importance of early youth on Charles' spirituality expressed by KALISTA 1971

[313] BLÁHOVÁ 1987;
Charles' autobiography with introducing studies by HILLENBRAND 1979; VIDMANOVÁ 2000, for text in latin with Czech translation see PAVEL 1946
Chronicles of Beneš Krabice of Weitmile translated to Czech in: BLÁHOVÁ 1987; Latin version by EMLER 1884 is accesible through internet portal of the Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague

[314] HOMOLKA 1978; HOMOLKA 1997

[315] Mentioned by BOEHM 2006, 138; ROSARIO 2000, 97; note to be found in FRB III, 429. Praise pronounced on the occasion of Charles' death, during the funeral oration. For the funeral orations see: EMLER/TADRA 1882

[316] ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 64-66

[317] BOEHM 2006, 141

In 1355 he obtained whole skeleton of the protomartyr st. Vitus (pl. 63) in Italian Pavia. Due to this acquisition he was able to increase the prestige of the st. Vitus cathedral, which became a significant centre for worship of this internationally popular saint.[318] Charles' well noticed and appreciated the practice of summoning the relics is proven in contemporary chronicles. Remarkably, Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, who was supposed to follow in his chronicles process of emerging cathedral, payed more attention to holy relics, obtained by the Emperor and deposited in the cathedral than to the building itself.

Eodem anno dominus Karolus, Romanorum et Boemie rex, mire devocionis affectibus succensus, in diversis ecclesiis kathedralibus, regularibus, monasteriiset aliis piis locis in partibus Gallie et Alemanie obtinuit multorum sanctorum diversas reliquias, et septem corpora sanctorum, et capita atque brachia sanctorum multa valde, et illas ornavit auro, argento, et gemmis preciosis, ultra quam exprimi potest, et donavit ecclesiam Pragensem in octava sancti Stephani protomartiris.[319]

Not only Czech chronicles serve us as an evidence of Charles' eagerness to obtain or revere holy relics. His piety is well noticed also in French chronicle, where is mentioned Charles worship of the holy relics placed in Sainte Chapelle and Saint Denis.[320] In a biography of Pope Innocent, who notes, Charles relentlessly and continually summoned relics from all parts of the world and deposited them in Prague churches.[321] The same willingness to obtain all accessible relics Charles' proved also when the new cathedral was built. With great perseverance followed traces of the relics, of land patrons, Vitus, Wenceslaus, Sigismund and Vojtěch (pl. 64). All relics were placed in expensive reliquaries made of gold and precious stones and donated to the St. Vitus cathedral.[322]

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content of the St. Vitus cathedral treasure described in: ŠITTLER/PODLAHA 1903
[318] STEJSKAL 1978a, 80
[319] FRB IV., 522, also quoted in ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 65 in Czech translation.
[320] DELACHENAL 1910, III, 233, quoted in BOEHM 2006, 141
[321] BOEHM 2006, 141
[322] ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 61-64
For more about the St. Vitus Cathedral treasure see catalogue of a permanent exhibition of the treasure: KYZOUROVÁ/FROLÍKOVÁ-KALISZOVÁ 2012

Whereas the named saints enjoyed attention due to their role in the "state cult", Charles also preferred certain saints, to whom he devoted his private and personal worship. Among them were st. Catherine (pl. 65) and Charlemagne (pl. 66), whom he obviously revered as a role model for his own kingly ambitions and whose example he wished to follow as an Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.[323] B. Boehm claims, Charles' reverence towards his imperial and kingly predecessors surpassed by far contemporary tradition to revere the predecessing rulers.[324] In the Chapel of the Holy Cross at Karlštejn Castle, the portrait of Charlemagne occupies the central field and is placed as the only one facing the room. Scholars assume, this portrait was together with the depiction of st. Lucas (pl. 67) painted by Magister Theodoricus himself. This argument would prove the importance of this ruler in the ideological frame of Charles' understanding.[325]

Charles' unwavering faith in God and certainty of divine favour was mirrored in all his artistic commissions. Charles was very keen to promote his dynastic and stately ambitions in architecture and there is little doubt he participated himself in the development of iconographical programmes. As Charles, being traditionally surrounded by great personalities of theological background such as Arnošt of Pardubice, Jan Očko of Vlašim or Jan of Středa (pl. 68) and possessing great philosophical and theological qualities himself, we can hardly wonder at the complexity of decoration schemes.[326] Two of the most remarkable realisations of Charles' ideas are the St. Vitus cathedral and the Karlštejn Castle. Both of them possess unique features and the other is famous all around the world for almost complete collection of fourteenth century panel paintings, set in an original and unparalleled chapel of the Holy Cross (pl. 69).[327]

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[323] PUJMANOVÁ 1997, 262
   The spread of Charlemagne´s cult is accurately described in: ŠMIED 2010
   More information on Charlemagne in iconographical sense see: RULÍŠEK 2006
[324] BOEHM 2006, 146-147
[325] FAJT/BOEHM 2006, 119
[326] FAJT/ROYT 1997, 172
   For more about Arnošt of Pardubice see: CHALOUPECKÝ 1946; VYSKOČIL 1947;
   FAJT/SUCKALE 2006; HLEDÍKOVÁ 2008;
   For further information about Jan Očko of Vlašim see: FAJT/SUCKALE 2006; ROYT 2005;
   MATĚJČEK 1912
   For more about the Jan of Středa see: FAJT/SUCKALE 2006; BÖHM 1992; HUBER 1881
[327] For more about the Holy Cross Chapel see: FAJT/ROYT 1997; ROYT 1999 FAJT 2006b, 66-72.

The importance of the *Karlštejn Castle* was acknowledged by many generations of historians and art historians.[328] This remarkable building was not intended to be just one of many royal castles, but it was with some probability designed to harbour coronation jewels.[329] The importance of the castle in the times of its foundation is proven by the presence of numerous nobles and prelates on the festive occasion of laying of a foundation stone. Whatever was the original intention, it is clear the castle was founded to serve more than simple protective purposes.[330] The exceptional attention Charles payed to the arrangement of building parts and decoration schemes, promises a wealth of hidden meanings and complex iconographical organisation. The layout of the buildings has precise purpose. In every building there is a chapel – in the Imperial Palace is placed a St. Nicolas Chapel, in the Lesser Tower is a Church of Virgin Mary and Emperors Oratory (pl. 70), in the Major Tower is The Holy Cross Chapel – the crown of the castle and an expression of Charles' reverence to the Christ's cult.[331]

The Imperial Palace was used for dynastical and royal representation, it was the place where would the Emperor welcome his guests and envoys. The mural paintings showed Charles' lineage from paternal side. This painting is traditionally called *The Luxembourg Family Tree*. The paintings of 57 figures, reaching far to biblical patriarchs and containing also part of the French Capetian genealogy, perished in the 16th century. However, its appearance is preserved in a transcript called *Linea Caroli* and reproduced in several manuscripts.[332] The figures of the copied Family Tree were analysed and resulted in a discovery of a familiarity with the *Bible of Jean de Sy*. M. Homolka claims, Master of the Luxembourg Family Tree belongs to the new wave of naturalism, presented by the painter of the Bible of Jean de Sy in Paris (pl. 71),

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[328] For research regarding Karlštejn Castle and it´s decoration, see especially: MATĚJČEK 1950; KROFTA 1958; CHADRABA 1968; BOUŠE 1971; STEJSKAL 1964; ROYT 1999
note also catalogue FAJT 1997

[329] Although this is a subject of discussions, the original intention is not clear, as noted in FAJT/ROYT 1997, 172

[330] Ibidem

[331] HOMOLKA 1997, 96

[332] STEJSKAL 1978a, 104
Essential introductory study on the subject of Karlštejn Castle paintings NEUWIRTH 1896
Specialised articles on the „Luxemburg Family tree" by STEJSKAL 1978b; KROFTA 1975; HOMOLKA 1997, 99-108

Tomasso da Modena in Italy and Parler family in Germany. At the same time, his contribution to this new artistic tendency is a remarkable one.[333]

The Lesser tower contains *Emperor´s Oratory*, Chapel called until recently the St. Catherine Chapel. The sacred space got its name from a depiction of this saint, a lean figure of a woman holding a wooden wheel, on the side of the altar Mensa. (pl. 90) This saint was one of Charles' particular favourites, because it was on her day he had won his first battle at San Felice.[334] In the altar niche is an oldest wall painting of the Lesser tower – Virgin Mary with a donating couple of Charles and his wife Anna of Schweidnitz (pl. 91). It is done in the most representative and festive manner, with a great emphasis on the ceremonial aspect of the act. The royal couple kneels and worships the Virgin Mary, equipped with all their imperial attributes and crowns. Little Jesus is touching clasped hands of the Emperor, confirming him as a chosen one, who was blessed by the favour of God. Scholars consider this painting first known Karlštejn painting, celebrating the acquisition of the Imperial crown and title of an Emperor.[335]

Aforementioned St. Catherine is also represented as one of the holy virgins in the *Chapel of the Holy Cross* (pl. 65).[336] The Legend of Saint Catherine is often related to the ideological context of this chapel. In the legend was st. Catherine engaged to Christ in a celestial hall, described in a detail as a wonderful room with breathtaking decoration.[337] Unlike the Imperial Palace, the *Major Tower* with the Holy Cross Chapel was devoted fully to God and a complete range of saints, church fathers, martyrs, holy popes, holy virgins, widows etc. (pl. 69). It is likely, the chapel was intended for private devotion of Charles, because the entrance was not allowed to a broad public. When contemplating the magnificent decoration of the Chapel, visitor should be reminded of a celestial Jerusalem.[338] This ambitious scheme was obviously greatly expensive, because all the interior of the chapel was covered with gold, precious

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[333] HOMOLKA 1997, 106
   For more information about the Bible of Jean de Sy see: STERLING 1987
[334] STEJSKAL 1978a, 111
[335] HOMOLKA 1997, 100-111
[336] Studies on the decoration of the Holy Cross Chapel: FAJT/ROYT 1997; HLAVÁČKOVÁ 1997; BOUŠE 1971
    Legend of st. Catherine ČERNÝ 1886, more about st. Catherine see: RULÍŠEK 2006
[337] ROYT/FAJT 1997, 213
[338] ROYT 2006, 58

stones and panel paintings. 129 panel paintings ought to represent both ideal likeness of the depicted saints and their material body, here mediated by the presence of a relic. Panel paintings held in its frame little case, where the relic was to be placed. The author and leader of the workshop, was Magister Theodoricus, first painter, whose name is preserved in contemporary documents. This pictor imperatoris is a significant artistic figure of the time not only in Czech lands, but also in Europe. His decoration of the Holy Cross Chapel is of such nature, it attracts attention of scholars across the Europe.[339] The consecration of the Chapel took place on 9th February in 1365 and the rite was performed by Prague Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim.[340]

Just as the personality of the Charlemagne, who represented Charles' political and ideal predecessor, his great role model was st. Wenceslaus (pl. 57).[341] Charles' strong notion of his own Přemyslid ancestors helped him in his eyes and in the eyes of his contemporaries to strengthen his legitimacy as a ruler of the Czech Lands. He perceived himself to be the follower of the kings, as held in the Old Testament tradition, who were the peak of both secular and ecclesiastical society. This principle was also fulfilled in the reign of st. Wenceslaus.[342] The measure of respect and adoration, payed to the personality of Wenceslaus by Charles, is mirrored not only in *the Scale cycle* at Karlštejn Castle, where is depicted Wenceslaus and his noble, pious deeds.[343] Also the fact, Charles himself has written new interpretation of the *St. Wenceslaus Legend*, proves the special relation to this saint.[344] Charles have chosen him also as a patron, to whom many important monuments were dedicated.

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[339] FAJT 1997, 295
Personality and work of Magister Theodoricus was thoroughly examined by generations of art historians. The extent of the subject does not allow us to name all of them. In order to acquire general orientation in the subject, see especially: FRIEDL 1956b examining the artistic form; KROFTA 1958; STEJSKAL 1964; DVOŘÁKOVÁ 1964 about the importance of the karlštejn paintings; FRIEDL 1969; HAMSÍK 1984 results of restauration processes and chemical analysis; GROHMANOVÁ 1990; FAJT 1997 anthology of studies on Magister Theodoricus; ROYT 1999; FAJT/BOEHM 2006

[340] ROYT/FAJT 1997, 208

[341] For more about st. Wenceslaus see: NOVOTNÝ 1929 Latin and German text on Wenceslaus see: HUTSKÝ Z KŘIVOKLÁTU 1997

[342] ROYT/FAJT 1997, 171

[343] ROYT 2006, 58
A study on the subject: DVOŘÁKOVÁ 1961

[344] St. Wenceslaus legend by Charles IV in latin and czech translation: VIDMANOVÁ/MAŠEK 2008; latin and english translation NAGY/SCHAER 2001

The *st. Vitus cathedral* is another demonstration of Charles' goal-oriented approach.[345] With founding of a cathedral in French style he sought to honour the remains of his Přemyslid predecessors, who rested in the original church of st. Vitus. At the same time he wished to acknowledge his position as a Czech king and also add to the importance of Prague as a second Rome. His unceasing foundation activities resulted in an emergence of many churches and monasteries.[346] His influence over the city of Prague is visible not only in the urban plan of the New Town, but also in many spires of churches, founded during his life. St. Vitus cathedral, however, was intended to be much more than ordinary church. Due to the constitution of the Prague archbishopric in 1344 the intention to establish a new metropolitan church received a new impulse.[347] Contemporary chroniclers František of Prague and Beneš Krabice of Weitmile both mention the foundation of the cathedral with a clear understanding of the importance, this historical event will have. Both of them claim, there have never been in Czech lands a church so wonderful with sculpture work of such a quality.[348] Beneš Krabice of Weitmile explicitly says:

Deinde Iohannes, rex Boemie, et Karolus, filius eius venientes Boemiam celebraverunt curiam solempnem in civitate Pragensi ad honorem Dei et patronum ecclesiae Pragensis. Ubi Dominus Armestus, olim episcopus, nunc vero archiepiscopus Pragensis, recepit pallium et insignia archiepiscopalia, per manus episcopi Wratislaviensis; cuius facti sunt suffraganei episcopus Olomucensis et episcopus Lutemislensis, qui pridem fuerat abbas ordinis Premonstratensis. In eadem solempnitate Iohannes, rex Boemie, Karolus, marchio Morauie, et Arnestus, primus archiepiscopus Pragensis, et Iohannes, filius Iohannis regis, nuper expulsus de Tirolis, posuerunt fundamentum et primarium lapidem nove ecclesie Pragensis, que Deo auxiliante succedente tempore de miro et magnifico opere extitit edificata.[349]

As J. Homolka says, st. Vitus cathedral presents the most complex representation of Charles' political and theological ideology. Unlike any other of his foundations,

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[345] The Cathedral and all aspects of building and decoration were covered in many studies. To name few of them: recent representative publication ROYT/KUTHAN 2011; on the building of the cathedral during the Charles reign see TOMEK 1859; German study HEGEMANN 1954; An anthology by MERHAUTOVÁ 1994 with studies by Klára Benešovská (Architecture), Zdeňka Hledíková (The Cathedral in Czech history), Zuzana Všetečková (Monumental medieval painting)

[346] For example: Emauzy Abbey (1347), The Church and Monastery of Our Lady of the Snows (1347), The Church and the old Monastery at Karlov (1350)

[347] ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 51

[348] ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 52

[349] EMLER 1884, Chronicle of Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, FRB IV, 511

cathedral reflects forty years of Charles' rule. The iconographic programme of this building is therefore the best example of Charles' stately and political thinking to be found.[350] One of the remarkable features of the cathedral is a chapel of great significance, built above the grave of *St. Wenceslaus* (pl. 72). This chapel, placed in accordance with the original grave of st. Wenceslaus is an important room of square shape.[351] The close distance between the chapel and the Crown chamber, where the crown, bearing Wenceslaus' name was placed, shows the importance of this patron, whose cult at the time of Charles reached unprecedented popularity.[352] A decoration of this room was executed with great attention to detail and the same precious stones as in the Holy Cross Chapel in Karlštejn, adorns the walls.[353]

2.5.2 Richard II and his royal image

The tendency of rulers to choose one or another saint as a patron is distinct also in Richards personal devotion. Whereas Charles revered Charlemagne and st. Wenceslaus, Richard preferred typically English saints St. Edmund (pl. 73) and St. Edward the Confessor (pl. 74). This preference of saints tells us a great deal about the personal characteristics of the rulers themselves. The qualities they admired in their patrons they longed to achieve in their own rule. Charles wished to imitate Charlemagne in the justness of his rule and st. Wenceslaus in piety and faith, also Richard hoped to approximate his favourite saint kings in their "Englishness."[354] Considering Richard, he was very close to the average medieval ruler. His role as a ruler he perceived entirely within the boundaries of Christianity – he was God's substitute on earth and therefore the chosen one.[355]

The renowned *Wilton Diptych* (pl. 78), a subject of tireless amount of studies and scholarly works from all fields of art history will be in this chapter analysed only in his

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[350] HOMOLKA 1978, 564
[351] The Chapel is a subject of great scholarly attention, namely of: HILBERT 1913; KRÁSA 1971; HOMOLKA 1978; VÍTOVSKÝ 1990; LÍBAL 1995; ROYT/KUTHAN 2011
[352] ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 115
[353] ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 116
  A bibliography to the decoration by precious stones see ROYT/KUTHAN 2011, 601
[354] MITCHELL 1997, 118
[355] SAUL 1999, 27

iconographical contents.[356] The artistic and historical perspective will be applied in another chapter, where the Diptych will be assessed as a part of monumental court painting during the Richard II's reign. This remarkably well preserved work of art is an indispensable evidence of Richard's personal devotion. The ideals of the kingly rule were for Richard represented by the saint kings Edmund and Edward the Confessor.[357] Therefore he decided to be depicted with them, for these two kings personalised to him the best characteristics of a king, which he wished to discover in his own kingly abilities. In the iconographic sense these two kings emphasize Richard's own idea of a royal importance and dignity of the regal office, profoundly connected with the religious character of his mission.[358] This spiritual note is accentuated by the presence of the John the Baptist (pl. 75). As stated by S. Mitchell and O. Pujmanová, his royal function Richard possibly could emphasize also by allusion to the Adoration of the Magi. Richard, side by side with Edward and Edmund, is supposed to be one of the adoring kings. All three of them then represent three biblical kings.[359] It is highly likely, Richard was especially fond of this iconographic motive, because he was born on the day of Epiphany.[360]

The most important saint, who was the inspiration to Richard in the hard times of his reign and accompanied him during his perilous rule, was Edward the Confessor.[361] This Anglo-Saxon king ruled 1042-1066 and was canonized in 1161. Henry II, whose person connected both Anglo-Saxon and Norman royal dynasties, used king Edward to reinforce his position of power, by inventing his cult.[362] Two years after the

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[356] For more about iconographical context of the Wilton Diptych see: BODKIN 1929; CLARKE 1931; A Study of the Plants and Flowers in the Wilton Diptych FISHER 1997; The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych MORGAN 1997; WORMALD 1954; The adoration of the Magi PUJMANOVÁ 1997

[357] For more about the cult of Edward the Confessor see: BARLOW 1997; SAYERS 1977 for wider context of the time of Edward the Confessor
For more about the cult of st. Edmund see: MITCHELL 1997; FLEMING 2010; St Edmund, as a King and Martyr and especially for Changing Images of a Medieval Saint see: BALE 2009

[358] MITCHELL 1997, 124

[359] MITCHELL 1997, PUJMANOVÁ 1997

[360] PUJMANOVÁ 1997, 262

[361] For biographical reference see: MORTIMER 2009 also on the Edwardian legend; BARLOW 1997; see SAYERS 1977 for wider context, also related to the Vikings at the time of Edward the Confessor.

[362] SCHOLZ 1961, 38
For more information about the reign and political ideology of king Henry II see: LYTTELTON 1773; WARREN 1973; For new interpretations of the Henry II´s reign see HARPER-BILL /VINCENT 2007

canonisation were the remains of the king translated to Westminster Abbey, during a splendid festive ceremonial, lead by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket.[363] N. Saul in his study describes contemporary parallels of Richard's effort to sanctify his rule by spiritual and genealogical connections to prominent national saints. He directly presents the example of Charles IV, who derived his claim on the throne by his genealogical connection to st. Wenceslaus. Few generations earlier the same attempt was made by French king Philip IV, who arranged canonisation of his predecessor Louis IX. and who actively sought in his lineage some relation to the Charlemagne.[364] It is obvious Richard longed to get closer to the role-model of Edward's rule. In a legendary interpretation of Richard's time, the figure of the king Edward was connected to the maintenance of peace and in the minds of his contemporaries was profoundly connected to the principle of "Englishness." It is worth mentioning, Richard justified his harsh intervention during the Great revolt in 1381 precisely with this idea of peace, which was threatened by the rebellion. During the great trials of his reign Richard prayed at Edward's shrine.[365]

Another two figures in the Wilton Diptych are worth mentioning. The figure of John the Baptist is enigmatic one, because he is placed by the side of the Edward the Confessor. S. Mitchell assumes, the presence and placement of the figure is a result of Richard's explicit wish. The necessary evidence which partly explains the reason for the presence of this saint figure, is a massive popularity of the saint at the court. In the account books are preserved many notices on royal robes, connected in some way or another with some of the festivities or holidays, dedicated to the saint. Provided both kings in the picture substantiate Richard's kingly ambitions, the person of John the Baptist may be of his personal choosing.[366]

Saint king Edmund, standing aside of Edward the Confessor, has the same space as any other of the saints. Unlike the Edward Confessor, however, his figure is much less

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[363] SCHOLZ 1961, 38; For relationship of Henry II and Thomas Becket see ROBERTS 1973
For more about Thomas Becket see: WOODGATE 1971; DUGGAN 2004; BARLOW 1987;
[364] SAUL 1999, 41
[365] MITCHEL 1997, 119
For more abou the Great Revolt in 1381 see page 32
For more about The Great revolt of 1381 see: OMAN 1907; DUNN 2002; DOBSON 1970;
[366] MITCHELL 1997, 120

explicable regarding Richard's devotion. King Edmund ruled as a king of East Anglia 855-869.[367] Unfortunately, Vikings of Danish origin, who invaded the kingdom and murdered the king, destroyed all evidence of his rule.[368] Obviously the medieval tradition did not pay such an attention to the real life of the king. Instead of that it was influenced by the legend which evolved after the death of the martyr. According to the legend *Passio Sancti Aedmundi,* written in the tenth century by the abbot of Fleury, was King Edmund slained after he refused to renounce Jesus Christ.[369] The author of the legend was apparently inspired by the life and martyrdom of st. Sebastian, who died the same way, pierced by arrows.[370] For that reason is this iconographic motive typical for St. Sebastian and st. Edmund alike. The place, where his remains were translated after his death is called *Bury st. Edmunds* and is placed in county Suffolk in East Anglia. (pl. 76) Since eleventh century the cult of the saint king has flourished and brought to Bury st. Edmunds many pilgrims.[371]

Several archival documents testify in favour of the importance the cult of st. Edmund experienced in the medieval times. Westminster chronicle states, Richard visited Bury st. Edmunds (pl. 104) during a pilgrim journey in 1383.[372] To honour the king and martyr, Richard visited Westminster Abbey (pl. 77) to take part in the Vigil.[373] S. Mitchell assumes, the reason for Richard to choose king Edmund is again in his "Englishness," same as in Edward the Confessor.[374] The preference of st. Edmund was a demonstration of Richard's own political standpoint. Through the painting he could demonstrate his attitude to the spectre of lay and clergy subjects, who understood the message clearly.[375]

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[367] For St. Edmund's biography see: LYNDGATE 2004; more in TOOVEY 1844-1845
[368] HAHN 1991, 119
[369] Fot the Legend of Saint Edmund see online source PAOLETTI 2004
[370] RULÍŠEK, heslo Edmund
 For iconographical usage of arrows see: RULÍŠEK 2006, also for St. Sebastian and st. Edmund
[371] For Bury st. Edmunds see: BRAKELOND 1989 for Chronicles of Bury st. Edmunds, GRANSDEN 2007 describes history of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, between the years 1182-1256. GRANSDEN 1998 also deals with medieval art, architecture, archaeology, and economy, regarding Bury st. Edmunds.
[372] For Westminster Chronicle in English and Latin see: HARVEY/HECTOR 1982
[373] MITCHELL 1997, 118
[374] This termn in relation with Richard also used by N.Saul
[375] Ibidem

To assess Richard's court art itself, there is so very little extant artistic objects, art historians are forced to speculate and invent theories on what importance had fields of art during Richard's reign. With our current knowledge we cannot possibly decide, whether Richard preferred to demonstrate his kingly power by architecture, painting or sculpture. The extant artistic objects, related to the Ricardian era are scarce, therefore they all may be named without compromising conciseness of this text. As was mentioned before, Richard was with all probability interested in all artistic fields that would allow him to represent his might – be it sumptuous clothing, applied arts or architecture. As apparent from the inventory of his treasure, he was fond of jewellery – a delicate luxurious things for that matter, all of them executed in minute detail and made of costly materials.[376] There is no doubt Richard's preference of these expensive artistic objects was to some degree determined by his kingly status. Usage of art to express splendour, might and power was common to all contemporary European rulers.[377]

The most famous work of art, broadly known as one of the most beautiful paintings extant in England, the Wilton Diptych, is taken for the most persuasive evidence of Richard's love of art. This iconographicaly abundant picture provides scholars with so many hints and riddles, it became one of the most examined and researched pieces of art ever. However, Richard's legacy to the history of art consists of several more artistic objects, both architectural and sculptural.[378] Much admired till this day is the *Westminster Hall*, built in 1393-1399 (pl. 54, 81). A decoration of this hall was also commissioned by Richard.[379] Important piece of art, indispensable for the theories on sculpture of that time, is an *effigy* with laying figures of the king and queen (pl. 39). This sculpture was commissioned and created during Richard's life and ought to be laid on top of his and his wife's tomb.[380] Richard's love for minute detail is proven by several jewels and plates with depictions of white hart and coronets.[381] Some more informations about the panel painting in the second half of the fourteenth century is

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[376] MATHEW 1968, 38
[377] SAUL 1997, 355
[378] GORDON/MONNAS/ELAM 1997
[379] WILSON 1997, 41-42
  More about Westminster Abbey: HARVEY 1977; for Westminster Abbey related to the reign of the dynasty of Plantagenets see BINSKI 1995; for the Chapter House and the Pyx Chamber in Westminster Abbey see RIGOLD 1976; for the Chapter House alone see: NOPPEN 1952; for more information about the art in Westminster Abbey see: NOPPEN 1926
[380] LINDLEY 1997, 61-85
[381] CAMPBELL 1997, 95-115

possible to derive from one panel painting, placed in the Westminster Abbey, depicting throned Richard (pl. 80).[382]

Westminster Hall was built due to the absence of suitable space for pageants, festivities and coronation celebration in 1096.[383] At the time of its founding it was the greatest hall in Europe. The appearance of the Hall as seen these days, was created during Richard's reign.[384] The hammer-beam roof (pl. 81) is considered to be the finest example of craftsmanship, without parallel in Europe, let alone England. Instead of three aisles was the space vaulted by special hammer-beam construction.[385] This piece of architecture attracted a lot of attention, Ch. Wilson in recent study attempted to give more balance to the scholars interest by describing and analysing other construction and decorative aspects of the Hall as well.[386] He concludes, the intention to reconstruct the space of the Westminster Hall was motivated by Richard's aim to calm down the turbulent situation and reinforce his royal authority, threatened by destabilisation.[387] The building of the Hall took place 1393-1399, which is precisely the time when the dissatisfaction of nobility with Richard is growing stronger. Richard, paradoxically, decided at the time to follow the course of further enhancing his royal authority. To do so, he chose to intimidate and scare off potential rebellion by expanding and cultivating the court splendour and ceremonial, which resulted in further estrangement from reality of his regal office. The peak of this effort we find in the adaptation of the Westminster Hall, through which Richard sought to achieve higher levels of regal dignity and awe-inspiring effect. [388]

Together with the Hall itself was created also *a figurative decoration.* On the south side are accommodated six niches. In them are placed the figures of six kings, Richard's predecessors (pl. 82).[389] P. Lindley claims, the sculptures are, when it comes to their artistic value, not above mediocre sculpture production of the late Gothic

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[382] ALEXANDER 1997, 197-207
[383] More about the Westminster Hall: CESCINSKY/GRIBBLE 1922; SAUNDERS 1951; WILSON 1997
[384] WILSON 1997, 33
[385] CESCINSKY/GRIBBLE 1922, 76
[386] WILSON 1997, 33
[387] LINDLEY 1997, 61
[388] LINDLEY 1997, 61
[389] WILSON 1997, 41-42

period. Nevertheless, the decoration has a lot to say about Richard and creates a backdrop to his reign. Therefore it has to be perceived as a historical clue, by which it is more likely to understand the personality and public life of Richard, especially in the later years of his reign. There is a limited amount of extant information on the statues themselves, however, it is known that the six statues were in place already in 1385.[390] Moreover, the workshop records state a name of the artist, who sculpted the figures out of marble was Thomas Canon and painter Nicolas Tryer was entrusted with the task to execute the polychromy. The original intention was to introduce thirteen sculptures and they no doubt were supposed to represent all thirteen preceding English kings.

From the form of sculptures it is deduced, they were worked on by more than one artist. Five statues are very much like each other. The folds of drapery are almost identical. Further identification is rendered uneasy by restoration, done in the nineteenth century. Some formal connection is to be found between the statues and the sculptural decoration in the cathedral of Exeter.[391] Two figures there are supposed to be influenced by the art of Jean Pucelle and the resemblance with the figure of a king in the Westminster Hall ought to be apparent.[392] The reason of Richard choosing the figures of his predecessors is more than obvious. Facing disobedient and defiant nobility, Richard would use every single opportunity to emphasize his legitimacy and also his deepest resolution, he was chosen by God. All great kings, who were replaced by another only after their death, were dignifiedly standing in their niches to remind all Richard's subjects, nobility and clergy, who were summoned to attend pageants, to keep in mind his authority and his divine right to rule the England.

The most discussed example of Ricardian sculpture is the aforementioned effigy, created during the Richard's life, after the death of his wife Anna of Bohemia. The sculpture represents a favourite type of effigy, placed on top of a tomb-chest, depicting the deceased person, in this case king Richard and Queen Anne. [393] The placement of the

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[390] LINDLEY 1997, 16
[391] For more about the art and architecture in the cathedral of Exeter see: KELLY 1991
[392] LINDLEY 1997, 54
For Jean Pucelle in England see: SANDLER 1970; SANDLER 2006
For an internet catalogue of Exeter Cathedral´s carvings and keystones see:
http://hds.essex.ac.uk/exetercath/index.html
[393] LINDLEY 1997, 61

tomb on the south side of the St. Edward the Confessor's chapel was decided by Richard himself.[394] Two reasons are at hand: an emphasis on the surrounding tombs of Richard's famous predecessors, just as his grandfather Edward III, Henry II, Eleanor of Castille, Phillipa of Hainault and many others, the second reason is his reverence towards St. Edward the Confessor, his patron and favourite saint.[395] In his will written in 1399 Richard's states:

> *We have chosen a royal burial in the Church of Saint Peter in Westminster among my ancestors, Kings of England of famous memory; and in the monument which we have caused to be erected as a memorial for us and for Anne of glorious remembrance once Queen of England, our consort.*[396]

A magnificent funeral service was dedicated to the deceased Queen Anne in 1394. On the occasion a wooden statue was created and sent from London to the castle, where Anne died.[397] During the ceremony the statue was placed on the closed coffin. Shortly after the burial Richard commissioned the double tomb with effigy, where he should be placed by her side. It was supposed to be the first double tomb ever made. Four artists were summoned to fulfil the orders of the king – Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest whose task was to execute the assignment. Thankfully the description with which they were provided, is preserved, therefore we have a distinct idea, what were the explicit wishes of the king. Two figures, laying side by side ought to have hands joined together. The effigies were to lay on adorned gilt-ladden table, decorated with fleur-de-lis, lions and leopards. Around the tomb were to be placed selected saints and angels.[398]

Considering the Richard's wish to rest surrounded by his ancestors *"of famous memory"*, there is a clear understanding of his own kingship. Whatever the present struggle to keep his adversaries at bay and whatever obstacles in his way, Richard was

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A scholarly work on effigies in the Westminster Abbey by: MORTIMER/HARVEY 2003; PLENDERLEITH/MARYON 1959

[394] St. Edward Confessor´s Chapel see: NOPPEN 1926; HARVEY 1977

[395] STONE 1978, 193

[396] LINDLEY 1997, 61

[397] This funeral statue is still kept by Westminster Abbey, together with several other effigies of the type, representing other deceased kings and queens.

[398] LINDLEY 1997,62

Yet again it is advisable to compare with: MORTIMER/HARVEY 2003; PLENDERLEITH/MARYON 1959

sure of himself, as a legitimate successor of his famous grandfathers. This knowledge gave him all the strength to face the challenges of his rule. The tomb with effigies is another proof of his dynastic self-confidence.

2.5.3 Comparison of royal representational art of Charles IV and Richard II

It is a truth well acknowledged, Charles IV was extraordinarily intellectual ruler with an exceptional education, unparalleled in his time among nobility, not to mention ordinary lay people. His philosophical and theological interests rendered him superior to the majority of contemporary rulers in Europe.[399] In that respect it almost seems improper to compare him to the person of Richard, who probably did not feel any special inclination towards literature and philosophy. Also there is no proof of him theoretising on the subject of rule and kingship, such as Charles.[400]

On the other hand, even though Richard has not written a philosophical work about his ideas of kingship, it is obvious from his behaviour and deeds, his idea on the subject was very clear. His opinions and his rule show, he had precise idea, how the ideal king should be, how he should look and act. As his epitaph shows, his main goal was to preserve peace, cost what it may. Again we find ourselves face to face with a personality, who relies on the church for support, who fights against heretics and whose right to rule is given by God. His own impression of his royal authority was such, he could not endure any sign of revolt or defiance.[401]

A good illustration of his own idea of kingship is shown in the left wing of the Wilton Diptych, where is Richard depicted with his patrons. His principles were bound with land patriotism, faith in God and strong self-confidence. The feature of a deep faith is in

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[399] FAJT/ROYT 1997, 170

[400] SAUL 1999, 44
For Charles' notion of kingship see his Legend of st. Wenceslaus in latin and Czech VIDMANOVÁ/MAŠEK 2008 or in Latin and English NAGY/SCHAER 2001; for analysis of his Ordo ad coronandum regem Bohemorum see ŽŮREK 2007; CIBULKA 1934. For number of studies on the subject of regal representation and ceremony as well as important state documents see: KUTHAN/ŠMIED 2009 Charles' autobiography (an ndispensable source for understanding Charles' notion of kingship) with introducing studies by HILLENBRAND 1979; VIDMANOVÁ 2000, text in latin with Czech translation prepared by PAVEL 1946

[401] LINDLEY 1997, 73

Richard the same as in Charles. We see in both not only the natural necessity of a good alliance between the secular and ecclesiastical, but also a deep reverence and personal devotion towards their patrons and saints.

Seeking connection with old traditions and great personalities of history was a tool of all medieval kings, who through the means of this sought to legitimize their right to throne. Charles IV accented his ancient origin by the Luxembourg Family Tree. This cycle served as a representative demonstration of the antiquity of Charles' lineage and through it to reinforce Charles' position in the kingdom and in the Empire.[402] Richard was also well aware, refined court culture and generous foundations are cornerstones that help to create mighty kings.

So far, these features are typical for majority of the medieval kings of the Late Middle Ages. It would be daring to claim, the refinement of Richard's court had its direct prototype in Charles IV's court. Aforementioned theory of M. Gervase, who assumed that ceremonial pageants of the Richardian court were influenced by the Imperial ceremonial of the Luxembourg court in Prague, is in the category of claims, often challenged by his scholar colleagues.[403]

The other theory of Ricardian court's origin was represented by N. Saul, who admitted the observable similarity between Prague and English court. He as well renounced Mathew's theory that the development of the ceremony and protocol in England could have been influenced directly by Prague court. Unlike Mathew, Saul is considering as crucial the role of the French court in the transmission of courtly manners, ceremony and protocol to England.[404]

Most intriguing and sought after scholarly subject in connection with Richard's reign is undoubtedly the Wilton Diptych, described in previous text. In an attempt to

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[402] HOMOLKA 1997, 100

[403] MATHEW 1968, 17
Charles IV and his love of ceremony is mirrored in his new Ordo ad coronandum regem Boemorum. For further information about this see: ŽŮREK 2007; For number of studies on the subject of regal representation and ceremony as well as important state documents see: KUTHAN/ŠMIED 2009

[404] SAUL 1997, 349; also SAUL 1999 and GOODMAN/GILLESPIE 1999

find similar contemporary work produced in Czech lands, one necessarily has to acknowledge the typological and the iconographic resemblance with the Votive picture of Jan Očko of Vlašim (pl. 85).[405] This large panel painting seized 181 x 96 cm is considerably larger than Wilton Diptych, nevertheless, closer look at both paintings show significant iconographic similarity.[406] The Votive picture was probably created by one of Theodorich's pupils with the devotion and representation in mind.[407] Originally it was placed in the Chapel of the Roudnice Castle.[408]

The painting shows all patrons to whom the chapel was dedicated. For the first time was the painting mentioned in the specialised literature by J. E. Vocel in the year of 1845.[409] Since then several authors attempted to interpret it and to ascribe it to an artist. The first theory on the subject was presented by A. N. Popow in 1846, who ascribed it to the Magister Theodoricus himself.[410] The year, generally agreed as a date of its creation was stated in 1860 by. F. B. Mikovec.[411] This date is based upon the information about the consecration of the Roudnice Chapel 15th June 1371 by Beneš Krabice of Weitmile.[412] The first author, or denounced the authorship of Magister Theodoricus, was J. Braniš.[413] This argument was accepted by other scholars.[414]

V. Kramář contributed to the research with his formal analysis and with his effort to place the work into the frame of European painting.[415] He also described the scheme saying:

> „...the owner is depicted according to custom in the lower section, but in the upper celestial
> part are, as a special homage, added Emperor Charles IV and King Wenceslaus, therefore the lower
> section makes an impression of the individual votive painting, but at the same time is a necessary

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[405] As noticed by Jiří Fajt on FAJT 2006. For more about the Votive picture of Jan Očko of Vlašim see: ROYT 2005 also on the personality of the Archbishop. For more biographical information see: ŽOFÁK 1994
[406] FAJT 2006, 126
[407] ROYT 2002, 60
[408] ROYT 2005. 260
[409] VOCEL 1845
[410] POPOW 1846
[411] MATĚJČEK 1938, 76
[412] MATĚJČEK 1938, 76
[413] MATĚJČEK 1912
The doenouncement he published in his work History of medieval art in the Czech Lands (Dějiny středověkého umění v Čechách) published in 1893.
[414] MATĚJČEK 1912
[415] více o Votivním oltáři J.O. z Vlašimi viz.: RYNEŠ 1967 ; ROYT 2005

addition to the lower section, where are depicted aside from the archbishop four land patrons."[416]

J. Pešina attributes to the iconographic analysis of the painting by pointing out that all figures have similar size which symbolises similar importance of depicted figures. This he attributes to the French influence.[417] Summarisation and expansion of the accessible information brought and article by V. Ryneš, published in 1967.[418] He states, the Votive painting is the first one in the Czech Lands, where the homage to Land Patrons is connected to the cult of the Virgin Mary.[419] J. Royt aside from the biography of the Archbishop, for whom the painting was made and iconography of the subject, pays attention to the stylistic problem.[420] He finds the similarity with the new stylistic tendency of the beautiful style, characterised by spirituality and reduction of the volume of the bodily form.[421] V. Kramář presented in his studies similar opinion: *„the altar has some features, pointing at differently constituted artistic personality, getting in many respects closer to the artistic efforts of the new generation."*[422]

There is an undeniable similarity between the Wilton Diptych and the Votive Picture of Jan Očko of Vlašim. The facial features, as presented in the Wilton Diptych are somewhat more refined and, less ghostly, more clearly shaped and distinctly following the Italian tradition, whereas the Votive Picture shows analogy to the Master Theodoricus in its broader forms of faces. Whatever the differences, there is hard to find in the contemporary production in Europe two works of art that would show such an intrinsic artistic affinity and iconografic similarity.

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[416] KRAMÁŘ 1930, nepag.
[417] PEŠINA 1984
[418] RYNEŠ 1976
[419] RYNEŠ 1976, 106
[420] ROYT 2005, 263-264
[421] ROYT 2005, 260
[422] KRAMÁŘ 1930, nepag.

3. HISTORY OF ENGLISH PAINTING IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY WITH EMPHASIS ON THE TRANSMISSION OF ARTISTIC IDEAS

3.1 Manuscript illumination in the first half of the fourteenth century

In order to understand the court painting which evolved and developed its distinctive form during the reign of Edward III, it is indispensable to return several years back to the era of his predecessor, Edward II. It is needless to say that the processes which determined the form of court culture of Edward III's reign were taking place many years before Edward actually became king. One of the political moves of the Edward II's reign influenced the court environment. The marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France in 1308 was an ambitious political step orchestrated by pair's fathers – Edward I of England and Phillipe the Fair of France. Both of rulers hand in hand with Boniface VIII hoped to soothe tension between both nations through Edward's and Isabella's descendant, who would possibly unite both realms, or at least bring peace to both kingdoms by producing two kings, who would share mutual affection of close relatives.[423] The result of this marriage was in its result catastrophic, but there is still space enough to prove some connection between both French and English court regarding culture, even though the marriage did not last long.[424]

Ideal connection for cultural influences to be transmitted between both groups was strengthened even by outbreaks of animosity.[425] The relationship of France and England faced many challenges. Some of them had roots running deep, just as the question of the Duchy of Aquitaine. This volatile situation had its origin in a Treaty of Paris which was signed in 1259 by Edward I and which defined relations between

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[423] BROWN 1988, 573-574
For more about the events preceding the Hundred years war see: DÉPREZ 1902
[424] For more about the marriage and it´s political consequences see: BROWN 1988; PERROY 1959
[425] For a description of the political relations with France during the reign of the Edward II see: HAMILTON 2010, 103-133

French crown and the Duchy of Aquitaine, held by the English king. [426] The content of the treaty clarified relationship of the Duke of Aquitane, who became as a duke French king's vassal. This connection continued during the reign of Edward II, until the 1316, when Louis X died without male heir. English king sensed his opportunity and shifted his stance to follow his own interests. To solve the conflict which immediately emerged, the diplomatic contact sharply increased.[427]

3.1.1 Manuscripts of royal patronage

In order to examine connections and potential transmission of cultural impulses, I decided to venture beyond visual art and follow also resources and scholarly works dedicated to music, literature and political history.[428] Only through this approach I hope to understand to what extend the foreign influence during the reign of Edward III and Richard II formed court culture. In addition to this basic goal I wish to analyse particular components of the process with as much detail as possible.

French wars and diplomatic contact, as described previously, added to mutual exchange of illuminated manuscripts and subsequent spread of art forms, in the illumination especially shape of ornaments, figures and specific usage of colours. In the year 1356 French king Jean le Bel took with him to Poitiers a *Bible Historiale (*pl. 86), where it was bought by the earl of Salisbury.[429] Around the same time was brought to England a copy of the *Miracles de la Vierge*,[430] captured and taken from Charles V. This manuscript's decoration was attributed to Jean Pucelle. Several manuscripts share this fate and with a high probability contributed to spread of French influences in Britain.[431]

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[426] HAMILTON 2010, 39
[427] WATHLEY 1992, 1
[428] Literature resources on the subject: SCATTERGOOD 1983 on the subject of the Literary Culture at the Court of Richard II.; KEEN 1983
Music resources regarding reign of Edward III: WILKINS 1983; OLSON 1941
Political history resources on the reign of Edward III: GREEN 1966; COOKE 1734; ORMROD 1990b; GRIFFITHS 2005
[429] Bible Historiale, BL Royal 19 D II
[430] Miracles de la Vierge, Paris, BN, n. scq. Fr. 24541
[431] ALEXANDER 1983, 145

A. Wathley's study on the subject of the Transmission of French Motets to England presents interesting proof of cultural contact in the aforementioned situation of marriage negotiations. In his scholarly paper he considers a transmission of two polyphonic musical works (motets) from France to England against the backdrop of the political situation. Motets are called Ludowice prelustris francorum / Servant regem / Rex regum et dominus dominantium and Qui secuntur / Detractor est / Verbum in iquum, and are included in Bibliotheque Nationale, MS Francais 571."[432]

Between the years of 1325-1326 Queen Isabella ventured to France to negotiate a peace after the Gascon war of 1324 (and also to orchestrate the marriage of her son, future king Edward III to Phillippa of Hainault).[433] It was not for the first time she adopted this role of political ambassador, her role as a diplomatic agent was widely acknowledged and very often directed to her native France. It is a subject of an unceasing wonder among historians that this particular trip ended in open rebellion against Edward II, who was subsequently deposed by his royal wife and Roger Mortimer.[434]

As generous and splendid celebrations of the conclusion of the draft treaty took place, an illuminated manuscript (*MS francais 571*) was created as a wedding gift (pl. 87). It is not certain whether it was given by Edward to Phillippa or vice versa.[435] Whatever the case, this manuscript proves the connection and the influence of French literature and music on the English court culture of the Edwardian reign. As a historical relic it has unique and appreciable value for three historical fields: history of art, music and literature. In that sense it is necessary to describe this piece of artwork more closely.

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[432] WATHLEY 1992, 2

[433] WATHLEY 1992, 2
  For more about Queen Isabella see: DOHERTY 1997
  For more about the misson see: HAINES 1986
  For more about Philippa of Hainault see: SURY 2010

[434] HAMILTON 2010, 131nn

[435] A consideration of Phillipa as a recipient of the manuscript is made by Lucy Freeman Sandler in SANDLER 1985b, 105 and both Franqois Avril and Patricia Danz Stirneman in AVRIL/STIRNEMAN 1987, 152

During the negotiations of the peace Queen Isabella became part of the French royal court. Her suite consisted of clerks, chaplains and domestic servants. During the stay of Queen Isabella in France there is also documented presence of musicians – minstrels in her suite, who with all probability also communicated with their French counterparts.[436] These are also mentioned in the records of payments by French nobles, who rewarded them for their services. The contact of clerks and chaplains as an eyewitness of negotiations Wathley is presented as a possibility of a transmission of certain literary and musical influences through the MS Francais 571. Especially royal notaries, namely Gervais de Bus, who was the principal witness for the homage that Edward paid as a king at Amiens in June 1329. [437] After Queen Isabella broke up with her royal husband and decided to adopt new political strategy, her freedom to negotiate Prince Edward's marriage with Phillipa of Hainault helped her to attain a new independent political positionn with greater power.[438]

The manuscript called *MS Francais 571* is the first manuscript connected to the reign of Edward III and therefore it is appropriate to introduce it in first place. M. Michael's article suggests that this manuscript should be rightfully placed among other manuscripts belonging to the King or Queen, also because there are reasonably trustworthy arguments in its favour.[439] The manuscript did not last to this day in its original form.[440] The missing original parts are known from fol. iv., where all the contents are summarized. In the present day it contains *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini (fols. 2-122), whose author was scribe Michaus Ariespeil (he presents himself as a canon of St. Gery in Valenciennes). Another part includes *De Secretis Secretorum* (fol. 124) written in French. Poems in Latin and French form another part. A romance called *Le dit de Fauvain* by Raoul le Petit (fols. 146-150).[441] As mentioned before, the manuscript contains two polyphonic musical works (motets), which occured only in Roman de Fauvel: Ludowice prelustris francorum / Servant regem / Rex regum et

[436] For more about Queen Isabella's suite see: Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward II, Vol. V, A. D. 1324-1327 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), 91–92, 100, 102, 116, 120, 126, 131, 149, 151, 158, 178, 180, 185, 213;
For further information about Queen Isabella's suite see: DOHERTY 1997, 114
[437] WATHLEY 1992, 3
For more about the marriage of Edward II and Philippa of Hainault see: PETIT 1981
[438] WATHLEY 1992, 4
[439] MICHAEL 1985, 582. More details about the arguments will follow in the text.
[440] AVRIL/STIRNEMAN 1987, 149-152
[441] MICHAEL 1985, 582; WATHLEY 1992 14-15;

dominus dominantium and Qui secuntur / Detractor est / Verbum iniquum. [442] Most importantly this document contains a large number of illuminations in a form of large pictorial cycles. The first of the texts, the Tresor, contains both marginal drawings and painted miniatures. The Romance is illustrated by line drawings.[443]

The manuscript has been during its long history much more often considered and examined by Frenchmen, undoubtedly due to the fact that the manuscript is deposited in French collections. Whatever the place of deposition, both major English researchers who payed attention to the manuscript in 1985 agreed that the illumination was executed by English illuminators and this hypothesis is generally accepted by other researchers ever since.[444] The style resource of the manuscript is assessed as East-Anglian and Englishmen are supposed to be responsible for all major decoration of the manuscript.[445] There is no doubt the manuscript was executed as a celebratory work of art on the occasion of a bethrotal, because it contains the heraldry of Edward as a king of England. Hand in hand with an analysis of style it proves the date of 1326.[446]

The theory of the manuscript being of a royal origin is supported by a strong evidence of the depicted arms. These are to be found in the frontispiece to the book on folio 6. Two framed miniatures are on the top of the folio, each of them with a coat of arms in four corners. On the sides of these two miniatures are placed two figures – a woman and a young man, both of them bearing arms. A woman in a garment holds the arms of Hainault and young man arms of the heir of the English throne.[447] The coats of arms in the corners of framed miniatures present a heraldic tribute to both husband and wife's ancestry. [448] Considering the origin of the manuscript, L. F. Sandler promoted the theory, the manuscript was produced in Hainault by English illuminators, employed by Queen Isabella, using locally produced colours.[449] Franco-Flemish origin of colours

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[442] WATHLEY 1992, 15
  For further information about the manuscript, especially from art historical point of view see:
  AVRIL/STIRNEMAN 1987; SANDLER 1985b; MICHAEL 1985; LÅNGFORS 1914
[443] WATHLEY 1992, 15
[444] AVRIL/STIRNEMAN 1987, 151-152; SANDLER 1985b, 104-105
  The theory of English illuminators is accepted for example by WATHLEY 1992, 15
[445] WATHLEY 1992, 15 quotes AVRIL/STIRNEMAN 1987 151-152; SANDLER 1985b 104-105
[446] MICHAEL 1985, 582
[447] WATHLEY 1992, 15
[448] WATHLEY 1992, 15
[449] SANDLER 1985b, 105

was proved by chemical analysis and therefore supports this hypothesis.[450] This remarkable manuscript proves artistic contact beyond all doubt – not only in the field of manuscript illumination, but also in music and literature.

Presumably, MS Francais 571 was not the last illuminated manuscript Edward III can be related to, even though the list is not especially long. Five of extant manuscripts were verifiably owned or commissioned by the king.[451] Lavishly adorned with illumination were two manuscripts, created in 1326-1327. Both have a form of a treatise of advice and both were presented to the King by Walter de Milmete, king's clerk.[452] These two texts were intended to provide king with an advice on the art of kingship, especially with careful references to the reign of Edward II.[453] *Secretum secretorum* and *De Nobilitatibus Sapientiis et Prudentiis Regum* have sumptuous decoration and scholars assume, they had been decorated by several illuminators, probably due to the early date of the intended presentation to the king.[454] The overall style of the manuscript is thought to be related to the Master of the Queen Mary Psalter and therefore assumed to be made in some larger atelier situated in London.[455]

Another two manuscripts which are preserved in quality enough as to be related to the royal court, are both dedicated to Phillipa of Hainault. The first is a *Psalter with Old Testament cycle* of depictions from the life of King David. It also bears similar visual characteristics to Queen Mary Psalter (pl. 88). J.J.G. Alexander highlights likeness with the *French Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (pl. 91) and suggests it could have been a wedding gift, considering the date of creation in the year of 1328.[456]

This group of manuscripts is an evidence of a culturally developed environment around the king Edward III. Even though by some scholars these manuscripts are

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[450] WATHLEY 1992, 15
[451] ALEXANDER 1983, 141
[452] Secretum Secretorum, British Museum, Add. 47680
KAUFFMANN/ALEXANDER 1973, 96
For more about these manuscripts see: SANDLER 1987, 592; JAMES 1913
[453] MICHAEL 1994, 36
[454] ALEXANDER 1983, 141
[455] KAUFFMANN/ALEXANDER 1973, 96
For more information about the Queen Mary Psalter see: WARNER 1912; MICHAEL 1985;
RANDALL 1957, 103
[456] ALEXANDER 1983, 142; KAUFFMANN/ALEXANDER 1973, 97

considered to be less interesting and undistinguished, they are by all means a witness to emerging court art and its sophistication.[457] As M. Michael states:

> *... a number of documents and a small corpus of books can be associated with both Philippa and Edward, indicating that they were interested in reading books and may have valued illuminated manuscripts, even if their interest was never as great as that of their French counterparts.[458]*

Foreign visual characteristics in the English manuscript illumination as presented in this chapter is a proof of highly developed transitional channels of cultural influences in the first half of the fourteenth century.

3.1.2 The first half of the fourteenth century in the history of illumination

Aside from royal manuscripts, commissioned by Edward III or Phillipa of Hainault, in the first half of the fourteenth century was created a group of manuscripts, considered to be the finest example of illumination at the time – the East Anglian manuscripts.[459] The era of the East Anglian school is marked as one of the most prolific periods in the history of the English illumination.[460] *The Peterborough Psalter*, *Gorleston Psalter* (pl. 92), *Ormesby Psalter*, *Douai Psaler*, *Barlow Psalter*, *Macclesfield Psalter* are just a few examples of the group.[461] Unlike other grouped manuscripts, the manuscripts of East Anglian provenience originated exclusively in

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[457] The group of Manuscripts was regarded as undistinguidhed in SIMPSON 1979, 138
[458] MICHAEL 1985, 582
[459] For Medieval Art in East Anglia between 1300–1520 see: MORGAN/LASKO 1974; on the subject of 13th to 14th century painting and East Anglian School see: RICKERT 1954
[460] WATSON 1974, 3
According to F. Wormald, the best account of the East Angl. S. is given in: COCKERELL 1907
[461] RICKERT 1954, 125
The Peterborough Psalter, Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., MS 9961-2
The Gorleston Psalter, London, British Library, Add. MS 49622
The Ormesby Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366
For more about the Gorleston Psalter see: THOMPSON 1908; COCKERELL 1907; For he Gorleston Psalter, and the East Anglian School of Manuscript Illumination as Represented in the British Museum see: DALY 1967
For more about the Ormesby Psalter see: HASSAL 1978; LAW-TURNER 1999; LAW-TURNER 2005; For islamic Sources of the Ormesby Psalter see WATSON 1969
For further information about the Douai Psalter see: HULL 1994; RICKERT 1954
For more about the Macclesfield see:
http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/macclesfield/about/, retrieved 13.2.2013
For the Technical Mastery of the Macclesfield Psalter, a preliminary stylistic appraisal of the illuminators and their suggested origin see: DENNISON 2006b

Norfolk, Suffolk and the dioceses of Norwich and Ely.[462] These manuscripts are characterised by wide, much decorated margins with abundant foliage, rich colours and grotesque motives.[463] As described by Saunders and quoted by Watson:

> *… The use of wide, richly decorated margins that contain hybrids and grotesques, abundant foliage scrolls and a large variety of flowers, birds, and other naturalistic motifs; the use of genre scenes and medieval fables in marginal decoration; a sense of humour that is often quite earthy; and a loose, sometimes called undisciplined, sense of design.[464]*

The most important representative of the East Anglian style is undoubtedly the *Gorleston Psalter*.[465] This richly decorated book together with the Ormesby Psalter is the most sumptuous book of East Anglian school.[466] As it often occurs in the medieval manuscripts, it is difficult to find a person, for whom the manuscript was intended. This particular manuscript is peculiar by the presence of numerous coat of arms in the decoration, which renders the identification even more intricate. S. Cockerell assumed, the arms of Roger de Bigod, fifth earl of Norfolk, who died in 1306, could be the one of the original owners.[467] Besides the rich gilded ornamental decoration one can find an abundance of figures and animals depicted in funny or grotesque situations and often with awkward facial expressions (pl. 93).[468]

In the past it was often acknowledged that the East Anglian School, however innovative and English in its nature, cannot conceal certain foreign influences. S. Cockerell sees the influence to be of French Flemish origin, judging by marginal grotesques. Specific influence was traced by him in the Gorleston, Omersby and Douai Psalters and connected to the Sienese painting.[469] Also J. A. Herbert names the inclination to the grotesque as a trait leading to the Flemish influence.[470] O. Pächt swears on Italian giottesque artistic tendencies, observable in manuscripts mere twenty

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[462] MORGAN/SANDLER 1987, 153
[463] WATSON 1974, 3
[464] WATSON 1974, 3; SAUNDERS 1928, 108
[465] This claim was acknowledged by: COCKERELL 1907; THOMPSON 1908; WATSON 1974
[466] MORGAN 1974, 19
[467] THOMPSON 1908, 151
[468] MORGAN 1974, 19
[469] Ibidem
   According to Morgan, the Sienese influence is most distinct in the Gorleston Psalter, in the depiction of the Scene of Crucifixion. The motive of kneeling Mary Magdalene and setting of the scene on a rocky mountain has no predecessor in the English Illumination.
[470] HERBERT 1911, 223

years since the emergence of Giotto's genius in Padua.[471] He argues, the Italianate features were imported directly, without a mediation of France. This claim is proven by the fact the effects of the Italian innovation appeared in France at the same time in the work of Jean Pucelle (around 1327). As he emphasizes, Frenchmen picked rather different elements and used them to deliver different artistic effect, therefore the mediating function of France seems highly unlikely.[472]

More recent scholarship stressed the importance of French influences.[473] Whatever the case, all studies accentuate the importance of the continental connections in the constitution of East Anglian style. Even though the East Anglian School was influenced by continental artistic principles, the connection also happened the other way round. The innovative nature of the illumination obviously intrigued foreign artists, who used typical features of the school's production in their works. M. Rickert mentions in particular the area of the Lower Rhine and Cologne. Interestingly, she finds some stylistic connection also with the Bohemian art of the time.[474]

Aside from the East Anglian School, first half of the fourteenth century witnessed the appearance of another promising artist, who is for lack of evidence called as the Queen Mary Master. His major commission, as his name suggests, was *Queen Mary Psalter*.[475] This manuscript is called after the Queen Mary, who owned the manuscript in the sixteenth century.[476] This private devotional book pioneered the emerging tendency to adorn private manuscripts with extensive and minute decoration in considerable quantities.[477] The decoration consists of over two hundred illustrations on the subject of the Old Testament history, preceding the text of the psalter. Another decorational feature of this manuscript are copious marginal drawings, executed in the same manner, characteristic by the tinted outline style.[478] Depicting favourite pastimes

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[471] THOMPSON 1908, 146; PÄCHT, 51
[472] PÄCHT 1943, 53
[473] SANDLER 2006, 179
[474] RICKERT 1954, 147
[475] The Queen Mary Psalter, Brit. Mus, Roy. MS. 2B. vii
[476] For more about the Queen Mary Psalter see: For the Joseph Cycle in the Queen Mary Psalter see: SMITH 1993; WARNER 1912; MICHAEL 1985; RANDALL 1957, 103; MCKENDRICK/LOWDEN/DOYLE 2011;
On similarities with Northern Passion: PICKERING 1972
[477] SMITH 1993
[478] PICKERING 1972, 135

of aristocracy, such as dancing, hunting and jousting, side by side with the lives of saints, scenes of bestiary and miracles of the Virgin, are 464 bas-de-page illustrations (pl. 88). Also half page miniatures and historiated initials adorn Latin Psalter, canticles and litany.[479]

Considering the style, one notices especially the mannerism of figures, which show a fluid line and delicate expression. Their posture with a hip-shot pose and tall, slim bodies are in accordance with contemporary court style, observable both in France and England.[480] Morgan and Marks note in the sweet faces of depicted figures affinity to Parisian style of Master Honoré and Jean Pucelle.[481] This French notion is further analysed by A. Stanton, who finds the parallel for serene and "gracefull calmness" of the figures (showing no excitement, even in the cases where the story would require it) in French court illuminations of Philip IV.[482] This manuscript subsequently inspired the production of this luxury goods, executed in the first three decades of the century. Some of the more important illuminations are a psalter, executed for a monk of st. Augustin's Canterbury, named Richard and a breviary for Chertsey Abbey.[483] The style also inspired East Anglian production.[484]

The watershed that took place in the manuscript illumination and buried the remarkable production of around the half of the fourteenth century, was often ascribed to the Black Death in 1348-1349. A. Simpson documents the change in the decoration, preceding this catastrophe on the *Louterell Psalter*.[485] Considering some changes in the style, it is to be assumed, the transformation was of earlier date and was much less

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[479] SMITH 1993, 147
[480] STANTON 2001, 19
[481] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 19
  For studies on Jean Pucelle in England see: SANDLER 1970; SANDLER 2006
  For general information about the artist see: Jean Pucelle and illumination in Paris of 14th century in French: BLUM 1949; MORAND 1962; more recently on innovation and collaboration in manuscript painting see: PYUN/RUSAKOFF 2012
[482] STANTON 2001, 18
[483] For more informations on these manuscripts see: MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 19
[484] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 154
[485] London, British Library, Add. MS 42130
  HERBERT 1911, 229
  For more about the Luttrell Psalter see: MILLAR 1929; BACKHOUSE 1989; CAMILLE 1998; BROWN 2006

connected to the catastrophe than was formerly judged.[486] Whatever the reason for the sudden decline, around the time of the Black Death in the half of the fourteenth century the East Anglian School disappeared as suddenly as it emerged half a century ago.[487]

To draw a conclusion of this chapter, the first half of the fourteenth century experienced surge of national English taste in illumination, no doubt as a result of previous development, preceding the year of 1300. As a new attribute of the developing art, owners of the manuscripts started to demand narrative drawings and were getting used to elaborate decorations of their religious books. This progress created a great environment for the further flourishment of illumination in the second half of the century, regardless of the Black Death in 1348.[488]

3.2 English manuscript illumination in the second half of the fourteenth century

Even though the East Anglian school perished and the volume of artistic commission in the manuscript illumination significantly dropped, there is still remarkable development after the middle of the century, which is necessary to present, especially because it has a connection to the royal commissions of the king Richard II. The key influence over the illumination of this time is Italian, present in large amount of commissions and determining the characteristics and visual appearance of the manuscript decorations. Even though there is no documentary evidence of the connection with Italy whatsoever, the language of pictures is distinct enough to render it certain.[489] To assess the possibility of Bohemian influences in the illumination, this chapter deals thoroughly with the international influences during the second half of the fourteenth century.[490]

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[486] SIMPSON 1984, 114
[487] HERBERT 1911, 229
[488] RICKET 1954, 122
[489] PÄCHT 1943, 51 For further information on the Italian schools of painting and their development see nineteen volumes of : MARLE 1923-1938
[490] International influences in English painting are dealt with in these studies: Italian influences: PÄCHT 1943; for French Influence and the Englishness of English Art see: SANDLER 2006, for general background see: RICKERT 1954

3.2.1 The Egerton Master

As F. Wormald states, between the critical years of Black Death (1348-1349) and 1370, when Bohun manuscripts were commissioned, the production of illuminated manuscripts dropped so dramatically, there are in fact only a few manuscripts to assess.[491] One rather small group of manuscripts was made probably shortly after the half of the fourteenth century by or under the influence of the Egerton Master. This anonymous artist is the author of a *Psalter for Stephen of Derby* and *Egerton Genesis* (pl. 94).[492] He is also responsible for two full page miniatures in the Fitzwarin Psalter (currently placed in Paris, pl. 95). The manuscript was obviously illuminated by some other artist of lesser quality, who painted fourteen other full page miniatures.[493] The Egerton Genesis, deposited in the British museum, is used by O. Pächt to prove Italian apprenticeship of the master. As an evidence he draws a connective line between the giottesque painting and Egerton Genesis :

> It is only in the South, from contemporary Italian art, that he could have learnt the secrets of three-dimensional design in figure and space-construction. The block-like figures, with their solid, corporeal forms, so unlike the elongated types of earlier Anglo-Gothic painting with their curved silhouettes, find their parallel in Giotto's monumental world, and again in the sturdy types of North Italians such as Niccolo da Bologna.[494]

Also F. Wormald draws attention to the Italian architectural frames which provide the decorative scheme with novelty, unparalleled in such a form in English illumination.[495] *The Fitzwarin Psalter* is through the influence of the Egerton Genesis (though it could have been the other way round) enriched with many international influences, Italian, French and Flemish. As Wormald argues, the break in the tradition of manuscript illumination during the half of the fourteenth century was much less

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[491] WORMALD 1946, 71

[492] The Egerton Genesis, British Library, no. Eg. 1894
For more about the Egerton Genesis see: COKER JOSLIN/C. J. WATSON 2001; for a complete reproduction in facsimile of the manuscript see JAMES 1921; for historiographical note see SANDLER 2003

[493] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 22
For more about the Fitzwarin Psalter see: for hypothesis of donors origin JAMES 1895; WORMALD 1943; for context of the psalter´s origin see RICKERT 1954

[494] PÄCHT 1943, 51

[495] For Italian influences in English illumination in the 14th century see: PÄCHT 1943; WORMALD 1956

profound and the tradition of the East Anglian School, mingled with great many international influences, continued, albeit in reduced and less continuous form, until the emergence of the Bohun manuscripts.[496]

3.2.2 The Bohun group of manuscripts

In search for the manuscripts with advanced illuminations, produced in the second half of the fourteenth century, one cannot miss the Bohun group.[497] These approximately ten manuscripts have in common the personalities of donors, the Bohun family. Humphrey of Bohun, 7th Earl of Hereford (d. 1373).[498] Him and his daughters Eleanor and Mary in the course of their lives commissioned several manuscripts of exceptional quality.[499] One of the daughters, Mary, was a wife of Henry of Bolingbroke (future king Henry IV), who claimed the throne in 1399.[500]

The heart of the Bohun group consists of seven manuscripts which were obviously executed by one group of artists. Some hands of the artists occur in two or three manuscripts and all of them bear similar design and programme of decoration.[501] The date of their production is often judged to be after 1370 and not later then 1399, when Eleanor of Bohun died.[502] Not only the affinity of the decoration schemes and design, but also textual and heraldic references witness the donors of the manuscripts, strong and relevant evidence providing scholars with rare certainty about the origin of the manuscripts.[503]

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[496] WORMALD 1956, 74

[497] For essential study on the subject of the Bohun manuscripts see: MILLAR/JAMES 1936
For general information on the second half of the century manuscript illumination see: RICKERT 1954;

[498] For further information on the Bohun Family see: COKAYNE 1932

[499] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 22

[500] STANTON 2002, nepag.
For more about the Henry IV see: BEVAN 1994 For the information on the Establishment of the Regime see: DODD/BIGGS 2003

[501] SANDLER 1985a, 364

[502] RICKERT 1954, 150

[503] SANDLER 1985a, 364

Regarding placement of the workshop, one possibility suggested in 1954 by M. Rickert was London.[504] Since then new analysis was made and new proofs derived from the surviving documentary. L. Sandler claims on the grounds of the argumentation, the Earl summoned several artists, who worked in a closely established workshop at Pleshey in Essex.[505] According to this, Humphrey of Bohun was responsible for the establishment of an art workshop of his own, where the majority of the manuscripts was created.[506]

The style of the group is not homogenous and in an attempt to define them would appear at least two categories, based upon the style of their representatives. Whereas the first group is specified by Flemish influences, demonstrated in thick outlines and rather thin drapery folds, the other one is more connected to the generally accepted Bohun style and is apparently influenced by Italian illuminations. This is apparent in the drapery modelled by highlights, beady eyes and narrow, thin lips.[507]

Several manuscripts of the Bohun group attracted more attention than others. The Fitzwilliam Psalter, Lichtenthal Psalter and Carmelite Missal were the subject of scholarly interest in the last decades, therefore they will be presented here as well. The Fitzwilliam Psalter is probably one of group of manuscripts, executed on the occasion of the wedding of Mary de Bohun and Henry of Bolingbroke and represents those sumptuous manuscripts, where are the biblical thematics used as a background for dynastical representation. The costumes of depicted figures and affinity to the courtly refinement, ought to support the noble stock of the family.[508]

The Lichtenthal Psalter belongs to those rare luxurious manuscripts, discovered in the second half of the 20th century.[509] The unique discovery was made in Cistercian Convent in Baden-Baden and soon it was found, it belongs stylistically to the group of

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[504] RICKERT 1954, 150
[505] STANTON 2002, quotes L. Sandler and her study The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family
For more about the Pleshey Castle see: WILLIAMS 1977
[506] For further information on the Bohun Family see: COKAYNE 1932
[507] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 22
[508] SANDLER 1985a, 367
[509] Ibidem

the Bohun manuscripts.[510] L. Sandler supposed it was commissioned some time after the marriage of Mary and Henry. It was her, who also suggested the name of the artist, who were summoned to execute the commission. John de Tye, as he is called, is named in Humphrey de Bohun´s will. He was an Austin friar and belonged probably to the workshop of illuminators at Pleshey Castle.[511]

The Carmelite Missal (pl. 96), reconstructed in a great detail and with a first-rate analysis of stylistic origins by M. Rickert, is judged to belong to the group, even though on less close basis.[512] On the grounds of extant illuminations Rickert formulates theory of three main hands A, B, C, which substantiate main styles.[513] The hand C, labelled as a representation of English style, shows a close affinity to production of the Bohun group, especially to psalter in Edinburg, commissioned by Eleanor of Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester.

The style of Carmelite Missal is therefore a proof of a development from East Anglian origins to the style of the late fourteenth century, affected during the process by Italian and other influences.[514] The hand B, as defined by Rickert, is ascribed to the Bohemian influence (pl. 96, 97). The stylistic origins, so very different from the other hands in the Missal, point at affinity with the *Liber Regalis*.[515] Hand C ought to present Dutch influence which is traced by the author to several continental manuscripts of the origin, placed in various collections across Europe.[516] This contribution to the Carmelite Missal decoration is possibly responsible for introducing the Gothic International style to England, heralding the changes in English painting around the year of 1400.[517]

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[510] DENISSON 2006a, 915
[511] SANDLER 2004, 179
    For more about the Humphry of Bohun´s patronage of Austin friars see: SANDLER 1985a
[512] London, British Library, Add. MSS 29704, 29705, 44892
    For reviews of M. Rickert´s publication see: BOASE 1953; FEENEY 1953; DODWELL 1953
[513] RICKERT 1952, 72
    Summary of the findings also published in journals: RICKERT 1935a; RICKERT 1941
[514] RICKERT 1952, 73
[515] This connection will be examined further in subsequent chapters, see page: 117
[516] RICKERT 1952, 80-90
[517] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 24

3.2.3 The illumination during the Richard II´s reign

Even though there is no tangible evidence of a workshop, connected to the royal court at the time of Richard II, the example of the Bohun family suggests, there possibly was some permanently present group of illuminators, who took care of the king's commissions.[518] Extant manuscripts such as *the Liber Regalis*,[519] *Oxford Astrological Handbook* [520] and *Historical Compilation in the British Library* [521] provide us with an evidence of this.[522] The representatives of the style, close to the court illumination are to be found especially in the Abbey of Westminster in two dated manuscripts – *The Lytlington Missal*[523] and *the Sherborne Missal*.[524]

The first of them was probably produced in 1383-1384. The remarkable lavishness of the manuscript was noted by scholars just the same as the mediocrity and stiffness of depicted figures.[525] The general manner of painting is in the case of *the Lytlington Missal* easily distinguishable from the Bohun Group, especially by the modulation of faces and their expression.[526] Unlike the Carmelite Missal, the Lytlington Missal offers much more detailed information regarding its origin. The evidence proves, it originated in the Benedictine Westminster Abbey and was illuminated by lay craftsmen, who were summoned to live at the place and work on the commission.[527] It is possible, King himself shared the group of illuminators with both Benedictines in Westminster Abbey and Carmelites in Whitefriars. At least such a speculation would be justified by the extant manuscripts, named above.[528] Some of these manuscripts are rather conservative

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[518] MORGAN/SANDLER 1987, 156
[519] London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38
[520] Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 581
[521] Cotton Nero MS D.VI
[522] MORGAN/SANDLER 1987, 156
[523] Westminster Abbey MS 34
[524] British Library Add. MS 59874
    RICKERT 1935a, 91
[525] HERBERT 1911, 231 uses the style of the Lytlington Missal as a proof of continuing deterioration of the illumination in the second half of the 14th century.
[526] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 23
[527] RICKERT 1935a, 91
    More about Westminster Abbey: HARVEY 1977; for Westminster Abbey related to the reign of the dynasty of Plantagenets see BINSKI 1995; for the Chapter House and the Pyx Chamber in Westminster Abbey see RIGOLD 1976; for the Chapter House alone see: NOPPEN 1952; for more information about the art in Westminster Abbey see: NOPPEN 1926; for the Roman Cosmati mosaics as related to the English court style see: BINSKI 1990
[528] MORGAN/SANDLER 1987, 156

in execution, whereas some of them incline to the new English style, exhibited in the Carmelite Missal and named by M. Rickert as Hand A.[529]

A great scholarly attention is traditionally attracted to the Liber Regalis (pl. 98), manuscript believed to be commissioned by someone at court, probably King himself, on the occasion of the coronation.[530] It was executed in Westminster Abbey, where it remained till this day, deposited in the Chapter Library.[531] As it have been long time considered to be of Bohemian origin, it will be examined in a chapter of its own.[532]

3.2.4 The summary of the foreign influences

As previous two chapters had shown, the role of international contacts both cultural and political, formed with significant force the environment of English manuscript illumination. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the East Anglian School gained recognition, the Italian, French and Flemish influences with alternate intensity affected the production and helped to establish a native English style, self-sufficient and formally consistent. Considering the royal manuscripts, the dynastic politics played crucial role in the cultural transmission. As proven by MS Francais 571, the negotiation of marriages and exchanges of envoys had a profound effect on royal commissions.

First half of the fourteenth century witnessed emergence of some remarkable artistic personalities, who, as it happens with innovative forms and styles, heralded new schools and tendencies in art of painting and illumination. Queen Mary Master helped to introduce Parisian court style, inspired by Jean Pucelle and Master Honoré. Hand in hand with innovation, new attributes of the developing art started to take over the

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[529] RICKERT 1935a; MORGAN/SANDLER 1987, 156
[530] London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38
Literature dedicated to the Liber Regalis is vast, see especially: RICKERT 1935a For Liber Regalis in European Context and analysis of the date of production see : BINSKI 1997
[531] RICKERT 1954, 152
SIMPSON 1984, 147
[532] See page 117

favour of the literate public. Owners of the manuscripts started to demand narrative drawings and elaborate decorations of their religious books.

Not even the grave events of the 1348 undermined the promising development. The Egerton Master, to whom O. Pächt ascribed Italian apprenticeship, contributed to the English illumination with profound understanding of giottesque art. Applying three dimensional perspective and unprecedented architectural frames, he helped to import the Italianate motives. The Bohun Group of manuscript served as a melting-pot of the previously presented tendencies. Whereas one group was inspired by Flemish motives, the other one verifiably preferred the Italianate motives.

The Carmelite Missal, competently analysed by M. Rickert, contains three main styles, assessed by her as English, Bohemian and Dutch. From that is obvious, it is not impossible to imagine several illuminators (possibly of various nationalities) of different schooling, who worked side by side on a certain commission and applied their specific art, in accordance with their previous experience.

To conclude this chapter it is fitting to say, there was an unceasing contact of artistic centres not only through the personalities of wandering artists, but also by dynastic marriages, which created a dense net of kinship among the royal families. Also this close relativity of one court to another contributed a great deal to the spread of cultural and artistic novelties. This applies to the history of English illuminated painting even more, because manuscripts and books of various nature were easily movable. As such they could have been a part of bridal dowry, a splendid gift of one king to another or spoils of war. In short, manuscripts were the ideal connecting medium for the transmission of artistic ideas.

3.3 Monumental painting and panel painting at Richard II´s court

3.1.1 St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster

St. Stephen's Chapel was originally a major artistic commission of Edward III, one of those that are too important to be neglected.[533] By engaging in artistic decoration of the chapel Edward followed the example of his predecessors, who with great eagerness invested considerable sums of money in order to create an a unforgetable and formidable architecture with sumptuous decoration.[534] Especially the mural paintings in the Chapel present important step in the history of mid-fourteenth century painting (pl. 99).[535] The paintings in the upper level were destroyed by fire in 1834 and the only descriptions of the perished decoration is preserved in the texts of J. Topham and J. A. Smith.[536] D. Park, quotes Topham's appreciation of the newly discovered part of the decoration in 1800: „*One universal blaze of splendour and magnificence.*"[537]

Even though the original decoration did not last, it is for certain it was one of the most ambitious decorative schemes of the fourteenth century.[538] The function and outer appearance of the chapel ought to challenge the earlier Sainte Chapelle in Paris and in its stateliness was intended to contribute to the whole impression of the Westminster Abbey and its decoration. Only the Chapter House with the best known depictions of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgement in all England and the hammer-beam roof waited for its creation in the reign of Richard II.[539]

Even though there is very little possibility to perform any kind of visual analysis, it is highly likely the decoration was created under artistic tendencies of Italian

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[533] For more about the history of the St. Stephen's Chapel see: COLVIN 1983; HASTINGS 1955; BINSKI 1995

[534] COLVIN 1983, 129-130

[535] For further information about the wall painting in England see: ROSEWELL 2008; CAIGER-SMITH 1963; generally on the subject of 13th to 14th century painting and East Anglian School see: RICKERT 1954

[536] ALEXANDER 1983, 143
Descriptions of decoration scheme by: TOPHAM 1795; state before the destruction SMITH 1807

[537] PARK 1987, 129

[538] PARK 1987, 129

[539] RICKERT 1954, 147; The Westminster Apocalypse and Its Source are discussed in NOPPEN 1930, Chapter House and its decoration in NOPPEN 1952; RIGOLD 1976

painting.[540] This conclusion was deduced from the depicted architecture in the east end of the chapel and also from the execution of the angelic figures. Architectural niches here bear positively Italian perspective. Morgan and Marks see an affinity with Siena and its famous artists Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti (pl. 100).[541] F. Wormald recognizes the Italianisms also in the treatment of the facial features.[542]

J.J.G. Alexander seeks a parallel for this unique piece of art in Bohemia, comparing it to the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn, which was created around the same time, after the year of 1350.[543] The similarity of the scheme is yet more emphasized by the usage of gilded gesso which covers panel paintings in the Holy Cross Chapel (pl. 69).

Some scholars also found certain Flemish and German influences in the modulation of faces. Some of extant documents witness presence of German artists in England around the time and therefore support the possibility of these influences to mirror in the contemporary artistic works. Whatever speculations, the presence of foreign influences of various sources in the painting of the second half of the fourteenth century, namely Italian, French, Flemish and German, is highly likely. It is typical for the second half of the fourteenth century that international artistic motives and tendencies mingled into international style.[544]

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[540] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 21
[541] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 21
  The Italian influences are also acknowledged by HERBERT 1911, 150
[542] WORMALD 1954, 193
[543] ALEXANDER 1983, 144
  For more about the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn (Kaple svatého kříže na Karlštejně) see: FAJT/ROYT 1997; ROYT 1999 FAJT 2006b, 66-72. More about Court Chapels and their decoration see: FAJT 2004 The Technique of the Wilton Diptych by ROY 1997
[544] PARK 1987, 130

3.1.2 The Wilton Diptych

If there was a survey among scholars on the most popular work of art, created during Richard II's reign, there hardly would be any disagreement. *The Wilton Diptych* is a work of such a beauty and of such an enigmatic nature, it will not cease to attract attention of art historians in decades to come. This 57 x 29.2 cm big portable diptych made of two wings, depicts kneeling king Richard II, recommended by his patrons and worshipping the Virgin and Child (pl. 78).[545] The first representative monograph on the subject of the Wilton Diptych was published in 1882 by G. Scharf. At the time no documentary evidence was discovered, therefore the hypothesis were built on the basis of intrinsic characteristics.[546]

The first suitable occasion on which the specialists in the 20th century examined this panel painting more thoroughly, was in the year 1929, when the painting was purchased by English National Gallery.[547] Since the very beginning were acknowledged two challenges of the art historical research regarding the Diptych: the first was the date and occasion for its painting and the second the nationality of the painter and the place, where it was executed.[548] These two main points of the research will be also examined in this chapter. Because of the previous description of the iconographic content in the second chapter, this text deals mainly with the questions established above. Due to the extensive literature on the subject, it is impossible to do justice to all detailed questions, without compromising conciseness of this thesis. The literature on various aspects of the Wilton Diptych is at least summarized in subsequent footnotes.[549]

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[545] Further detail on iconographic contents in 2.5.2 Richard II and his royal image, pages 63-67
[546] CLARKE 1931, 283
[547] The Date and Nationality of the Wilton Diptych dealt with by: CONSTABLE 1929; CONVEY 1929 In The Burlington Magasine for Connoisseurs published his study on the Wilton diptych CLARKE 1931; In reaction to Clarke's article MANN 1931
[548] CONSTABLE 1929, 36
[549] For more about iconography of the Wilton Diptych see: BODKIN 1929; CLARKE 1931;
A Study of the Plants and Flowers in the Wilton Diptych by FISHER 1997;
The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych by WORMALD 1954; MORGAN 1997; GORDON 1997
For the adoration of the Magi see: PUJMANOVÁ 1997;
The Wilton Diptych: The Case for a Crusading Context, see: KEEN 1997;
Figured Silks Shown in the Wilton Diptych by MONNAS 1997;
Wilton Diptych and Images of Devotion in Illuminated Manuscripts.see SANDLER 1997;
The Wilton Diptych in the Contxt of Contemp. Panel and Wall Painting by: TUDOR-CRAIG 1997
The Wilton Diptych in the Contxt of the Richard II's reign see: TUDOR-CRAIG 1987
On the iconography of White Hart see: BATH 1981

In order to provide a background to the speculations on the date and origin of the painting, it is indispensable to give a brief description of the depicted scene. Both oak panels are painted on both sides. The left side of the obverse depicts Richard with his three patrons. His appearance is of great importance for the theories on the origin. He kneels, clothed in an elaborate gown with his hands raised in an uncommon gesture, with his hands raised and open (pl. 78).[550] His sumptuous clothing is adorned by his personal symbol – a badge with a white crouching hart. (pl. 101) The fabric is decorated with wreaths of broom-cods and flowers.

The same decorative principle is applied also in a collar around king's neck. This consists of broom-cods, divided from one another by a flower.[551] Another remarkable aspect is king's obvious youth. Unlike his patrons, who are depicted in various stages of life, he has no sign of a beard and his face is pale with a smooth skin. It was acknowledged throughout history that pale skin and beardless chin are connected to youthfulness, both in men and women.

Richard's patrons from the left side are st. Edmund, st. Edward the Confessor and st. John the Baptist. Aside from their set appearance, they are identifiable also on the grounds of their attributes: st. Edmund holds an arrow by which he was killed by Danes in 869, st. Edward clutches in his fingers a ring and st. John the Baptist holds in his arms a lamb.[552] Both kings wear rich and refined gowns, though less sumptuous than Richard himself.[553] John the Baptist traditionally wears the camel skin and is

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[550] This gesture is a subject of interest to many scholars, who attempted to explain it in several ways: GORDON 1997 claims, Richard expects to receive the banner as a symbol of England. MORGAN 1997, who shares the D. Gordon's perspective in note 3 quotes Claude Balir who claimed the gesture to be one of response to visionary experience.

[551] WORMALD 1954, 191

[552] For more about the cult of st. Edmund see: MITCHELL 1997; FLEMING 2010; St Edmund, as a King and Martyr and especially for Changing Images of a Medieval Saint see: BALE 2009
St. Edward according to a legend, gave the ring to st. John the Baptist, who was disguised as a pilgrim. For more about the Cult of Edward the Confessor and legends, connected with him see: For biographical refference see: MORTIMER 2009 also on the Edwardian legend; BARLOW 1997; see SAYERS 1977 for wider context, also related to the Vikings at the time of Edward the Confessor.

[553] For an article, dealing with an origin of these silk gowns see: MONNAS 1997

barefooted. All that is placed in a desolate landscape with sandy ground, gently shaped in slight waves, with few dark trees crouching in the distance right behind the figure of st. John. The sky is adorned with golden, abstract stamped decoration.[554]

The right side of the obverse contains distinctively higher number of figures. The central figure is the Virgin with Child, wearing ultramarine blue robe. The Virgin, standing in a distinct s-shaped pose, holds a Child, wrapped in a golden cloth, clutching his sole of foot and showing it to the viewer. The Child with both hands raised, leans towards Richard with a gesture of blessing. This central couple is surrounded by eleven angels in the same robes of the ultramarine blue as the Virgin.[555] All of them wear the same badge and broom-cod collars as the King. Their fair curly hair are crowned with a wreath of flowers.[556] Whereas seven of them stand in a row behind the Virgin, some of them with folded hands, or holding each other, four angels are moving around the Virgin. One of them, in left side holds a banner with a red cross on a white ground. This group is placed in a beautiful meadow, scattered with various flowers.[557] The golden background has different pattern then the left side.

The reverse of the picture shows clearly, this painting is related to King Richard. On the left panel is a shield of arms *"showing the mythical arms of Edward the Confessor impaling the quartered arms of France and England surmounted by a helmet, a cap of maintenance and a crowned lion. On the right-hand panel is the white hart couched among leaves and flowers."[558]*

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[554] To the usage of such a decoration: SCHARF 1882, comparable to the decorational backgrounds of the Master Theodorich's panel paintings in the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn Castle.
For more about the Holy Cross Chapel see: FAJT/ROYT 1997; ROYT 1999; FAJT 2006b, 66-72.
For research regarding Karlštejn Castle and its decoration, see especially: MATĚJČEK 1950; KROFTA 1958; CHADRABA 1968; BOUŠE 1971; STEJSKAL 1964; ROYT 1999
note also catalogue FAJT 1997

[555] The special iconographic role of angels in Richard II's artistic comissions see: The Regal Image of the Wilton Diptych and especially studies by: GORDON 1997; ROY 1997; WILSON 1997; MORGAN 1997
For the possible explanation of the colour usage see: WOOD 1988; The Earliest Dress and Insignia of the Kings of the Garter by NEVINSON 1948

[556] Deatailed description of this iconogrpahical motives by SCHARF 1882; FISHER 1997

[557] The symbolics of flowers by FISHER 1997

[558] WORMALD 1954, 192
The heraldic contents of the painting are discussed in majority of studies. A specialised study on the subject by CLARKE 1931

Aforementioned study by G. Scharf, published in 1882, brought together some key aspects of the contemporary research, regarding the Wilton Diptych. In order to launch the summary of the scholarly opinions on the subject of the painting, it is reasonable to start with this particular study. As a matter of fact, the text does not deal only with the Wilton Diptych. In order to understand its significance, G. Scharf ventures to examine the long history of the painting and analyses all extant works of art, provably executed during Richard II's reign.[559] A detailed description of the visual aspects, starting from the embroidery to broom-cod collars provides all the desirable information, to assess the picture. The date of the picture he determined to be the year 1381. He arguments by the king's apparent youthfulness hand in hand with an absence of any reference to the person of Queen Anne. This simple argument seems to be satisfactory, but remains to be a conjecture. Therefore the future speculations ventured far beyond this original hypothesis and invented several more or less likely surmises.

In N. Wilkinson´s study were presented several of these hypotheses, some of which are advocated by scholars till this day.[560] One of them was already mentioned as a possibility by G. Scharf.[561] It is a theory, the painting was executed in connection with a crusade in 1382.[562] This crusade was proclaimed by Urban VI in Rome, against the antipope Clement VII in Avignon and Richard, as Urban's defender, decided to support the cause. The claim of the crusading context is based on the iconographic evidence in the form of the banner of st. George, in the left part of the right obverse desk.[563] The viability of this theory is supported by the fact, it was not excluded from the modern research and reappeared several times in specialized studies. In 1997 it was further examined by M. Keen, with the difference of the crusade considered. As long as the necessity to state a context for the execution of the painting will remain, Keen sees good reason to believe, it was – if only partly – influenced by the crusade cause.[564] The evidence for such a claim are as follows: 1) the widely acknowledged date of 1935 post

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[559] Meaning: The Effigy in the Westminster Abbey, Westminster Abbey Portrait of Richard II, Canopy to the tomb of Richard II.

[560] WILKINSON/PEMBROKE 1907

[561] SCHARF 1882, 68-69

[562] For more about England and the Crusades between 1095–1588 see: TYERMAN 1988; Specifically on the subject of the so called Despenser's Crusade in 1382 see MILLER 2002

[563] CONSTABLE 1929, 41
This theory was promoted by: SCHARF 1882; PALMER 1972; Further analysis was published in GORDON/MONNAS/ELAM 1997, written by KEEN 1976

[564] KEEN 1997, 189

quem.[565] 2) The omnipresent broom-cods, are thought to be originally owned by French King Charles VI and given to Richard as a gift during the marriage negotiations in 1395.[566] 3) The cooperation of France in England (as believed to be reflected in the Diptych by the usage of iconographic motives of the broom-cod and the white hart together), suggests their common goal in the appeasement of the papal situation and eventual crusade to Jerusalem.[567]

The other hypothesis, operates with a different set of circumstances.[568] The date is set at 1382 and the reason for its execution is supposed to be the coronation. The painting itself was, according to this theory, intended to be a votive gift to the Shrine of Our Lady of Pewe. It is proven, Richard visited the place shortly after his coronation. The number of angels ought to represent king's actual age and the banner is to symbolise the England as a Dos Mariae.[569] As to the current state of agreement, considering the date of the Wilton Diptych, the third theory, prevalent around 1930 is closest to its conclusions. This specific argumentation was mostly promoted by French scholars. Constable names Lafenestre, Buchot, Comte Paul Durrieu, Louis Dimier, who all put the date considerably later, closer to the year 1390.[570] Buchot suggests, the painting was created on the occasion of the royal marriage of Richard and Isabella.[571]

Since 1929, when the painting was purchased by the National Gallery, the speculations on the date and origin of the painting were yet again the subject of endless studies and articles.[572] D. Gordon names two scholars, whose studies had the biggest

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[565] More on the argumentation regarding this date will follow.

[566] These negotiations preceded the marriage of Richard and Isabella of France in 1396. Background to Richard II's Marriage to Isabella of France explained in: PAMER 1971

[567] KEEN 1997, 190

[568] Promoted by CUST 1909 and Everard Green (the attempt to retreive an information unsuccessful)

[569] CONSTABLE 1929, 41
This theory is also presented in GORDON 1997, where it is supported by the depiction of an island, hidden in the orb at the top of the banner.

[570] DURRIEU 1925, 28

[571] CONSTABLE 1929, 41
These three theories are concisely summarized in: GORDON 1993

[572] The Date and Nationality of the Wilton Diptych dealt with by: CONSTABLE 1929; CONVEY 1929 In The Burlington Magasine for Connoisseurs published his study on the Wilton diptych CLARKE 1931; In reaction to Clarke's article MANN 1931; Wilton Diptych discussed as a part of a collection of Earl of Pembroke from the Wilton House: WILKINSON/PEMBROKE 1907; Study on Wilton Diptych in German: BORENIUS 1936;

impact on the future research and these are the M. Clarke and J. Harvey.[573] Both of them brought to attention reasonable arguments in favour of their theories and therefore established certain common frame of knowledge, on which was built further research. M. Clarke presented very persuasive evidence supported by the analysis of heraldic motives in the picture, namely the shield of arms, broom-cod collars and the white hart. Although these aspects were examined in many previous scholarly texts, she underlaid all the previous claims with solid evidence. The key argument is related to the shield of arms, in the form present in the Diptych. As Clarke proves, the quartered arms of England and France impaled with those of St. Edward, were publicly presented in the winter of 1397-8 and no material evidence proves the opposite.[574] She is also to be thanked on acquisition of an evidence of the original usage of broom-cod collars. It is her who proved, it was originally used by French King Charles VI and also argued, there is no positive evidence Richard wore the collar any time before.[575]

The heraldic evidence presented by M. Clarke provided future scholars with a solid spot, on which majority of studies, written in recent decades, are anchored.[576] The main controversy remaind the youthfull appearance of the king, inexplicable by any reasonable argument without questioning Clarke's evidence. In order to explain this discrepancy, several scholars attempted to provide meaningful arguments. Some specialists on the grounds of stylistic maturity of the painting decided to regard it as created after Richard's death.[577] Others ventured to seek different and unprecedented theories. L. Cust argues, the painting had a retrospective tendency – commemorating the events of 1381, the Great Peasant´s Revolt and eventual defeat of Wat Tyler.[578] In the similar way explained the painting E.W. Tristram, who suggested, the painting

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[573] GORDON 1997, 20
  Study by M. CLARKE 1931
  Study by J. HARVEY 1961
[574] CLARKE 1931, 284
[575] GORDON 1997, 20
[576] GORDON 1997, 20
[577] SHAW 1934, 171-184; PANOFSKY 1953, 118; noted by GORDON 1997, 22
[578] CUST 1909, 16-19
  This theory is also asessed in much later GORDON 1997
  For more about The Great revolt of 1381 see: OMAN 1907; DUNN 2002; DOBSON 1970;

should commemorate Richard's coronation. The eleven angels, according to this theory, present eleventh year, Richard achieved at the time of his coronation.[579]

Wherever the truth is, all presented theories and speculations lack any evidence to prove them right. A considerable amount of studies and articles dealt with the question of date, but aside from more or less plausible speculations, the result still is a conjecture. In that case it remains to acknowledge, the professional public is in last decades inclined to consider the date of 1395 as the date post quem. The same consent is present in the question of the patron. The shield of arms proves beyond all doubt, the Diptych was commissioned by Richard himself.

Similarly difficult research is bound to the question of the origin. The fine style of the International Gotic does not make the task any easier. Even though facing such a challenge, the discussion on the point never ceased and the number of related studies is considerable.[580] One intriguing perspective, profoundly connected to the subject of this thesis, is a theory of a Bohemian origin of the Wilton Diptych. As it is also one of the earlier theories, it is convenient to present it in the first place.

G. Scharf mentions, names of Mrs. Jameson and Mr. Hookham Carpenter as the introducers of the idea of Bohemian influence over the Wilton Diptych. As he states, their claim was based on the refined taste of Emperor Charles IV and his corresponding patronage of the arts.[581] This hint was expanded further by two scholars: A. W. Franks of the British Museum and J. C. Robinson, Surveyor of the Queen´s Pictures.[582] These two specialists were personally acquainted with the paintings of the Karlštejn Castle, Prague and several more Bohemian localities, where the fourteenth century art was to

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[579] TRISTRAM 1949, 385

[580] With the subject of the nationality of the Wilton Diptych and its artist dealt esp. these studies and articles: SCHARF 1882; CONSTABLE 1929; CLARKE 1931; WORMALD 1954; GORDON 1993;

[581] SCHARF 1882, 72
G. Scharf does note use notes in satisfactory degree and his study also does not contain bibliography. Due to this fact, the mission to obtain sources of these claims were to date unsuccessful.
For more about the Charles IV patronage of arts see: BENEŠOVSKÁ/KUBÍNOVÁ 2007; FAJT 2004; FAJT 2006a; FAJT 2006b; ROYT 1999; ROYT 2000; ROYT 2001

[582] For more information about A. W. Franks see: READ 1901; WILSON 2002
For further information about J. C. Robinson see:
http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/v/v-and-a-150th-anniversary/

be seen.[583] Scharf, familiar with contemporary and older literature, classifies Bohemian art of the era to be of great importance. Quoting authorities of G. F. Waagen and Lord Lindsey,[584] he describes the characteristics of Bohemian art, especially with an emphasis on the unique qualities of the Master Theodoricus' paintings.[585]

G.F. Waagen, great authority of German art history, also had written a book on art in Great Britain, he was therefore an author accessible to generality of British scholars.[586] In his book on various European schools of painting and their development during the fourteenth century, he in a great detail described all peculiarities of the so called Bohemian school. He notes the fact, the rise to superior art started sooner in Bohemia than elsewhere. He also emphasized the connection of the emerging art to the person of the King and Emperor Charles IV. It is obvious, Scharf used Waagen's familiarity with the subject to form an opinion on the peculiarity of the Bohemian style.

W. G. Constable in his study, following the acquisition of the painting by the National Gallery, pays attention to the question of the Bohemian influence as a part of his general examination of origin of the painting. As he claims, the tendency to ascribe the Wilton Diptych to Bohemian influences is caused by failure to disentangle local variations of the international Gothic style in a proper way.[587] Instead of a common source, he sees only the common formative influence. The similarities with Bohemian bibles, such as the Wenceslaus' Bible in the Library at Vienna (pl. 102), he discharges as unsatisfactory.[588] Even though Constable refuses the Bohemian connection, he admits the possibility of Bohemian artists in Queen Anne's retinue.[589]

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[583] SCHARF 1882, 72
[584] WAAGEN 1904; LINDSAY 1847
[585] SCHARF 1882, 72
As presented in corresponding chapter on Charles IV and his idea of kingship (pages 54-63) for Magister Theodoricus see especially: FRIEDL 1956b; KROFTA 1958; STEJSKAL 1964; DVOŘÁKOVÁ 1964 about the importance of the Karlštejn Castle paintings; FRIEDL 1969; GROHMANOVÁ 1990; FAJT 1997 anthology of studies on Magister Theodoricus; ROYT 1999;
[586] WAAGEN 1854
[587] CONSTABLE 1929, 43
[588] CONSTABLE 1929, 43
For more about the Wencelsaus' Bible see: KRÁSA 1964; KRÁSA 1974; HLAVÁČKOVÁ 1997b; For studies in German see: THOMAS/SCHMIDT 1989; APPUHN 1990
[589] CONSTABLE 1929, 43

The same refusal of this theory is given by M. Conway, who in his article on Wilton Diptych settled for a pronouncement that Bohemian origin is not possible, *"because the best critics of medieval Bohemian art refuse to acknowledge it."*[590] M. Rickert, known for her study on Carmelite Missal, where she interpreted one of artists' hands as being of Bohemian origin, is more inclined to see some analogy. The similarity of Wilton Diptych with certain representatives of the Bohemian painting is found by her in the rich play of the drapery, with broad, deep folds and modelling with areas of light.[591]

A general tendency in the scholarly works after the 1930 is to discharge the speculation on the Bohemian influence in the Wilton Diptych.[592] This is to a great extent true about the painting – wall, panel or miniature. However, one more recent attribution to the research deals with sculpture as a possible medium for transmission of artistic ideas. D. Gordon seeks connection between the group of Madonnas, executed in the "Schöne Stil". She argues, the stance of the Virgin and Child is inexplicable by English or French examples, not only in statues but also in panel and miniature painting.[593] As an example Gordon uses the Krumlov Madonna, probably the most famous example of this group of sculptures (pl. 103).[594] In her stance is also to be found the peculiar distinct s-shaped character, Madonna's slightly bend head and also the position of the Child, leaning outward (pl. 78).[595]

The theories of Italian, French and especially the English origin of the Wilton Diptych were in related research given more space and more serious consideration than the Bohemian. The two of the mentioned foreign influences will be noted in first place, also because they require more arguments and comparisons and least but not last because the English origin, until proven otherwise, remains the most reasonable.[596]

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[590] CONVEY 1929, 212
[591] RICKERT 1954, 161
[592] EVANS 1949, 84; TUDOR-CRAIG 1987, 131-136; WORMALD 1954, 153; STEEL 1941, 110
[593] GORDON 1993, 69-73
[594] For more about Schöne Stil see: KUTAL 1966; KUTAL 1984
    For further information about the Krumlov Madonna see: KRAMÁŘ 1930; KUTAL 1957;
    For general summary of gothic sculpture of the era see KUTAL 1984; ZÁLOHA 1987
[595] GORDON 1993, 71
[596] As G. Scharf mentioned in his study on the Wilton Diptych, England in the 13th and 14th had its own School of art. On the grounds of preserved accounts of Exchequer it is known, artists were paid for their services. The existence of artists at court is well known.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, some examples of manuscript illumination and also mural paintings, executed in the first half of the fourteenth century, bear distinct Italian influence. St. Stephen's Chapel was created under artistic tendencies of Italian painting.[597] Morgan and Marks highlighted an affinity with Siena and its famous artists Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti. (pl. 100).[598] S. Cockerell traced this affinity in the Gorleston, Omersby and Douai Psalters and connected it to the Sienese painting.[599] As the most pronounced defender of the Italian influences O. Pächt also emphasized the Italian giottesque artistic tendencies, observable in manuscripts mere twenty years since the appearance of Giotto in Padua.[600] He claimed, the Italianate features were imported directly, without a mediation of France.[601] The acceptance of the Italianate motives in the English painting of the fourteenth century therefore had a well-marked tradition among twentieth century scholars.

One of the first connoisseurs, who pointed to potential Italian origin of the Wilton Diptych was D. Passavant.[602] In his travel diary he described his visit of the Wilton House. On the occasion he examined the Wilton Diptych and admitted, many connoisseurs would be tempted to ascribe it to an Italian school. He draws parallel with Fra Angelico and he even sees close connection with a style of Cossimo Rosselli. On the basis of the documentary evidence he renounces this possibility, for the extant documents prove its later date.[603]

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed emergence of several studies, including the one by G. Scharf on the Wilton Diptych. He does not dwell too long on the Italian question, instead of that he quotes Ch. Eastlake, who delivered his opinion on the subject in his general publication on painting in 1869.[604] He claimed that aside

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[597] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 21
[598] Ibidem
 The Italian influences are also acknowledged by HERBERT 1911, 150
[599] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 21 According to Morgan, the Sienese influence is most distinct in the Gorleston Psalter, in the depiction of the Scene of Crucifixion.
[600] THOMPSON 1908, 146; PÄCHT, 51
[601] PÄCHT 1943, 53
[602] PASSAVANT 1836, 302
[603] PASSAVANT 1836, 302
 This commentary is misinterpreted by W. G. Constable who understood him to actually claim the Cosimo Rosselli's authorship, which he did not.
[604] EASTLAKE 2001

from differences caused by the climate, the English painters of the time closely resembled the followers of Giotto.[605] That he explains by animated and lively communication of both centres, which contributed to exchange of the informations of practical use.[606]

G. F. Waagen, mentioned previously in relation to the Bohemian School, considered with a great conviction the Wilton Diptych to be of Italian origin. This opinion he presented in his Treasures of Art in Great Britain.[607] His arguments are as follows:

> *... the first glance is sufficient to show anybody who is acquainted with the Italian tempera painting of the fourteenth century that this painting is executed in this vehicle. It also agrees so fully in the stage of development and in conception with the works of contemporary Tuscan masters – of Arcagnuolo (commonly called Orcagna), of Taddeo do Bartolo, and with the miniatures of Don Silvestro Camaldolense, that it is without doubt by a very able Italian Painter, who probably lived at the court of King Richard II, in the same manner as, in the 13th century, a painter from Florence, named William, was in the service of king Henry III.[608]*

W. G. Constable on the other hand denounces these theories and claims, the Italian origin is proven impossible by several aspects – technical character of the painting, unlikely to be executed by a painter of Italian origin, type of the drapery and also the treatment of hands and hair which in his opinion show clear affinity with Northern European style.[609] The marked presence of Italian features he explains by a spread of the Sienese influence all over the Northern Europe at the time. This influence he assumes to have come both through the medium of Paris and also directly from the Northern Italy.[610]

F. Wormald, following first in her study on Wilton Diptych Italian influences of the first half of the fourteenth century, pays corresponding attention also to the question of these influences in the Wilton Diptych and related extant works of art. After

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[605] For more about the Giottesque influence on English painting see: PÄCHT 1943
[606] EASTLAKE 2001, 125
[607] WAAGEN 1854, 150-151
[608] Ibidem
[609] CONSTABLE 1929, 43
   For more about the technical aspects of the painting and the description of technical analysis to date see: ROY 1997
[610] CONSTABLE 1929, 43

summarizing all relevant international influences, she concludes that besides the influence of the Flemish and Rhenish artists, their Northern Italian colleagues left a distinctly visible trail. The political and commercial contact by all means supported the transmission of the artistic ideas.[611] Regarding the Wilton Diptych, she presents interesting examples of related works, showing an affinity of some Italian works with almost unerring relation. Aside from generally known familiarity of depicted John the Baptist and head of the Child to Italian style, Wormald presents intriguing picture of a hart, depicted in the De Grassi Sketch-book at Bergamo (pl. 149).[612] This depiction is so strikingly similar to the White hart of the Wilton Diptych, it almost denies a coincidence.[613] In the White Hart therefore Wormald sees the influence of Lombard naturalism amongst the artists working in England around the year 1400.[614]

In more recent publications, for example the one by D. Gordon, the Italian influences are not unnoticed.[615] To the previously mentioned examples Gordon adds the potential influence of the Simone Martini (pl. 105)), *"whose refinement of technique finds a rare match in the Wilton Diptych."* [616] This Sienese inspiration could have been transmitted through the city of Avignon, where some of the Martini's works could have been observed by the artist, connected to the execution of the Wilton Diptych.[617]

The close connection, probably the closest of all, was the one with France. Centuries of unceasing political contact and lasting claims of English kings on some French territories rendered the connection even closer. Therefore it is but natural, the scholars also tend to regard the French influence as the crucial one in the Wilton Diptych research. That is acknowledged also by G. Scharf, who assess the France and Flanders to be of the greatest consequence, both in politics and family alliances. These close connections naturally mirrored in the artistic commissions. For example, when the French King was a prisoner in England (after the Battle of Poitiers), he was still

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[611] WORMALD 1954, 195
[612] Sketch Book of Giovannino de Grassi. Ms. VII. 14, Biblioteca Civica, Bergamo, Italy.
[613] WORMALD 1954, 196
[614] WORMALD 1954, 196
[615] GORDON 1993, 70
[616] GORDON 1993, 70
   For more about Simone Martini see: MARLE 1920 ; MARTINDALE 1988
   In this study is Simone Martini mentioned on page: 46-48
[617] GORDON 1993, 70

allowed to be surrounded by French artists, among these was notable Girard d'Orleans.[618] Such events were undoubtedly of importance, considering the obvious French trails in the English painting around the half of the fourteenth century.[619] The Flemish influence was on the other hand supported by a more favourable act - the marriage of Edward III and Phillipa of Hainault.[620]

W. G. Constable on the grounds of several French works of art reconstructed a plausible comparison, proving contact with French art centres, especially with courts of Duke of Berry and Duke of Burgundy, where worked André de Beauneveu (pl. 56) and Jacquemart de Hesdin (pl. 106).[621] In the Chronicles of Jean Froissart is even a piece of information, proving the connection and backing it with solid evidence.[622] Describing the year 1390, he stated that in the England are present some fine examples of the André Beauneveu works. Other information of the sort proves, that in 1389 Philip, Duke of Burgundy, sent as presents some illuminated manuscripts and other works of art to Richard and his uncles (the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester).[623]

M. Clark in her heraldic study emphasized the role of the marriage of Richard II to Isabella of France in 1396 as a determining factor for some of the visual attributes of the Wilton Diptych. As a part of the diplomatic contact, French King had given livery collars, depicted in the Wilton Diptych, as a wedding gift to the English King. Moreover, the broom-cods collar (pl. 101) is proven to be of the French origin, being originally part of Charles VI' livery.[624] Aside from the importance this finding brings to

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[618] For more about the Battle of Poitiers see: BURNE 1938; GALBRAITH 1939;
For Edward III's Prisoners of War and consequently The Battle of Poitiers and Its Context GIVEN-WILSON/BÉRIAC 2001
[619] SCHARF 1882, 76
[620] SCHARF 1882, 76
For more about Philippa of Hainault see: SURY 2010. More on the transimission of a cultural influences in the context of the marriage negotiations see: WATHEY 1992
[621] For more about André Beauneveu see: NASH 2007; COCKERELL 1906; BOBER 1953; SCHER 1968
For more about the Jacquemart de Hesdin see: MARCHI 2008; For J. de Hesdin and Mister Francke see: SIMSON 1970; Regarding some Beauneveu's works, which should be rather ascribed to J. de Hesdin see: CONVEY 1916
[622] For more about the Jean Froissart see: AINSWORTH 1990; THOMPSON 1966; DUNSTON 1847
[623] CONSTABLE 1929, 45
[624] For more about the Collar of the broom-cods see: SCHARF 1882; CLARK 1931
For more information about Charles VI see: FAMIGLIETTI 1986; AUTRAND 1986

the accuracy of the date of the Diptych, it also shows the influence, political and diplomatic connections had over the arts in the Richard II's era.[625]

The same examples are presented in D. Gordon's attribution to the knowledge of international influences of the Wilton Diptych. The small scale of the painting she thinks to be responsible for the common tendency to see affinity in the manuscript illumination. In this field she names examples of the most closely familiar paintings.[626] First of them is the Book of Hours in Bruxelles, painted possibly around the 1390's for Jean, Duke of Berry (pl. 46).[627] The scene is divided into two framed pictures, the left showing the kneeling Duke of Berry recommended by his patrons st. Andrew and st. John the Baptist. The other page shows the enthroned Virgin with Child. The analogy is apparent in the treatment of light and drapery, however the differences are as pronounced as the similarities. [628]

The final and by all means relevant is the theory on the English origin of the Wilton Diptych. As was claimed before, the reason for believing the painting to be of local artist and the local school is as plausible, or even more so, than any other of the presented theories on the foreign origin. M. Conway in 1929 published an article, where he by all accessible evidence attempted to prove the English origin of the painting. He argues, England had enough skilled painters active at the time, to be perfectly capable of producing such a superior piece of art as Wilton Diptych. Among their works, he names the mural paintings in St. Stephen's Chapel, commissioned some twenty-five years before the Wilton Diptych.[629] Another example he points out are the

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[625] CLARK 1931, 289

[626] CLARK 1931, 289

[627] Tres belles heures du Duc de Berry, placed in Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, 11060-11061
For further information on Duke of Berry and his artistic comissions see:
Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry examined by GROLLEMUND/TORRES 2012; For a study on the art of illumination, the Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Duke of Berry, published during the Exhibition "The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry" see: HUSBAND 2008; For French text on Duke of Berry´s architectural commissions see CHANCEL 2004; A French study on the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry in the context of the manuscript illumination in the beginning of the 15th century see: STIRNEMANN 2004

[628] GORDON 1993, 70

[629] For more about the Mural paintings in St. Stephen's Chapel see: Descriptions of decoration scheme by: TOPHAM 1795; SMITH 1807; BORENIUS/TRISTRAM 1927
For more about the history of the St. Stephen´s Chapel see: COLVIN 1983; HASTINGS 1955; BINSKI 1995

testers over the sepulchral effigies of the Black Prince at Canterbury and of Richard and his wife in Westminster Abbey.[630] The latter was commissioned in 1396 and executed by Master Peter, who provably received a payment for his work. Although not much is extant that would witness his skills, there are remains of his Coronation of the Virgin, thought to be of considerable quality.[631] By these and other examples Conwey backs the claim of the English School, insufficiently provable in his opinion only due to the unfortunate fate of the majority of English medieval paintings.[632]

W. G. Constable, in his study on date and nationality of the Wilton Diptych is at the end inclined to consider the French School as the most likely place of stylistic origin. He also presents some extant pieces of art, comparable to the Diptych and uses them to prove his pro-French perspective.[633] Besides the testers over the sepulchral effigies of Richard and Anna he also names the Portrait of Richard II (pl. 80) and a wall painting of the Doom in the Chapter House (pl. 107) , all of them in Westminster.[634] Retable in Norwich Cathedral (pl. 110), generally considered to be of English provenance is used here as one of the examples, where the similarity to the Wilton Diptych is at best dubious.[635] In the field of the manuscript illumination Constable sees closest connection with the Sherborne Missal, however the facial features of the depicted figures are different and less refined to claim it a work of the same author.[636]

F. Wormald in her comprehensive study emphasized that until proven otherwise, there is no justification in assuming the Diptych to be of a foreign origin. This

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For further information about the wall painting in England see: ROSEWELL 2008; CAIGER-SMITH 1963; generally on the subject of 13th to 14th century painting see: RICKERT 1954

[630] CONVEY 1929, 212

[631] Master Peter and the testers over sepulchral effigies: HARVEY 1961; COLVIN 1963; TUDOR-CRAIG 1997
Other testers over sepulchral effigies,especially that for Sir John Harrington at Carmel and the Black Prince in Canterbury by: TUDOR-CRAIG 1997 (also with corresponding notes and bibliography)

[632] CONVEY 1929, 212
For more about the sepulchral effigies in Westminster Abbey see: MORTIMER/HARVEY 2003; PLENDERLEITH/MARYON 1959

[633] CONSTABLE 1929, 44

[634] For more about the Portrait see: COCKERELL 1906; CUST 1909; ALEXANDER 1997

[635] CONSTABLE 1929, 44
For more about the Norwich Retable see: RICKERT 1954, 160

[636] CONSTABLE 1929, 44
Sherborne Missal, British Library Add. MS 59874
For more about the Sherborne Missal see: RICKERT 1935a, 91

supposition is in her opinion supported by the apparent familiarity of the artist with English manners. Just as her predecessors, her aim is to prove or disprove the international influences in the painting on the grounds of the extant illuminated manuscripts and other monuments.[637] As mentioned previously, she derived from the evidence the conclusion, that besides the influence of the Flemish and Rhenish artists a visible trail was left also by their Lombard counterparts.[638]

D. Gordon introduced her chapter on potential English origin of the artist by describing the tradition of court artists in Westminster since the half of the thirteenth century. As both Henry III and Edward III provably maintained court artists, it seems only natural, Richard II should do the same.[639] The extant records of the Richard II's reign proves existence of mere two court artists: Thomas Lytlington and Gilbert Prince.[640] The first was court artist from 1377 to 1399, when he was replaced by the other. It would be tempting to suppose some of these artists was responsible for the execution of the Diptych. Unfortunately there is no proof whatsoever, that would approve it. No contracts, items in inventories or payments, the only art comissions mentioned are few heraldic decorations for festivities, celebrations, birthdays and similar occasions.[641] Another analogy was in the past found with work of Dominican friar John Siferwas and his workshop, who is the author of the Sherborne Missal.[642] The greatest discussion was, however, induced by the personality of the German artist Herman Scheerre, whose career in England in the first years of the fifteenth century was examined in great detail. The two manuscripts, related to him are Bedford Hours

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[637] WORMALD 1954, 192
[638] WORMALD 1954, 196
[639] For art patronage of Henry III see: LANCASTER 1972. As he states, the proof of Henry III patronage is to be found in rolls of his own charters, and other documents, issued by the Royal Chancery. One of the artists mentioned is interestingly a woman, embroiderer called Mabel of St. Edmunds.
 For art patronage of Edward III see: WATHEY 1992; GRIFFITHS 2005; MAURER 2006
[640] GORDON 1993, 72
 Thomas Lytlington is most often connected to the Litlyngton Missal, which was examined especially by these scholars: HERBERT 1911; RICKERT 1935; RICKERT 1954; PÄCHT 1988;
[641] GORDON 1993, 72
[642] GORDON 1993, 72
 For more about John Siferwas see: HERBERT 1911; SAUNDERS 1928; RICKERT 1962;
 For John Siferwas and the Mythological Illustrations in the Liber cosmographiae
 of John de Foxton (and also useful notes and bibliography to the subject) see: FRIEDMAN 1983

and the Beaufort Book of Hours.[643] However, the direct comparison does not show satisfactory similarity to the Diptych.

To draw a conclusion of the question of the origin, I will present my own perspective as I acquired it during the study of the related literature. The attention Wilton Diptych experienced resulted in a great surge of more or less plausible theories, which in the end created very indistinct and disorganised mass of hypotheses. Some of them are slightly untrustworthy, whereas a lot of them are often based on reasonable arguments. In order to summarize them I was forced to reduce the mass to concise scope and pay attention to those most widely accepted.

Facing the extent of the studies I was forced to acknowledge, it is often the skill of one scholar or another to deliver their theories in a convincing manner that decides the final impact on the reader. With so little evidence and so many ambiguous extant fragments it is a field of great confusion, where one or another aspect can be adapted to several theories, without compromising the credibility. In this environment it is a revelation of great impact, when some previously unknown facts are revealed and accepted by the professionals. Such a revelation was by all means Clarke's study on heraldic motives in the Diptych which proved the later date of the Diptych. Also the discovery of the orb at the top of the depicted banner opened the doors to a new wave of speculations, considering the iconography of the painting.

In the first place I have presented the theory of the Bohemian style. The last scholar, who strived to consider it acceptable, was M. Rickert, who previously in her remarkable study on Carmelite Missal distinguished a "Bohemian hand". However pleasing would be to consider the visual characteristics of the Wilton Diptych as close to the aspects of Bohemian production of the second half of the fourteenth century, it is after careful consideration highly unlikely. If one would dare to insist on any connection whatsoever, it would probably be the soft folds of drapery, the modulation

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[643] For more about the Bedford Hours and the Psalter see: TURNER 1962 For the Luttrell Psalter and the Bedford Book of Hours see: MILLAR 1929. The Master of the Duke of Bedford and the Bedford Hours by SPENCER 1965
For The Beaufort Book of Hours and also the York Psalter see: RICKERT 1962
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/henryviii/birthaccdeath/beaufort/index.html
The Herman Scheerre examined in: RICKERT 1935b; KUHN 1940; SPRIGGS 1974

of the folds with light, visible on the ultramarine clothes of the angels and the Virgin. As mentioned before, no one of the foremost scholars denounces the possibility of artists in the Anne's retinue. If the painting was commissioned after 1395 as is commonly believed, there is no reason, why the style of court art could not be influenced to some degree by whatever Anne brought with her, or what was produced by the artist accompanying her. After all, Charles IV' court was renowned and respected all around the Europe. Why then would not Richard wish to increase his dignity by drawing a connection with such a court? Yet again, such a claim is mere speculation, so very similar to other very reasonable but unprovable theories.

Unlike this "Bohemian theory", the Italian one remains the often accepted and relevant one. Regarding all the previous activity of Italian artists at the English court, it would be surprising indeed not to take it into consideration. Aside from this tradition of Italian influence, there is unmistakable "italianism" in the Diptych, obvious even to a less competent eye. No wonder, it was compared to the Sienese painting of Simone Martini, whose refined and highly handsome style gave distinction to his art. Another plausible comparison is the one with Lombard art, where was discovered the remarkable similarity to De Grassi Sketchbook in Bergamo. The hart, depicted on the back of the panel is so very alike the one depicted in the Sketchbook, it seems there can be no mistake in considering them related. (pl. 104) The presence of Italian Masters on Ricardian court is very likely and therefore I am inclined to consider the Italian affinities in the Wilton Diptych as natural and reasonable.

The French connections, supported to a great extent by political and dynastic considerations, are another of very close nature. Unlike other examples, there is a set of verifiable evidence, proving the presence of French painters in England at the time and also exchange of illuminated manuscripts. The relations with courts of Duke of Berry and Duke of Burgundy, where worked André de Beauneveu and Jacquemart de Hesdin are proved by J. Froissart. Also this connection was responsible for some iconographic motives in the Diptych, such as the collar of broom-cod, given by Charles VI to Richard. As a matter of fact, this proof presented by M. Clarke is one of the most solid, proving the French influence in the painting beyond all doubt. The question, whether to

consider the painting to be also executed by French painter is a more difficult one, again facing the deficiency of evidence.

The English origin, by nature most probable, was always troublesome to prove. The body of extant works of art is insufficient in proving existence of works of art, comparable to the Diptych in quality of execution. The sad fate of numerous medieval monuments, sealed during the religious storms, rendered the assessment of the painting of the second half of the fourteenth century in England almost impossible. However, the documented presence of court artists both during the reign of Henry III and Edward III adds to the trustworthiness of such a claim. Also the extant documents on the court artists at Richard's court is very scarce, containing only two names. Both Thomas Lytlington and Gilbert Prince could be responsible for the execution of the Diptych, there is, however no way how to prove that. Dozens of scholars attempted to draw a connection with extant monuments all across the England, although with little final effect. Whatever of artistic production of the fourteenth century survived, it is desperately incomparable to the beauty and refinement of the Wilton Diptych.

However numerous the theories on the origin and date of the Diptych, there is still space enough to find new perspectives and points of view, regarding any of these questions. Whatever the truth is, it seems the painting was commissioned by Richard and executed by an artist or artists of great skill and great international background. It does not seem unlikely, this artist had the opportunity to know many schools and influences which he merged into uniquely balanced and impressive work of art. Whatever his origin was, he was a man of wide horizons, who was capable of delivering Richard's ideas of the content in highly luxurious and prestigious manner, in agreement with cosmopolitan style. Considering Richard's affections for refined minute things, he certainly appreciated its timeless beauty as well as its ambiguous contents.

3.1.3 The Westminster Chapter House

Another example of an artistic monument worth mentioning in this thesis on international artistic influences, are the wall paintings in the Chapter House in the Westminster Abbey (pl. 107).[644] G. Scott, on the base of extant documents, claims the date of its origin ought to be the year 1250.[645] The main subject of interest, the wall paintings were commissioned more than a century later, between 1372-1404.[646] It was paid for by John of Northampton who was at the time a monk in the Westminster Abbey.[647] The decoration of the octagonal Chapter House (pl. 107) consists of five arched compositions, placed under impressive stained-glass windows. The architecture itself is considered to be of an exceptional artistic purity.[648] All from the single pear holding a vaulted ceiling to the large windows creates an impression of lightness and harmony.

The wall paintings cover all the space under the blind arcading with trefoil head of the arch and are accompanied by written inscriptions.[649] The iconographic program is composed of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgment.[650] Interestingly it is the only one preserved scene of Apocalypse of the sort in English art.[651] The painting was applied directly on the stone masonry, which determine to a great degree less refined execution and also less preserved detail.[652] As J. Noppen, the scholar who dedicated several

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[644] For more about Westminster Abbey: HARVEY 1977; for Westminster Abbey related to the reign of the dynasty of Plantagenets see BINSKI 1995; for the Chapter House and the Pyx Chamber in Westminster Abbey see RIGOLD 1976;

[645] SCOTT 1863, 39
This architect of Gothic revival, who had written a publication about the Westminster Abbey in 1863, was also responsible for the renovation of the Chapter House
For more about the work of Sir George Gilbert Scott see: COLE 1980; For more about his role in the English Gothic revival see: EASTLAKE 1872; For a exhibition dedicated to him in Victoria and Albert Museum see: LITTEN 1978

[646] EVANS 1949, 105
The Wall painting in England during the 14th century is examined in: CAIGER-SMITH 1963; a study with more emphasis on the iconographic and iconologic contents of the English painting at the time, especially in English and Welsh churches, see: ROSEWELL 2008

[647] PARK 1987, 130

[648] SCOTT 1863, 40-45

[649] NOPPEN 1930, 146

[650] PARK 1987, 130

[651] NOPPEN 1930, 146
For a thorough study on the subject of Apocalypse in European art see: DELISLE/MEYER 1901 especially during the 13th century, JAMES 1921;

[652] RICKERT 1954, 162

studies to the problem of the Westminster Apocalypse, claims with certainty, the scheme was reproduced from a manuscript.[653] The Last Judgement with Christ, accompanied by cherubim, is depicted in the east bay. The bare chested Jesus with his hands raised, showing his wounds. He is surrounded by seraphim and cherubim, holding the instruments of his passion. One of the angels has his wings covered inscriptions of Christian virtues. G. Scott assumed it to be executed in the half of the fourteenth century.[654] M. Rickert sees a parallel in the Norwich Retable and also finds a connection to the artistic production of John Siferwas.[655] Whatever the case, it is clear enough, the Apocalypse was executed in different style, in different time and also by a different artist.[656]

The original ninety-six scenes of Apocalypse adorn the extensive space of the rest of the arch, four scenes each arch. (pl. 108, 109).[657] Considering the bad condition of the paintings, the fifteen pictures on the norther side remained in good condition. On the south side this can be said about eighteen scenes, whereas a dozen is unidentifiable, the rest is in mediocre but intelligible state.[658] The character of the paintings is rendered unique by its complexity and detailed inscriptions. On such a scale it is truly unparalleled set of pictures.[659] The comparison with a manuscript illumination is obvious – the figures are minute and not monumental, the scenes are arranged in such a manner, there is no doubt about the usage of some manuscript as a model. The corresponding manuscript was stated by G. Noppen to be in the Trinity College in Cambridge.[660]

As to the question of a stylistic origin, it seems intelligible enough to cause a rare agreement among scholars. Both G. Noppen and M. Rickert acknowledge the influence of Low German art, recognising the influence of Master Bertram (pl. 111).[661] Also D.

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[653] NOPPEN 1930, 146
[654] SCOTT 1893, 43
[655] RICKERT 1954, 162
[656] PARK 1987, 130
[657] Ibidem
[658] NOPPEN 1930, 151
[659] RICKERT 1954, 162
[660] NOPPEN 1930, 151
  Trinity College MS. B 102
  For more about the MSS in the collections of the Trinity College see: RICKS/DAY 1988
[661] NOPPEN 1930, 159 ; RICKERT 1954, 162

Park agrees with the obvious connection by pointing out the „*squat, bulbous-nosed figures*" of the Apocalypse. As he claims, during the time is documented presence of German and other foreign artists, working on important commissions.[662] As remarkably related seem especially the figure of John in the north part of the Chapter House and the Retable of Saint Peter in Hamburg (pl. 111, 112).[663] Aside from the scale of the figures, very similar to the diminutive tendency of the Bertram's style, one cannot miss the remarkable similarity of the figure of God in the Retable of Saint Peter, creating animals and st. John in the Chapter House Apocalypse. The S-shaped posture and the particular way of arranging the drapery also shows visible analogy.

Similarly as Italian craftsmen, the German artists, especially in the end of the fourteenth century and in the beginning of the fifteenth century were to leave a trail, distinguishable in the choir of cosmopolitan artistic euphony. Moreover, as Germany and Bohemia were bound by common politics and one state union, there was a high degree of mutual exchange of artists and artistic influences. In such an environment it would not be surprising, Bohemian artists, could have been considered by less geographically informed Englishmen as "Germans". Even though it is not the case of the Chapter House, where are the originating artistic ideas clear enough, it remains true, Master Bertram was related to a certain degree to a style of Magister Theodoricus. Through this medium was the typical form of the Theodoricus' art dismantled and composed again in entirely new and original style of Master Bertram – clearly less monumental, but possessing a distinctive visual quality of its own. As such it was imported to England and in the modulation of drapery of light and softly modelled shapes, even in peculiar faces of figures, one can sense a bit of Theodoricus, as to be seen in his greatest glory in panel paintings of the Holy Cross Chapel.

For more about Master Bertram see: MÖLLER 1983; MB and the Grabow Altar see: DUBE 1982 (Eng.), SCHNEEDE 1999; For further information about the Petri Altar see: REINITZER 2002; SITT/HAUSCHILD 2008

[662] PARK 1987, 130

[663] NOPPEN 1930, 159

3. REEVALUATION OF THE QUESTION OF BOHEMIAN INFLUENCE OVER THE ENGLISH PAINTING DURING THE REIGN OF RICHARD II

Throughout the previous chapter were now and then presented theories of Bohemian influence over one or other work of art. As the Prague court art of the fourteenth century righteously belongs to the best production of the Late Middle Ages, it is no wonder scholars in the past were inclined to seek the connection to the English art. The splendour of Charles' art production is well understood by them and therefore often, in search for a relevant comparison are used Czech examples. For example J.J.G. Alexander, when describing the st. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Abbey sought a parallel for this unique piece of art in Bohemia, comparing it to the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn.[664]

As majority of professionals state, the Wilton Diptych shows very little stylistic connection to Bohemian painting. Only D. Gordon noted that visual affinity of the Krumlov Madonna and the stature of the Wilton Diptych Virgin is too marked to be coincidence.[665] Also the Votive Picture of Jan Očko of Vlašim was called several times to witness the possible analogy to the best Bohemian art.[666] Renowned „Hand B" of M. Rickert in the Carmelite Missal, in which she safely recognised a Bohemian artist, was often questioned.[667] The last, most important example of a work of art, most often claimed to be of a distinguishable Bohemian influence, is the Liber Regalis.[668]

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[664] ALEXANDER 1983, 144
[665] GORDON 1993, 69-73
[666] As noticed by Jiří Fajt on FAJT 2006. For more about the Votive picture of Jan Očko of Vlašim see: ROYT 2005
[667] RICKERT 1952, 76
Summary of the findings also published in journals: RICKERT 1935a; RICKERT 1941
[668] RICKERT 1935a; For Liber Regalis Date and European Context see: BINSKI 1997

3.1 Liber regalis and possible Bohemian influence

A great scholarly attention is traditionally attracted to the Liber Regalis (pl. 98), manuscript believed to be commissioned by someone at court, probably King himself, on the occasion of the coronation.[669] It was executed in Westminster Abbey, where it remained till this day, deposited in the Chapter Library.[670] It consists of 34 folios with a size of 25,5 x 17,5 cm. The text in Latin deals with the coronation of a king, the coronation of a queen and king, the coronation of a queen alone and is concluded with a procedure for the funeral of a king.[671] It contains only four full page illuminations with high finish: coronation of a king, the coronation of a queen, the coronation of a queen and king, and a funeral of a king (pl. 113, 98, 114).[672]

The royal patronage, ascribed to the manuscript, is not supported by material evidence, but the size of the volume and magnificence of execution backs up strongly such a claim. The manuscript however does not give a clue, for what king it was produced.[673] Interestingly, Liber Regalis has a twin manuscript, deposited in Spanish Pamplona.[674] This, however does not help to establish any explanation of the original piece, because the history of this manuscript is even more obscure.[675] Considering the style, until the A. Simpson's dissertation it was universally acknowledged, the original manner of decoration is derived from Bohemian style. This hypothesis was based mainly on visual similarities with Bohemian production.

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[669] London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38
Literature dedicated to the Liber Regalis is vast, see especially: BEAUCHAMP 1870; RICKERT 1935a For Liber Regalis in European Context and analysis of the date of production see: BINSKI 1997
[670] RICKERT 1954, 152
SIMPSON 1984, 147
[671] BINSKI 1997, 233
For studies on the history of English coronation order see: SCHRAMM 1937; For notes on the Coronation records of the Fourteenth century see: WILKINSON 1955
[672] ALEXANDER 1983, 146
[673] HERBERT 1911, 1911, 232
[674] Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, MS 195
For more about the manuscript see this Spanish resource: IDOATE 1953
[675] ALEXANDER 1983, 232

3.1.1 The date of Liber Regalis

Before approaching Rickert's arguments on the Bohemian origin of the Liber Regalis, it is suitable to mention the most acknowledged connection to another illuminated manuscript, which provides indispensable information regarding the date of the Liber Regalis. It is the Lytlington Missal, produced in 1383-1384.[676] This lavishly decorated manuscript has the great advantage of detailed information, regarding its date and origin, being the most precisely dated manuscript of the period.[677] It was executed in the Benedictine Westminster Abbey and was illuminated by lay craftsmen, who were summoned to work on the commission.[678]

As was mentioned in the chapter on royal commissions of the King, it is reasonable to assume, King himself shared the group of illuminators with both Benedictines in Westminster Abbey and Carmelites in Whitefriars.[679] The text of the Lytlington Missal contains the same texts and also similar illumination showing the Coronation of a King. J. W. Legg noticed, the marginal notes are in the line with the text in Liber Regalis.[680]

Therefore it was assumed by A. Simpson, the date ante quem for Liber Regalis is 1384. As such it would be fitting to consider the coronation of Richard in 1377 or Anna in 1382 as the occasions for the execution.[681] However, this argument was questioned by P. Binski, who emphasized, that inscriptions in the margins, so very alike in both manuscripts, were noted into the Liber Regalis by bishop Sancroft (1678-1690), and therefore this date is not valid.[682] Under such examination the date 1384 would be the date post quem, P. Binski placed it in late 1380's, closer to the year 1390.[683]

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[676] London, Westminster Abbey MS 34
    This connection mentioned by ULLMANN 1961
[677] RICKERT 1935a, 91
    ALEXANDER 1983, 237
[678] RICKERT 1935a, 91
    For a study on the Westminster Manuscripts see: ROBINSON/JAMES 1909
[679] MORGAN/SANDLER 1987, 156
[680] LEGG 1901, 81
[681] SIMPSON 1984, 149
[682] BINSKI 1997, 238
    The original quote to be found in WARNER/GILSON 1921
[683] BINSKI 1997, 240

3.1.2 The "Bohemian" theory

The "Bohemian theory" of the Liber Regalis, traditionally quoted in art historical works, was fashionable throughout the twentieth century.[684] J. A. Herbert called the effect of the supposed Bohemian influence as a "new spirit", which was infused into English illumination through the means of Rhenish or Bohemian artist. Herbert also quotes G. Warner, who discovered Low-German inscriptions in the Liber Regalis.[685] As the most pronounced features of the influence he sees especially the pure brush work which replaced the sharp pen and pencil strokes and innovative use of architectural ornament. He notes also a new form of foliage, *"... light and feathery sprays, putting forth curious spoon-shaped leaves and bell or trumpet shaped flowers."*[686]

J. W. Bradley was one of the keen promoters of the Bohemian influence in English painting of the followed period, who even assessed the influence to be of the formative importance over the English painting.[687] The most attention was paid to this hypothetical influence by M. Rickert who found visible familiarity of the illuminations of the Hand B to the Carmelite Missal and the full page illuminations in the Liber Regalis. It is clear enough, M. Rickert was one of the defenders of the Bohemian influence. On the grounds of the formal analysis, she sees the analogy among these manuscripts and names especially the usage of colours – deep ultramarine, soft pink and vermilion.[688] Considering the figure types, she says:

> *It is the figures, however, that show most striking similarity to those of Hand B, especially the types of faces with long noses, foreheads highlighted with white, drooping mouths, and a sly expression in the eyes, caused by the crowding of the iris into the extreme corner of the eye socket and emphasizing the white of the eye... The modelling of the faces in the Liber Regalis is soft, consisting chiefly of patches of pink or red, and white lines of greenish-grey flesh tone. In Hand B the faces are somewhat rounder and the expression is more childlike and less sly than in the Liber*

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[684] MORGAN/MARKS 1981, 86
SIMPSON 1984, 149
[685] HERBERT 1911, 232
[686] HERBERT 1911, 232
[687] BRADLEY 1901, 127
[688] RICKERT 1952, 78

Regalis; nevertheless, there is an unmistakable similarity in the general types of the figures in the two manuscripts.[689]

A serious oposer of Rickert's theory is A. Simpson, who dedicated her dissertation to the research of English-Bohemian stylistic connection in the English painting. She altogether denounced the Bohemian origin both of Hand B in Carmelite Missal and also of the miniatures in the Liber Regalis. She draws parallel to contemporary Czech painting in the form of miniatures contained in Šternberk Pontifical.[690] As she argues, even though the contemporary Czech painting also tends to grotesque, the way it is accomplished is entirely different. In order to prove the inaccuracy of the theory on the Bohemian origin, she unfolded connections with other English manuscripts of the period to demonstrate the potential Englishness of the Liber Regalis illuminations.[691] Especially drapery execution in the Missal, produced for Earl Bergavenny before 1388, is one of those examples A. Simpson calls to witness her arguments.[692]

The affinity of Hand B and some of the miniatures in this manuscript were acknowledged even by M. Rickert. Therefore A. Simpson ventured to denounce as well the Bohemian origin of the "Hand B", judging it to be executed under certain influences from the Netherlands.[693] Moreover, as she states, the main hand in the Trinity College Missal together with Liber Regalis are explicable on the grounds of the previous development of English art. A discussion also evolved around the decorative motif of curling leaves, present in the Carmelite Missal, but these were also renounced as unconnected to the Bohemian style.[694] E. Dostál decisively claimed the Bohemian acanthus could not possibly reach England through the Netherlands which statement supported A. Simpson´s arguments all the more.[695]

Although A. Simpson's theory gained a recognition as a plausible and respectable one, several years later were her arguments questioned as a part of the wider research

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[689] RICKERT 1952, 78
[690] Šternberk Pontifical, MS. Dg. I.19. Prague, Strahov Monastery, Library of Memorial of National Literature
[691] SIMPSON 1984, 150
[692] Missal, Oxford, Trinity College, MS. D. 8
[693] SIMPSON 1984, 150
[694] SIMPSON 1984, 150
[695] DOSTÁL 1928, 84

relating to the Wilton Diptych. P. Binski presented reasonable arguments to the effect of considering the Liber Regalis as a piece of art, produced in later 1380's or close to 1390. Previous refusal of Bohemian influence was often based on the assumption of the date of Liber Regalis preceding 1383. As a date post quem, however, it has yet again opened the door to the reconsideration of this Bohemian-English connection.

4.1.3 The Bohemian inspirational sources

Innumerable studies proved in the course of the century that Bohemian influence was hardly the chief and formative source of English illumination or monumental painting in the court art of fourteenth century England under Richard II.[696] So far all the research by foremost specialists brought copious evidence of many foreign influences, where the Bohemian could not be more than one of several. However, the discussion whether the Liber Regalis was executed under it is in recent two decades still alive.[697]

A. Simpson was contradicted in her claims by P. Binski, who defended to a degree M. Rickert theories and who also does not share the opinion, the Liber Regalis miniatures are explicable by the local development of English painting. Here P. Binski draws a connective line between Liber Regalis and some Bohemian pieces of monumental painting, such as the Woman clothed in the Sun in the Karlštejn Apocalypse.[698] Her face closely resembles one of the cleric, on the left of the crowned king, depicted in the scene of the coronation in the Liber Regalis.[699]

On the grounds of the newly established date of possible execution after 1383 (or as late as 1390), there is a new sphere of possible comparisons, considering the Bohemian works of art, produced before 1390.[700] H. Hlaváčková reacted to the A.

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[696] BINSKI 1997, 242

[697] For more about this discussion see especially: BRADLEY 1901; MILLAR 1928; SAUNDERS 1928; DOSTÁL 1928

[698] For more about the context of the motive see: ROYT 2002; The Woman clothed in the Sun in the context of the Lesser Chapel at Karlštejn see: HOMOLKA 1997, 96–142; For a bachelor's thesis on the iconographical motive see: TAUCHMANOVÁ 2009;
For more about the Karlštejn Apocalypse see: DVOŘÁKOVÁ 1965; HOMOLKA 1997

[699] BINSKI 1997, 243

[700] BINSKI 1997, 243

Simpson's theory by reconsidering the date of production of the Bible of Wenceslaus IV.[701] She presented both the Bible of Wenceslaus IV and so-called Wilehalm as two manuscripts showing the closest affinity to English illumination.[702] These two works of art were not previously taken into consideration merely due to their date of execution, which was thought to be later than Anne's journey to England. H. Hlaváčková suggested, the date of execution to be ten years earlier, possibly at the end of the 1370's, or 1380 the latest.[703] In such a case could one or both of these illuminated manuscripts be taken into consideration for the inexplicable visual features in Liber Regalis. P. Binski notes especially delicate and unparalleled colouring of Liber Regalis, comparing it to the Italian-influenced Bohemian illuminations of the Prague Hours, made c. 1390, where similar shades of pinks, greens and white flesh tones are to be found. He also sees the parallel to the Bible of Wenceslas IV.[704]

Together with the date change clearly emerged new possibilities of comparison between English and Bohemian production. It is justifiable to denounce any clear visual connection to Magister Theodoricus and his full, voluminous style with soft folds of drapery and stocky figures, but it would not be reasonable to denounce altogether any connection with the production of late 1370's, or 1380. As the miniatures of Liber Regalis show little or no affinity to the panel painting of the Theodoricus circle, there is more probability of a visual likeness with the Wenceslaus Bible and its circle. This connection still remains to be examined in a greater detail, determining whether any of present visual aspects could be possibly connected to the Liber Regalis miniatures. In my opinion there is too marked a difference in the facial features of the figures to claim with any certainty the connection.

However, I would be inclined, in accordance with P. Binski´s arguments, to consider one branch of Bohemian painting as reflected in England, which found its expression also on the tester of the tomb, where Queen Anne was buried. This badly damaged picture, representing Coronation of the Virgin was compared to the Jan of

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[701] For more about the Bible of Wenceslaus IV see: DČVU I/1; KRÁSA 1974; KRÁSA 1978; KRÁSA 1990

[702] Bible of Wenceslaus IV. Cod. s.n. 2643, Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibliothek
Wilehalm. Cod. 2759-2764, Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibliothek

[703] HLAVÁČKOVÁ 1997, 223

[704] the Prague Hours, MS V.H. 36, National Museum.

Jeřeň Epitaph and it could point to rather short-lived influence of the Bohemian painting in the decade before 1400.[705] As it is at present, however, the Bohemian influence does not seem to have left a distinguishable trail in the Liber Regalis. In such a case it would be justifiable to assume, the artistic production – be it artists or works of art, who found their way in Anne's entourage, simply mingled in the melting-pot of internationalism of the court art of the Ricardian era, adding to its highly cosmopolitan nature.

4.2   The royal marriage and its role in the transmission of artistic influence

As stated in the introductory chapter on Czech-English influence, the alliance between England and the Holy Roman Empire was launched by signing a friendly treaty on the 23th April 1348 by Edward III and Charles IV.[706] Since the time were pursued negotiations on the possibility of a political marriage between representatives of England and the Holy Roman Empire, which would further stabilize and fortify the alliance. Soon after that Edward III offered the hand of his sixteen years old daughter Isabella to Charles IV, who by the time followed a different political strategy and therefore refused.[707]   The desirable union with political significance was not, however, forgotten. In the last stages of his reign Charles IV initiated negotiations on the marriage of his daughter Anne to young English king Richard II.[708] This strategy was part of a broader plan of Urban VI to reinforce his political position and Charles' ambition to extricate the pope from the influence of the French King. Unfortunately the King and Emperor Charles died before serious negotiations and preparations took place and for some time the plan laid forgotten. [709]

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[705] BINSKI 1997, 245
    For more about the tomb tester see: MILLAR 1928; ROGERS 1985
    For more about Jan of Jeřeň Epitaph see: DČVU I/1; MATĚJČEK 1950; ROYT 2002
[706] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 208-209
[707] SPĚVÁČEK 1979, 214
    Isabella of Coucy, the eldest daughter of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault subsequently
    married Enguerrand VII, Lord of Coucy. A narrative of her life is to be found in TUCHMAN 1978
[708] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 138
[709] BEJBLÍK 1989, 93

However, it would be misleading to claim that these intentions of sanctifying the English-Imperial alliance were the sole interest of both rulers. Both realms were bound to follow complex and often contradictory strategies to fulfil their political ambitions. Finding new allies and appeasing old enemies was the key principle of successful international politics. In this respect in 1377 Richard - young and eligible king – was a desirable agent of appeasement with France.[710] As a child of ten years, Richard was far from independent rule. Political strategists of his government resolved that he could be married to a daughter of the French King to support the truce with France, which was about to expire that year. After abandonment of this plan, Richard was still a subject of speculations of how to make the most of his marriage, so that it would serve the best interests of the kingdom.[711] The same can be said about the person of Anne of Bohemia (pl. 38), a daughter of the Emperor Charles IV and a sister of his successor Wenceslaus IV, who was a subject of a marriage policy since she was born.[712] Her father was renowned for his cunning marriage politics, most famously shown on his own four marriages, which brought him a great territorial gains and worthwhile alliances.[713]

4.2.1 Queen Anne as a historical figure

Before approaching Pope Urban VI and his influence over the marriage, it is necessary to present shortly Princess Anna (pl. 39). There is not sufficient amount of resources to allow historians to draw a vivid picture of her early life, which would not be befogged by the contemporary ideal of a noble woman and princess. Peripheral role of women in medieval society deemed them much less desirable subject for medieval chroniclers and therefore a true description of their life is much more difficult to obtain. The same applies to her mature life, when she was a wife of an English King. In that

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[710] CHAMBERLAYNE 1906, 11
[711] CHAMBERLAYNE 1906, 11
[712] BEJBLÍK 1989, 90-91
    For a literature on Anne of Bohemia see: STLOUKAL 1940
    For a cultural and literal aspects of her transfer to England see: THOMAS 1998; THOMAS 1999;
    For Anne of Bohemia as the cultural mediatrix see: SUCHÝ 1999
[713] KAVKA 2002, 34

position she was depicted in contemporary chronicles as an ideal of queenship, much more than in her true nature as a human being.

Anne was born in 1366 as a child of Charles' fourth wife Elisabeth of Pomerania.[714] She grew with her brother at Czech court in Prague, where she received an outstanding education, probably from the hands of the same teachers, who taught her brother – future king Wenceslaus. Her education was considered highly above average. She spoke fluently three languages and was very pious. As the daughter of Holy Roman Emperor, she was a highly eligible match.[715] She was twice to be married to her father´s strategical allies, but after his death political development in unsure hands of young Wenceslaus took a different direction.[716] Wenceslaus very willingly followed every piece of advice worth his attention and it was not different with his sister's potential marriage.[717]

In the historical moment of 1379 Wenceslaus' international politics met with the aims of Roman Pope Urban VI.[718] As was mentioned above, Urban VI was in an unstable situation and sought allies among all those, who for some reason or another have not had an alliance with France. Ambitious Urban was determined to create strong bonds between his existing allies, so that there was not such a risk that his base of power would at some point start to crumble.[719] One of plans, which could be attributed to him, is the idea of the marriage of Richard to Anna. This union would bring together his two most powerful allies, whose assistance was by all means crucial in his future plans.[720] To persuade both parties to consent to the marriage, was papal nuntius cardinal Pileus.[721] He arrived in Prague in March 1379 and found Wenceslaus very accommodating (pl. 40). Not only he consented to the scheme but he also entrusted cardinal Pileus with the task to negotiate the possibility of this union to the English

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[714] GOLL 1879, 12
   For more about Elizabeth of Pomerania see: SPĚVÁČEK 1992; KAVKA 2002; LIŠKA 2012
[715] BEJBLÍK 1989, 90-91
[716] SUCHÝ 1995, 8
[717] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 137
[718] Further information on Urban VI by: PRIGNANO 2010
[719] ROLLO-KOSTER/IZBICKI 2009, 16
[720] BEJBLÍK 1989, 93-94
[721] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 137-138
   For more about Cardinal Pileus see: GUGGENBERGER 1907

King.[722] It can be perceived as a typical demonstration of Wenceslaus' approach to governing affairs. After some time from the death of his father, he started to get tired of politics and escaped to the society of squires and lower nobility, to the great annoyance of his court and high officials.[723]

Between the years 1380-1381 delegations consisting of foremost nobles of both realms were negotiating conditions of the marriage.[724] The English delegation consisted of Simon Burley, Robert Braybrook and Bernard van Zetles. The Czech delegation had Bořivoj of Svinaře as its main delegate, who had also met on the occasion with John of Gaunt in his Savoy castle.[725] Cardinal Pileus, however, was not accepted in England with warmth. Thomas Walsingham states, *"He came with the duke of Teschen and many nobles from the retinue of the emperor, to speak about conditions for drawing up a marriage between the emperor´s daughter (Anne) and the English king – and to empty the kingdom of a vast sum of money."[726]* His extraordinary practices were harshly refused and Walsingham names with a great eloquence his many misdeeds – selling indulgences, confessional letters, a grace of absolution to excommunicated etc.[727] This notion is also present in the chronicle of Adam Usk, who writes that Cardinal Pileus after the successful negotiations left England with an enormous sum of money.[728]

4.2.2 The marriage of Richard and Anna

On 21th January 1381 Anna officially accepted Richard's offer of marriage. Richard was bound to pay Wenceslaus £4500 in exchange for his bride.[729] This was mentioned in the Chronicle by Adam Usk with a noticeable sarcasm *"… Lady Anne was*

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[722] CHAMBERLAYNE 1906, 21
[723] SPĚVÁČEK 1982, 137
[724] TADRA 1897, 164
For more on medieval dynastical marriages see: BENEŠOVSKÁ 2011c, an anthology dealing with the marriage of Elisabeth Přemyslid and John of Luxembourg; Law and marriage in medieval and early modern times was examined by: ANDERSEN 2012 For a Medieval marriage, its symbolism and influence over society see: D´AVRAY 2005; For the medieval ideas of marriage see: BROOKE 1991
[725] BEJBLÍK 1989, 94
[726] CLARK 2005, 119
[727] CLARK 2005, 119
[728] GIVEN-WILSON 1997, 5
[729] MACKISACK 1959, 427

purchased by the lord king for a great sum."[730] This uncommonly large amount of money was perceived by Englishmen with apprehension and was considered as inappropriate price for such a poor bride, not mentioning the fact that it was the bride who was supposed to bring to her marriage a dowry. M. MacKisack quotes in her book on fourteenth century rude notion of the Westminster Chronicler, who also suggests that it was far too high price to pay *"pro tantilla carnis portione."*[731]

In October of the same year Anna and her numerable retinue started from Prague and paused in Flemish town Gravelines, from whence she was accompanied by the counts of Devon and Salisbury. The two nobles brought with them army of five hundred armed men, to secure safe journey of queen-to-be.[732] After crossing the channel, she headed towards Leeds, where she and her retinue spent Christmas. The ceremonial entry of Anne into London, took place on 13th January 1382.[733] The marriage ceremony itself was performed on 20th January of the same year. The ceremony was administered by Bishop Robert Braybroke of London.[734] In Adam Usks and Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles is the occasion mentioned only briefly. Walsingham, who dedicated tens of pages to king's coronation, mentioned this festive event in one short paragraph, conceding, however, that Anna was crowned with glory and honour.[735]

It is hardly surprising that queen who had to be paid for and marriage arranged with the help of greedy cardinal Pileus, did not make in the beginning very good impression on Englishmen.[736] In addition to this, Anne was criticized for bringing with her very numerous and costly retinue. It was common for foreign queens, who brought with them large retinues to be disliked, especially if their retinue was expensive and extravagant, just as the Anne's.[737] Also in narrative of Thomas Walsingham, one of the ladies from Anne's retinue called Lancecrona, enchanted one of the king's favourites, Robert de Vere, who was already married to Edward III's granddaughter. He divorced

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[730] GIVEN-WILSON 1997, 7
[731] MACKISACK 1959, 427
[732] SUCHÝ 1995, 8-9
[733] BEJBLÍK 1989, 99
[734] CLARK 2005, 172
[735] CLARK 2005, 171
[736] BEJBLÍK 1989, 96
[737] MACKISACK 1959, 427

his wife and married Agnes Lancecrona, which caused great scandal and dislike towards Queen's companionship.[738]

After this rather unfavourable beginning of Anne's live in England, several events in which Anna played her part, marked an improvement in her reputation. As a gracious and merciful queen, she begged her mighty husband to spare several rebels of the Great revolt in 1381. At her intercession were granted pardons to the rebels, which helped her to get closer to her later reputation of "Good Queen Anne."[739] There are speculations, whether it was of Richard's accord or cleverly constructed by her mother-in-law, who wished her young daughter-in-law to receive more favourable acceptance.[740] Whichever the case, Anne was from then on perceived with more lenience, adopting a reputation of gracious and good-hearted intercessor. This good name was established even more firmly by the means of Anne's intercessions on several occasions, such as reconciliation with the city of London in 1391 and interceding on behalf of Simon Burley.[741] A. Bejblík, assumes that this widespread myth is explicable more by the medieval idea of ideal queen, rather than of Anne's true characteristics.[742]

Twelve years Richard and Anne spent side by side and close bond they have developed, was not of particular interest to contemporary chroniclers. In Chronicles, following Richard's reign is usually Anne presented briefly by two remarks, one on the marriage and the other on her death. Her burial, which was executed with unprecedented splendour took place in Westminster Abbey and with a large attendance of all nobility.[743] Even though Anne did not fulfil the first and foremost duty of a queen and did not produce an heir, it is very likely that marriage with Richard was one of those scarce happy relationships among the nobility throughout history.[744] On the grief, with which Richard mourned his deceased wife in 1394, focused all major chroniclers. His extravagant grief and exhibition of his inconsolable mourning was ostentatious

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[738] CLARK 2005, 251
[739] STEEL 1941, 110
[740] STEEL 1941, 110
[741] SUCHÝ 1995, 10
[742] BEJBLÍK 1989, author of the „Shakespeare a Dobrá královna Anna"
[743] CLARK 2005, 292
[744] BARRACLOUGH 1968, 21-22

enough to attract their attention.[745] Thomas Walsingham states, her funeral was famous because of his expense.[746] Adam Usk adds to his account of the event also place, where Queen died, saying:

> *"Queen Anne of England died at the manor of Sheen,which lies on the Thames near Brentford: which despite the fact that it was a royal manor and a most splendid one, King Richard ordered to be razed to the ground and destroyed, on account of the fact that this lady Anne´s death occurred there."[747]*

4.2.3 Queen Anne as a "Cultural Mediatrix"

Queen Anne, her marriage and its international character rendered her an ideal subject for scholarly research in recent decades in both history and art history. Considered to be a "Cultural Mediatrix",[748] Anne was subjected to unceasing speculations on her contribution to culture, literature and court art during her short life as a wife of the English King. Her contribution to the culture of the English court during the Richard II reign will be introduced by a comparison to other important noblewomen, who acted as ambassadors and cultural heralds in the previous decades.

Queen Isabella, mother of Edward III, mentioned in the chapter on illuminated manuscripts of royal patronage during Edward III era, is an ideal representative of the phenomenon. This active woman negotiated a peace after the Gascon war in 1324 and aside from that arranged the marriage of her son to Phillippa of Hainault.[749] Her role as a diplomatic agent was widely known and most of her effort was based in her native France. It was her, thanks to whom the creation of an illuminated manuscript, a

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[745] BARRACLOUGH 1968, 67
[746] CLARK 2005, 292
[747] GIVEN-WILSON 1997, 19
[748] "Cultural mediatrix" used by Alfred Thomas in his article Anne of Bohemia as Cultural and Religious Mediatrix, published in 1999
[749] WATHLEY 1992, 2
    For more about Queen Isabella see: DOHERTY 1997
    For more about the misson see: HAINES 1986
    For more about Philippa of Hainault see: SURY 2010

wedding gift of Edward to Phillippa, took place.[750] As was mentioned, this manuscript proves the connection and the influence of French literature and music on the English court culture of the Edwardian reign. The documented presence of musicians in her suite only adds to the certainty of the artistic exchange, for these artists were provably in contact with their French counterparts.[751] This is just an example of the widely spread custom of cosmopolitan nobility to transmit their favourite pastime occupations in the form of literature, art and music from one court to another. Brides of noble stock were accustomed to be accompanied by a suite which was brought with them to their new homes. Such a retinue could consist not only of maids of honour, chaplains and servants, but also artists – especially musicians and possibly even craftsmen of other artistic professions.

This was true not only about Isabella, who travelled abroad in the company of her favourites – chaplains, clerks and musicians, but also of other princesses who followed. Also Isabella's successor Phillipa of Hainault contributed to the cultural environment at the English court by bringing with her a numerous group of ladies-in-waiting and maids of honour, not to mention her patronage of illuminated manuscripts, which is well documented.[752] At the time of her husband's reign the Edwardian court patroned a larger number of women in comparison to the reigns of Edwards' fathers.[753] Women's presence at court went hand in hand with refinement and increased demand of entertainment. Many of the ladies came from the continent with their Mistress.[754] Phillipa spent her youth at the refined Hainault court, where she could adopt all the tastes and interests becoming to a young noble-woman, not excluding literature. She was a patroness of the great chronicler J. Froissart.[755] The best example of her patronage is her alabaster tomb effigy by Jean de Liège of Brabant, but she also commissioned a number of adorned jewels and plates. Last but not least, the Queen's College at Oxford was placed under her protection and she engaged herself personally

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[750] MS francais 571, see page 77

[751] For more about Queen Isabella´s suite see: Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward II, Vol. V, A. D. 1324-1327 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), 91–92, 100, 102, 116, 120, 126, 131, 149, 151, 158, 178, 180, 185, 213; For further information about Queen Isabella´s suite see: DOHERTY 1997, 114

[752] MATHEW 1968, 12
Phillipa of Hainault mentioned also on page 50

[753] The role of women in patronage of arts is described in SEKULES 1987, 41-49

[754] MATHEW 1968, 12

[755] For more about J. Froissart see pages: 14-17

in its interest.[756] Phillipa here represents a person, who brought with her a notion of taste and refinement from the continent, which could be by no means slighted at the court, always thirsty for fashionable and contemporary, coming from the continental Europe.

Queen Anne was another bright jewel to adorn the English court. Daughter of a mighty emperor and descendant of old dynasties was supposed to bring with her the glory and splendour of the Prague court. Her remarkably internationalised family was spread all over the continent – her aunt Bonne was a French queen, her sister Elizabeth married into the House of Austria and her eldest sister Margaretha was a wife of the King of Hungary.[757] Some of the female members of her dynasty proved themselves generous patrons of arts – Queen Elisabeth (1288-1335), the widow of Wenceslaus II for instance established new court at Brno, where eight manuscripts were illuminated.[758] Judging by extant materials and previously presented examples of noblewomen who acted as mediators of cultural influences, there is very high probability Anne contributed to the culture of the English court in the same way, or even more, than her direct predecessors. Queen Anne brought with her numerous retinue of both women and men of various social status. The nobles, who accompanied her to England partly left England after 1381, some of them left and became part of the royal court.[759]

A great deal of puzzlement and speculation was caused by Wyclif's remark in his *De triplici vinculo amoris*, that if Queen Anne was able to read the New Testament in three languages, Latin, German and Czech, why an Englishmen could not read it in his native tongue. This short sentence served as a base for the speculations about the contacts of Bohemia and England, regarding the protestantism. However, Anne's piety and orthodoxy was noted by her contemporaries and therefore this note can be used only to prove Anne's extraordinary education. Also the fact, she brought with her a Bible in her native language is a tiny piece of information which helps to prove, Anne

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[756] The Institute of Historical Research and Royal Holloway. University of London, 2007. http://www.history.ac.uk/richardII/philippa.html, retrieved 2.3.2013
[757] MATHEW 1968, 16
[758] THOMAS 1999, 232
[759] SUCHÝ 1992, 11

brought with her some manuscripts – whether illuminated or not is hard to determine, but her status and queenly role would suggest it.[760] A flourishment of courtly manners at Ricardian court certainly could be connected to Anne's role as a great Lady, whose authority and reputation attracted knights, poets and artists. Geoffrey Chaucer dedicated to her "*A Legend of Good Women*" and acknowledged the importance of Anne as a central figure of the court with all its might and glory.[761]

As was stated before, the documentary evidence is scarce and there is no material proof of imported works of art or artists, who would accompany Anne on her journey to England. However, judging by the cosmopolitic nature of contemporary Europe, one could hardly assume, there was neither an imported work of art nor an artist in Anne´s retinue. Both examples of Queen Isabella and Queen Phillipa provided us with evidence enought to show, how their marriages contributed to the flourishment of art and culture at the English court. This custom of noblewomen to surround themselves with numerous retinues, enriched with courtiers, ladies-in-waiting, poets and musicians was ever present in the life of medieval Queens and beyond all doubt was a key factor in the artistic exchange.

There are many more important informations missing, regarding the art at the Ricardian court. In order to reconstruct the court art and culture both of minute and monumental scale, one necessarily has to work on the basis of hypotheses. One of them could be the claim, Anne (perfectly in accordance with all noble princesses of her time), travelled to her new home with plentiful treasure of jewellery, plates, articles of applied arts, illuminated manuscripts or portable panel paintings. The sad fate of the majority of the late medieval works of art in England stands in the way of modern historians to turn the hypotheses into certainty. However, on the grounds of presented customs of the time and also considering her noble stock and education, I would be inclined to consider Anne´s influence over the English court between 1383-1394 as more profound, than English historians traditionally ascribed to her.

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[760] THOMAS 1999, 243
[761] BEJBLÍK 1989, 104

Conclusion

In the attempt to understand and describe the political and cultural relations between the Czech lands and England in the fourteenth century, this thesis became both a study of the cultural relations of these nations and also a summary of intricate and often complex communication channels, through which were artistic influences transmitted in the environment of medieval princely courts. In the attempt to understand the ways through which the innovation in arts found their way to the late medieval England, a lot of related fields of the humanities had to consider, among them music, literature and social behaviour.

In the first chapter were laid the foundations of the thesis in the form of a general historical introduction, where the Luxembourg and Plantagenet dynasty had the major share of attention. These two successful noble families were engaged in lively contact with the rest of the European nobility through the means of envoys, dynastic marriages and travelling heralds, publicists and other individuals. As the thesis was supposed to follow especially the fourteenth century, the personalities of Edward III and Richard II were presented in greater detail, side by side with the personality of the great Emperor Charles IV and his son Wenceslaus IV, who were their contemporaries and political allies. Their political efforts and history of their careers was intended to provide a background to the following chapter on court culture which is, as I believe, indescribable without the wider context of the political history.

The second chapter on the court culture was introduced in the first place with a general explanation of the court, as it was understood in the Late Medieval Europe. The court was centred around the personality of the king, who was a decisive factor as to the manners, protocol and amusement. The origins of the princely courts, characterised by refined taste and love of poetry, music and ceremonial splendour were traced to Italy, where was also revived the individual artist, the personality of a great poet or painter, whose talents were cherished by an art-loving wealthy patron. Such a "liberated" artist enjoyed greater artistic freedom due to the regular salary and as a result of this assurance was more likely to give way to innovative artistic ideas. The social

distinction that followed this raise to greater freedom contributed further to artist's liberation. The higher rank and self-confidence of successful artists often resulted in wider recognition and the attention of other powerful magnates, who would summon them to work on their commissions. In order to back up these claims, the personalities of Simone Martini and André Beauneveu were presented, together with a short description of their professional careers. These examples served to prove the high level of mobility of the renowned artists, who acquired a good reputation. Through the means of these travelling artists were with unprecedented intensity spread the innovative artistic ideas and motives throughout the Europe.

The English court was, given the distance from Italy and its insular nature, slower in acquiring the new tendencies in the spreading of fashionable arts and music. However, the court of Edward III already witnessed a transformation to the court in the traditional sense of the word. His wife and himself were patrons of manuscript illumination and his mother had in her retinue musicians, who followed her on her journey to the continent. All the aspects of Edwardian court were described especially in order to provide a base for the description of the Ricardian court. King Richard was renowned lover of ceremonies and pageants, costly materials and precious jewellery. Aside from these outer demonstrations of power and wealth, literature also flourished at Richard's court. His reign coincided with the appearance of eminent literary figures – Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower and William Langland. The personality of Geoffrey Chaucer is an example of a successful poet, who received numerable honours and sinecures from the king and who in that respect falls into the category of the independent artist mentioned above.

In this chapter on international court culture I could not resist the temptation to seek a connection between Richard's love for splendour, ceremony and pageants with the renowned kingly manifestations of his father-in-law, Charles IV. The tempting presumption was obviously examined by scholars in the past, with varying results. One could, however, safely assume, Richard was well acquainted with the glory of the Imperial court of the Holy Roman Empire (he decided to marry this glory instead of money, when he chose Anne of Bohemia as his wife). Moreover, some of his commissions, such as the Westminster Hall hammer-beam roof or Wilton Diptych, show

clearly enough, he understood the relation between power and its manifestations through art and architecture. Both rulers had in common deep faith in God and were bound with land patriotism and showed strong self-confidence. We could observe in both of them not only the historical necessity of a good relations between the secular and ecclesiastical, but also a deep reverence and personal devotion towards their chosen patrons. Quite in accordance with the contemporary custom, they emphasized their godly right to rule. Charles IV chose to accentuate his ancient origin by the Luxembourg Family Tree and Richard commissioned six statues of his kingly predecessors in the Westminster Hall. Even if there was no material proof of Richard's inspiration by Prague court, the close affinity of both courts would prove otherwise. The importance of the Luxembourg court in Prague, the centre of a powerful Empire, where all the new fashion and innovative art merged into one impressive entirety, was too marked to be ignored by a king, who craved splendour and glory above all else.

In the third chapter I ventured to understand and summarize the complex question of the English manuscript illumination in the fourteenth century. During the process it became clear, the English illumination of the era was a metamorphotic patchwork of various foreign influences, blending gradually with local tradition into entirely new artistic expression. In the sub-chapter on the manuscripts of royal patronage was presented, how the international conflicts, wars and negotiations lead to the spread of these artistic innovations. New shapes of ornaments, figures and specific usage of colours would through the means of the lively contact affect the English illumination in an unprecedented way. For instance, in the year 1356 French king Jean le Bel took with him to Poitiers a *Bible Historiale*. Around the same time was brought to England a copy of the *Miracles de la Vierge*, captured and taken from Charles V and attributed later on to Jean Pucelle. The most original example of such an imported manuscript was *MS Francais 571*, the wedding gift from Edward III to Phillippa of Hainault (or vice versa).

Aside from the manuscripts of royal patronage, the general history of the manuscript illumination in the first half of the fourteenth century was introduced, noticing the key East Anglian school, remarkable by wide, much decorated margins with abundant foliage, rich colours and grotesque motives. Although the East Anglian School is judged to be of intrinsically English nature, I have also examined the continental connections

and quoted several scholars, who attributed to the manuscripts of the group Italian, French and Flemish inspiration. The Master of the *Queen Mary Psalter* would not be missed in the attempt to seek the foreign influences in the English painting. The typical mannerism of figures, a fluid line and delicate expression, posture with a hip-shot pose in tall, slender bodies are in accordance with contemporary court style, especially with the Parisian style of Master Honoré and Jean Pucelle. Whatever the case, the first half of the fourteenth century witnessed a great surge of national English taste in illumination. Patrons started to demand narrative drawings in their manuscripts and were getting used to elaborate decorations of their religious books – ideal opportunity for the manuscript illumination to flourish all the more in the following decades, regardless of the Black Death.

The second half of the fourteenth century did not experience any reduction of the international contact, as obvious from the extant illuminated manuscripts. As an example can be used the Egerton Master, to whom O. Pächt ascribed Italian apprenticeship. He contributed to the English illumination with profound understanding of Giottesque art, by the application of three dimensional perspective and unprecedented architectural frames. The Bohun Group of manuscripts (1370-1399) served as a melting-pot of artistic tendencies and is usually divided into two stylistic groups. Whereas one group was inspired by Flemish motives, the other one verifiably preferred the Italianate motives. *The Carmelite Missal*, reconstructed in a great detail and with a first-rate analysis of stylistic origins by M. Rickert, belongs to the group, though on less close basis. Here, however, we meet for the first time the theory of the Bohemian influence. On the grounds of extant illuminations Rickert identified three main hands A, B, C, which represent main styles. The hand B, as defined by Rickert, is ascribed to the Bohemian influence.

The panel painting and the monumental painting was in this chapter assessed as well with foreign influences in mind. *St. Stephen's Chapel*, a major artistic commission of Edward III was mentioned briefly in order to show the steadiness of the Italian influence over the English painting in the fourteenth century. The depicted architecture in the east end of the chapel and also the execution of the angelic figures bear unmistakable Italian perspective. An affinity with Siena and its famous artists

Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti was mentioned by Morgan and Marks, F. Wormald recognized the Italianisms also in the treatment of the facial features. An interesting comparison was made by J.J.G. Alexander, who found a parallel for this chapel in Bohemia, comparing it to the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn.

The Wilton Diptych was thoroughly analysed in the chapter on Richard and his royal image as to the iconographic contents. To provide a complete information about this remarkable work of art, the question of date and origin had to be examined in a greater detail. Using a wide range of related studies I have attempted to present the most plausible theories on the date of the execution of the painting. However, all presented theories and speculations lack any material evidence to prove them right. The skill to summon heraldic evidence established study of M. Clarke as the most respected one, but the result still is a conjecture. In that case it remains to acknowledge, the professional public is in the last decades inclined to consider the date of 1395 as the date post quem.

Considering the stylistic origin and possible nationality or apprenticeship of the painter, I examined in the first place the long refused theory of the Bohemian influence. It seems, after comparing accessible material, the theory was invented merely on the grounds of the excellent reputation of the Prague court art of Charles IV. This notion was refused by specialists after 1930 and revived by M. Rickert, who thought to see an affinity in the rich play of the drapery, with broad, deep folds and modelling with areas of light, as seen in Bohemian paintings. D. Gordon in the recent research sought connection between the group of Madonnas, executed in the "Schöne Stil" and the Wilton Diptych. As it seems to me, even if there was some influence, it is not distinct enough to claim the connection to be true. The theories of Italian, French and English origin of the Wilton Diptych were traditionally considered more seriously than the Bohemian and I am inclined, after the thorough analysis of the material to consider the Italian influence as a decisive factor, aside from less pronounced trails of Flemish and possibly Rhenish influence. There is, as I believe, no reason to doubt, it was executed at Ricardian court.

An example of the contact with the sphere of the Holy Roman Empire is demonstrated on the walls of the Chapter House in the Westminster Abbey. The Apocalypse was claimed by G. Noppen, M. Rickert and D. Park to be executed under the influence of Low German art, probably Master Bertram. It does not sound unlikely, as we have a material evidence of German artists in England, working on significant commissions. As remarkably related seem at first sight the figure of John in the north part of the Chapter House and the figures at the Retable of Saint Peter in Hamburg. The Bertram's S-shaped posture and the way of arranging the drapery shows visible analogy. This is another reason to believe, some of the Bohemian artists could be present in England, disguised under the general term of "Germans." This of course does not necessarily apply to this particular commission.

The last chapter was dedicated to the question of Bohemian influence over the English painting, with an emphasis on the Liber Regalis, the only manuscript left which is until today seriously examined in relation to the Bohemian art. Even though the Bohemian influence – renowned "Hand B" of M. Rickert in the Carmelite Missal – was denounced by A. Simpson together with any sign of such an influence in the Liber Regalis, since then emerged studies, where is this refusal questioned. P. Binski presented reasonable arguments, the Liber Regalis was produced in the late 1380's or close to 1390. The refusal of Bohemian influence was often based on the assumption of the date of Liber Regalis before 1383. If it would be considered as the date post quem, entirely new sphere would open to the researchers, regarding the question of the English - Bohemian connection. Such an attempt was made by H. Hlaváčková, who named the Bible of Wenceslaus IV and so-called Wilehalm as two manuscripts showing the closest affinity to English illumination and suggested, the date of execution of these manuscripts to be ten years earlier, possibly at the end of the 1370's, or 1380. In such a case could one or both of these illuminated manuscripts ought to be subjected to further examination, as to the possible connection to the English painting.

In order to do justice to the role of Queen Anne's retinue and her own personality over the court art of the Ricardian era, I followed both her life and marriage, hoping to reveal the true extent of her possible influence. Even though there is very little material evidence, we can rightly assume, Anne, just the same as Queen Isabella and Queen

Phillipa before her, contributed to the flourishment of culture and arts at Richardian court, even though her role as a queen lasted only twelve years. The custom of noblewomen to surround themselves with retinues, consisting of ladies-in-waiting, courtiers, poets and musicians undoubtedly contributed to the artistic exchange, such as was proven on the example of Queen Isabella's retinue. The cosmopolitan nature of late medieval Europe was an ideal environment for the transmission of artistic innovation, no doubt also due to the contribution of wealthy princesses, who travelled to their new home enriched by a dowry not only in the form of money, but especially as expensive handy works of art, such as jewellery, plates, articles of applied arts and last but not least subjects of personal devotion – panel paintings, illuminated books of hours etc. In such a world one could hardly assume, there were no imported works of art nor an artist in Anne's retinue.

In conclusion it seems fitting to say, there is still immense amount of material to work on and many questions to be answered. The original intention to follow selectively the Bohemian-English connection resulted in more broadly formulated text, dealing mainly with the communication channels of the medieval artistic exchange. This unexpectedly wide scope of material found its expression in these 140 pages of text, where the court culture played the major role. There is, however, the need to explore in greater detail the question of the stylistic affinities between selected works of manuscript illumination, preserved both in Bohemia and England. That should be the starting point, a base for further research on the subject in the future.
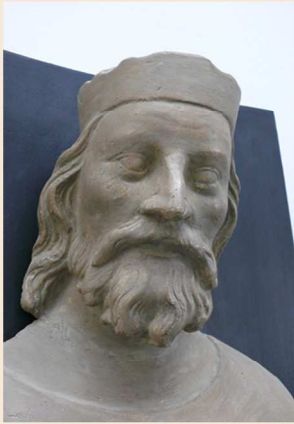
1. **John of Luxembourg** (1296 –1346). A copy of the bust, placed in the Triforium of the st. Vitus Cathedral. 1375-1378.

2. **Philippe le Bel** (1268 –1314). Tomb effigy in the Church of Saint Denis.

3. **Henry VII** (1275 –1313) depicted in Royal 20 C VII f. 43.

4. **Peter of Aspelt** (d. 1320) Archbishop in Mainz. Tomb effigy in Mainz Dom.

5. **Elisabeth Přemyslid** (1292–1330). One of the busts in the triforium of the st. Vitus Cathedral. c. 1375-1378.

6. **Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil** (beginning of the 14th century). Františkánský rukopis Dalimilovy kroniky. Národní knihovna České republiky. Signatura: XXIII.F.39.
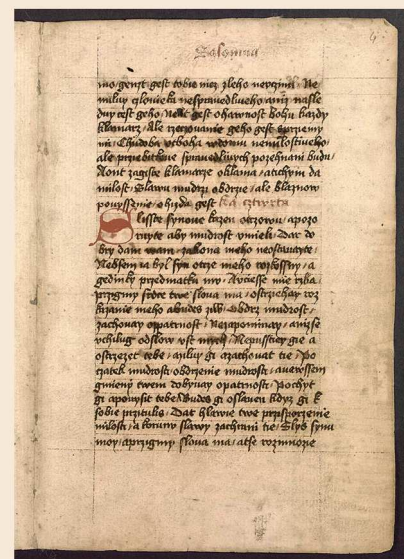
7. **Zbraslav Chronicle** (Chronicon aulae regiae, last quarter of the 14t century) 34x48 cm. Státní okresní archiv v Jihlavě. Obr. č. 34 fol. 1v.

8. T**he wedding of John of Luxembourg and Eliza-beth Přemyslid in Speyer** 1310. Codex Balduini Trevirensis, fol. 5. 24 x 34 cm. Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

9. **An Equestrian seal of John of Luxembourg** (Around 1315) Sig. Janovice nad Úplavou 11 190 l.

10. **Chronicles of Jean Froissart.** BNF, Manuscripts, Fr. 2643, f. 292, book 1 Env. 438 μ 327 mm Bruges vers 1475, parchment, 433 folios.

11. **Chronicles of Jean Froissart.** La mort de Wat Tyler. BNF, Fr. 2644, fol. 159.

13. **Blanche of Valois**. (1316–1348). One of the busts in the triforium of the st. Vitus Cathedral. c. 1375-1378.

12. **Charles IV, Czech King and Roman Emperor** (14 May 1316 – 29 November 1378) As depicted on the Votive Picture of Jan Očko of Vlašim

14. **Charles IV le Bel** (1294 – 1328). Jean Fouquet. The wedding with Mary of Luxembourg 1322. Illustration from: Grandes Chroniques de France, BNF, Department of Manuscripts, Français 6465, fol. 332
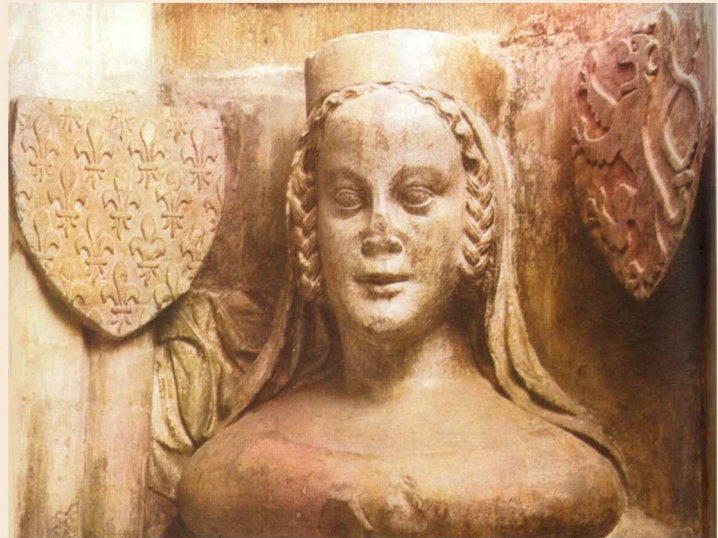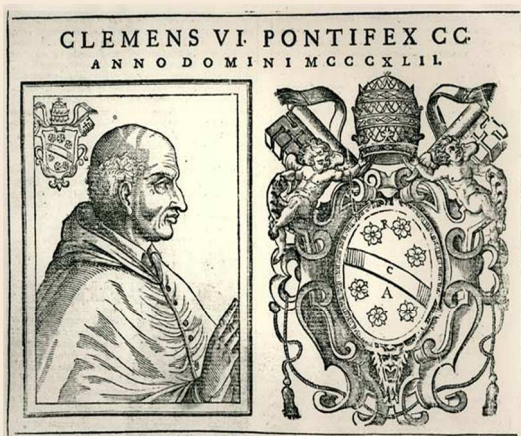
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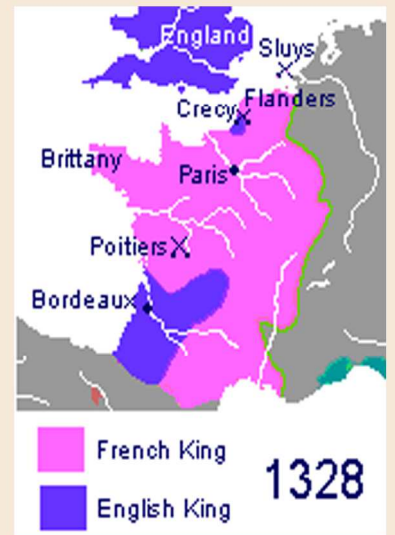
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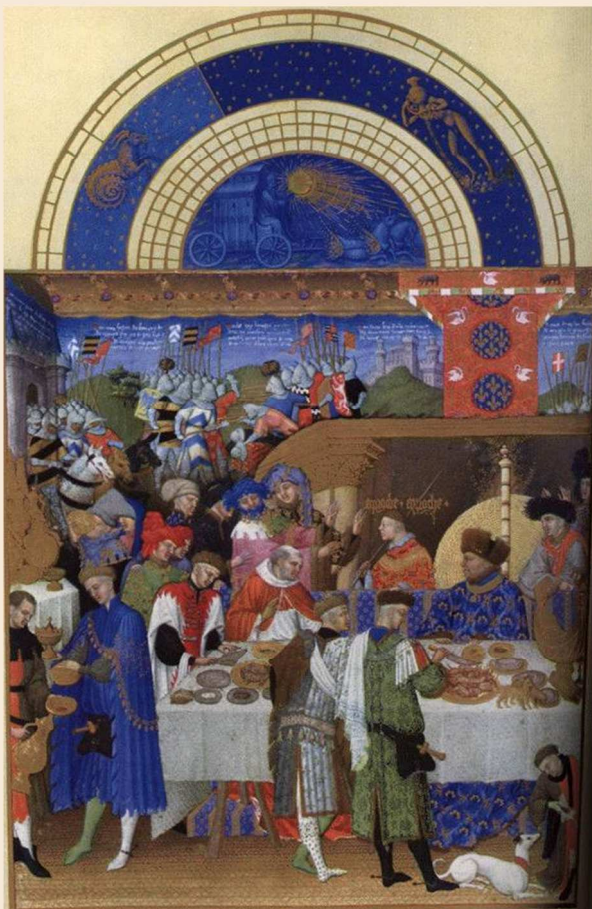
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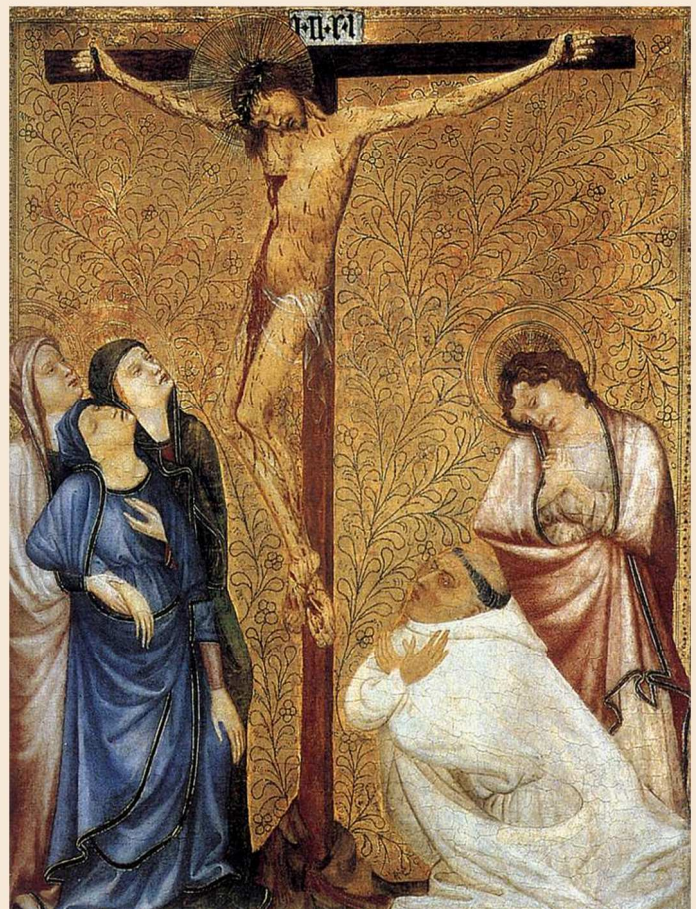
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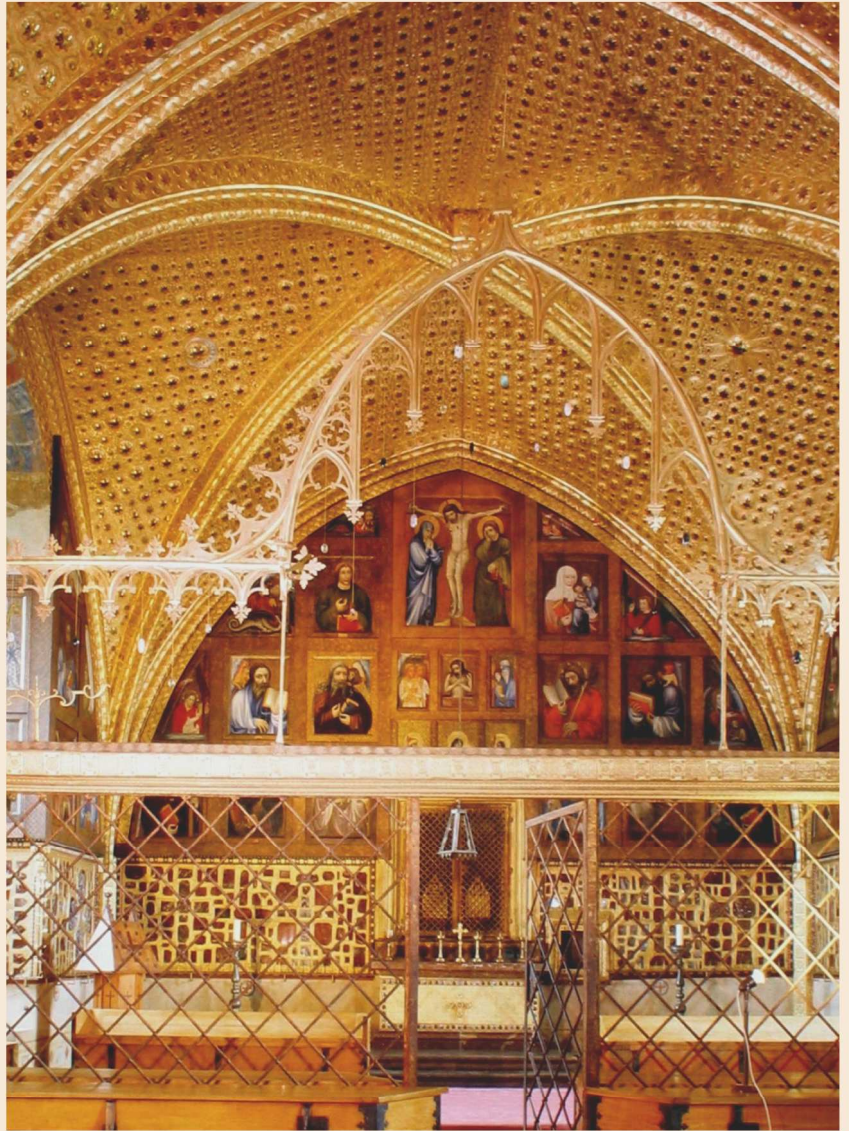
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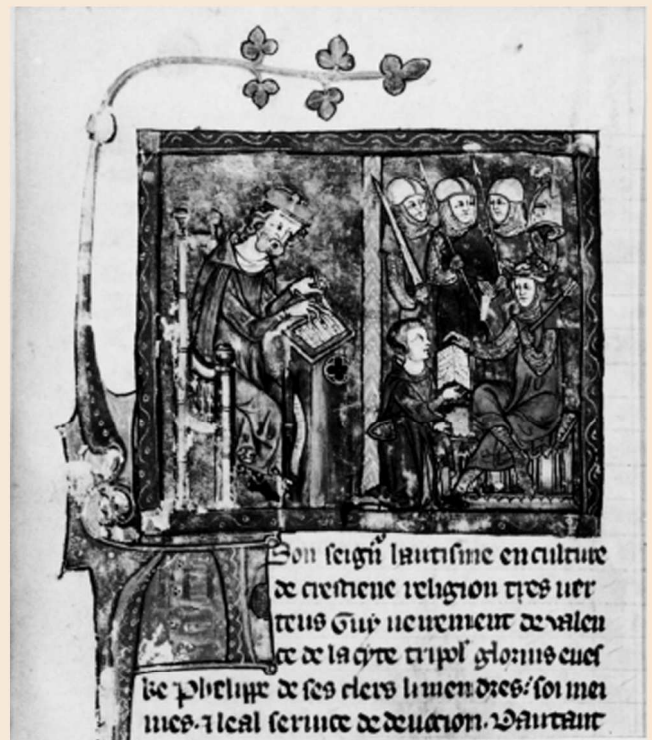
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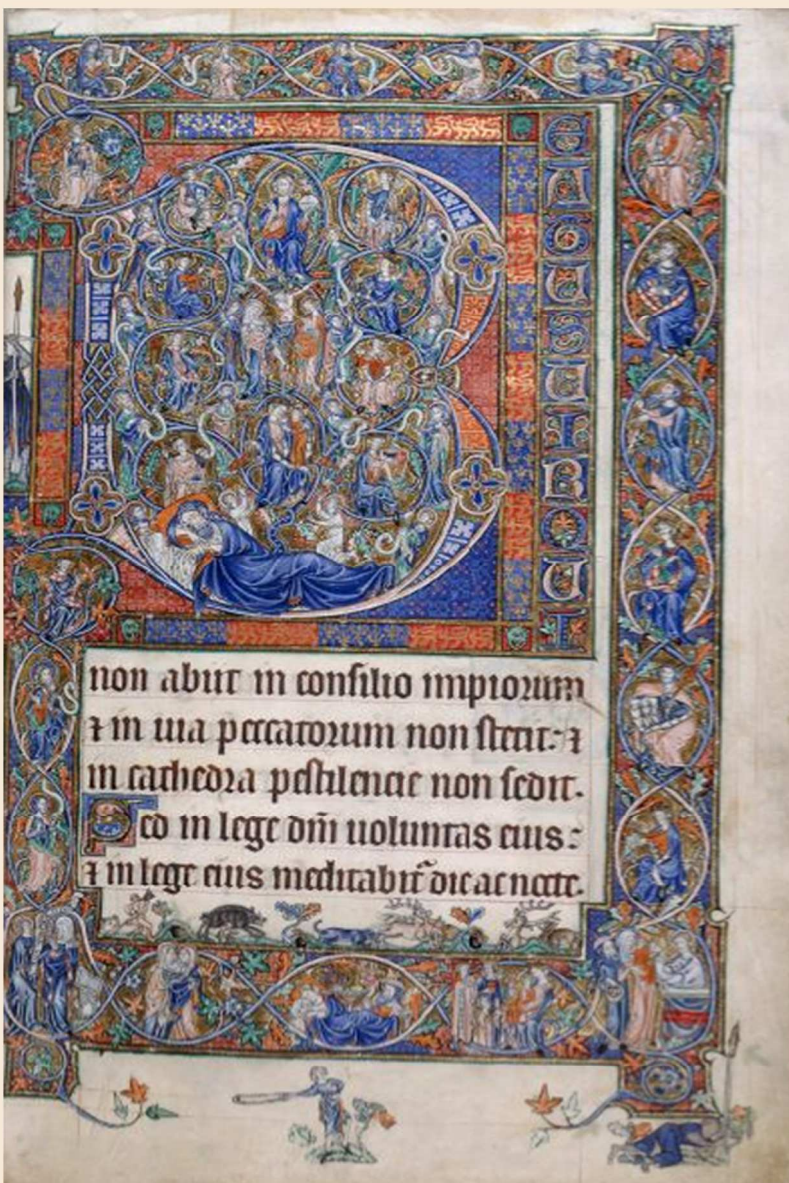
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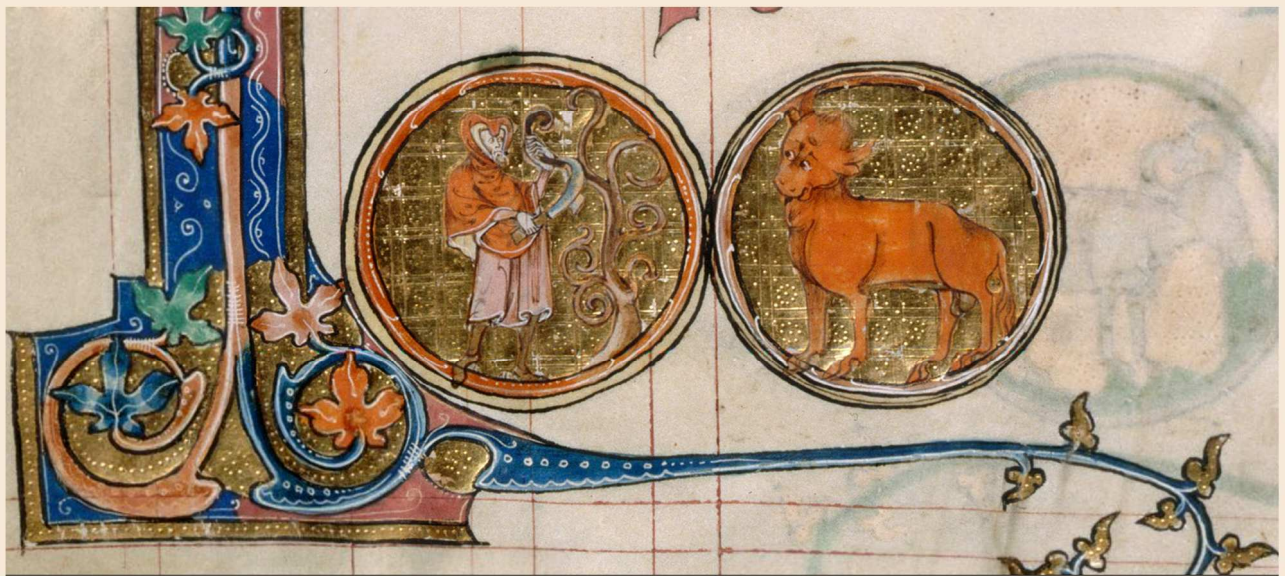
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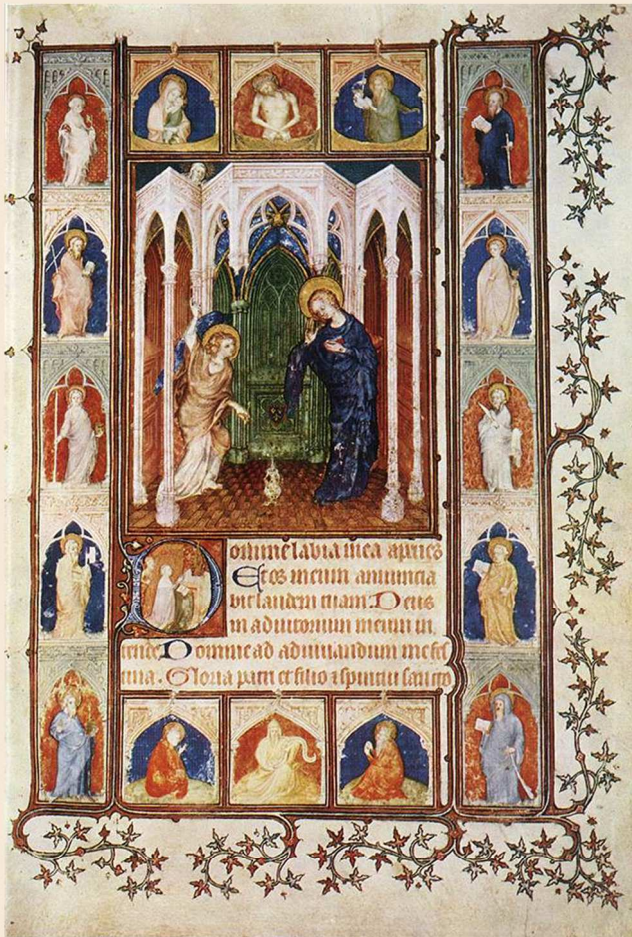

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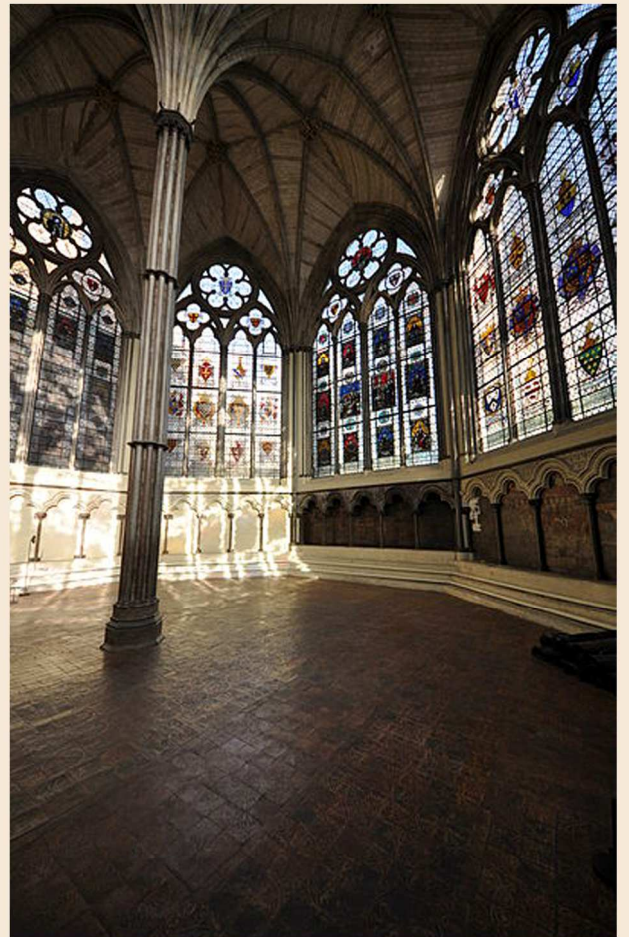

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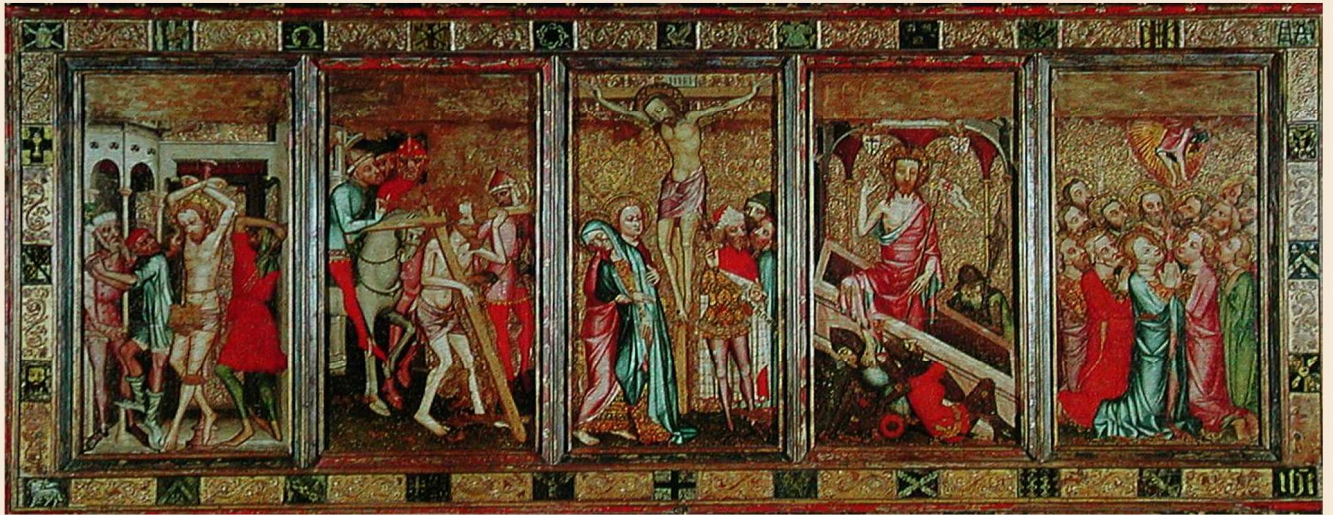107. **Chapter House**, Westminster Abbey. Commissioned by Henry III, between 1245 and 1253.

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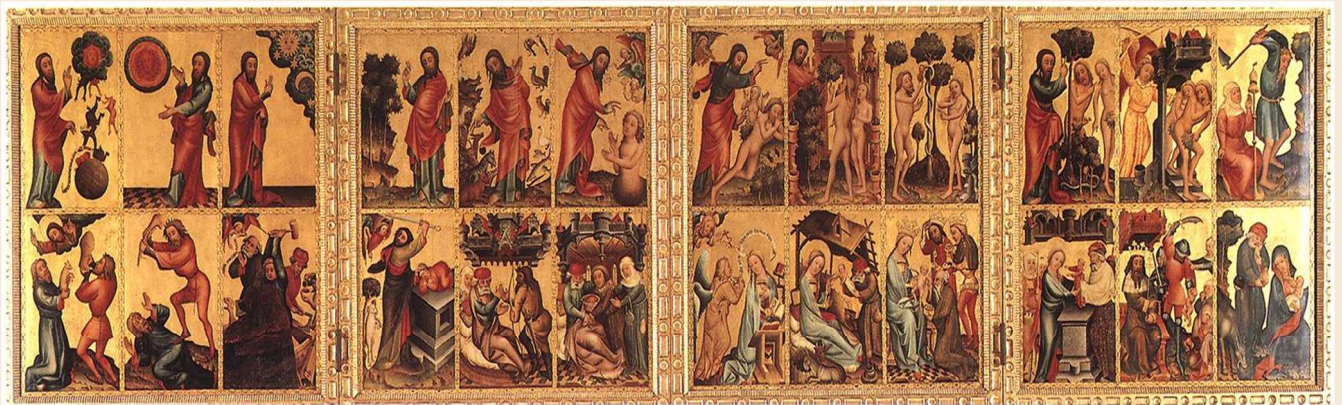
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List of Abbreviations

DaS   = Dějiny a současnost
DČVU = Dějiny českého výtvarného umění
FFUP = Filosofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci
FHB   = Folia Historica Bohemica
FRB   = Fontes rerum Bohemicarum
HIU AV ČR = Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky
MHB   = Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica
PHS   = Právněhistorické studie

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