

## THE DEVOTION OF A LONELY DUCHESS

*Wim Blockmans*

**I**n the last days of June 1468, the Estates of Flanders assembled in the seaport town of Sluis (L'Ecluse) to welcome their new princess, Margaret of York, sister of King Edward IV of England. They could see a bright future ahead. For the first time in more than thirty years, a newly sealed trade agreement between England and Burgundy secured a stable relationship between these two closely linked economic partners. Although this commercial intercourse was merely a welcome fringe benefit to the Burgundian and English princes, who were more concerned with political alliances, it was of prime importance to the prosperity of both countries.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the past three decades had been extraordinarily prosperous for the Netherlands, described by the contemporary chronicler Philippe de Commynes as the Land of Promise. King Edward's chancellor, announcing Margaret's marriage before the English Parliament, hailed Duke Charles of Burgundy as "oon of the myghtyest Princez of the World that bereth no crowne." During the protracted negotiations, King Edward had tried to arrange a double marriage, wherein his brother, the Duke of Clarence, would become the spouse of ten-year-old Mary, the sole heiress to Duke Charles. Edward saw the alliance primarily as support for his endeavors to recover the duchies of Normandy and Gascony. In view of the tensions between France and Burgundy over Picardy, Liège, Guelders, and several other areas of conflict, a strong linkage with England seemed to serve the duke's interests as well, notwithstanding his own Lancastrian descent and sympathies. King Edward was elected to the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece in May 1468, an honor reciprocated a year later when Duke Charles was made a Knight of the Garter.<sup>2</sup>

The Burgundian subjects probably welcomed Margaret for a different reason: the third wife of their duke brought new hope for a male heir. Charles's first spouse had died childless at seventeen; his second, Isabella of Bourbon, had borne only Mary after three years of marriage, even though both parents seemed quite attached to each other and lived together most of the eleven years of their marriage. The absence of a male heir made the future rather uncertain, since the dynastic links had consequences for trade relations and economic opportunities. During nearly eighty years of Burgundian rule in the Netherlands, the region's subjects had nourished an increasingly strong sympathy toward the dynasty and thus preferred its continuity. The duke himself noted this hope in a letter to the city of Valenciennes, when he recommended Margaret as "bien tailliee pour avoir generation de prince du pays."<sup>3</sup>

To mark his third wedding, Duke Charles organized the most magnificent festivities. The ceremony took place in the small harbor town of Damme, halfway between Sluis and Bruges, on Sunday, July 3, 1468, after which the couple made their processional entry into Bruges. The people performed pageants and *tableaux vivants* representing famous biblical, historical, and mythological couples: Adam and Eve, King Alexander and Cleopatra, Esther and Ahasuerus, Solomon and the Queen of

Sheba, and the lovers of the Song of Songs. Guilds and crafts marched in a procession, wearing their colorful tunics and carrying standards. For nine days, a great tournament called *L'arbre d'or* was held in the market place. Elaborate reports circulated on the sequence of processions, banquets, and jousts—among them three in French, two in English, one of which was printed three times, one in Latin, and one in Flemish, the latter two finding their way to Strasbourg and Lubeck, respectively. The conspicuous display of gold and silver plate, the dozens of tapestries with propagandistic representations, splendidly decorated halls, complicated mechanical ornaments, and the most extravagant *entremets* were obviously meant to impress all the participants. From the bishops, courtiers, and foreign tradesmen to the simple Bruges craftsmen, all were spectators and participants alike in a huge theatrical performance that displayed the power and riches of the Burgundian dynasty to all the Christian world.<sup>4</sup>

One may wonder why no pictorial representation of this glorious event has come down to us, apart from the statues of Charles and Margaret on the Damme town hall facade. No miniatures such as those for Philip the Good's entry into Ghent in 1458, offered to him by a local patrician, no tapestries, nothing like the series of fifty-three colored pen drawings illustrating the Latin account of the entry of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castille into Brussels in 1496 or the illustrated description immediately printed for Prince Charles's entry into Bruges in 1515. Obviously, this tradition of pictorial commemoration, as initiated by the court, was a later development.<sup>5</sup>

These welcoming festivities must have deeply impressed the twenty-two-year-old Margaret of York. After all, England was at that time far less developed than the Netherlands, of which the cosmopolitan Bruges was the finest city. Her brother, King Edward, had only recently usurped the throne and faced serious financial difficulties in providing her wedding gift, which was in fact never entirely paid off.<sup>6</sup> The English court certainly could not compete with the splendor the Burgundians so lavishly displayed to compensate for their status as dukes rather than as kings. During his exile in Bruges in 1470–71, King Edward was so impressed by the library of his host, Louis de Gruuthuse, Governor of Holland and Zeeland, that he ordered copies of some twenty of his manuscripts. Needless to say, the duke's library, of which Edward could see only a part in the Hesdin castle, was of far greater importance. This treasure must have fascinated Margaret as well.<sup>7</sup> I will here try to situate Margaret's interest in manuscripts within her political and personal life, aiming at a better understanding of the motives for art patronage and a deeper insight into her personality.

### Political Activities

How did Margaret experience everyday life, once her initial astonishment had passed? During the first six months of their married life, duke and duchess were together for only twenty-one days. During the next two years, they saw each other for ninety-six and 145 days, respectively, and in 1471 even less frequently. Early in 1472, they regularly resided at short distances from each other, the duke visiting Margaret once or twice a week as he pleased. In 1473 and 1474, they met only for about ten to fifteen days, and in July 1475 they were together for the last time, a visit of a few days.<sup>8</sup>

Charles's mother, the dowager Duchess Isabella of Portugal, who had often dealt with Anglo-Burgundian relations, including the negotiations for the marriage, may have introduced Margaret to her new role.<sup>9</sup> This mainly consisted in securing good relations with England and in representing the duke during his absence. The expulsion of Edward in 1470 required Margaret to mediate between her rival brothers and to help secure Edward's return to power. Certainly the most prominent presence in Margaret's married life was that of her stepdaughter, Mary, just eleven years younger than she. Margaret and Mary, who did not accompany the belligerent duke on his incessant campaigns, lived in the many castles the duke possessed in Bur-

gundian cities and territories. Most of the time, they lived in the Ten Walle castle in Ghent, reconstructed in 1473. Short trips were made to Bruges, Brussels,<sup>10</sup> Calais—where Margaret met with King Edward—and The Hague. A clear testimony of Mary's high esteem for her stepmother is to be read in the introduction to the act of January 30, 1477, in which Mary reinstated her stepmother's dowry:

*nous ayans parfaicte congnoissance que nostre tres chiere dame et belle mere, madame Marguerite, duchesse de Bourgoingne, vesve de feu nostre tres chier seigneur et pere que Dieu absoille, s'est conduite envers nostre dit seigneur et pere par grande prudence, obeissance et singuliere amitie et aussi envers nostre personne et noz paiz et seignouries en si entiere et parfaicte amour et bienvueillance que jamais ne le pourions envers elle a souffisance remerir ne recongnoistre, considerans aussi que depuis la dure fortune avenue a nostredit feu seigneur et pere et qu'il estoit bruyt courant entre plusieurs de son trespas et depuis la certainete d'icelui, elle s'est liberalement et cordialement offerte et declaree de nous aidier, porter et favoriser en tous noz affaires de toute sa puissance [et que des maintenant elle s'est grandement employee envers tres hault et tres puissant prince, nostre tres chier seigneur et cousin le roy d'Angleterre pour obtenir qu'il soit en nostre ayde et qu'il entretiengne les aliances et confederacions perpetuelles d'entre lui et nostre dit feu seigneur et pere]* <sup>11</sup>

From 1475 onward, during the duke's lengthy absences, Margaret played a certain political role. She led the resistance against a French invasion of Artois and negotiated with the Flemish cities for the mobilization of troops. In September 1475, she requested 18,000 ryders from the cities—this in addition to the 40,000 ryders she had been granted in 1468, to be paid over a period of sixteen years, and the special grants she received for the loss of her personal belongings in a fire in the castle of Male in 1472. Even though the Flemings had already made extraordinary financial sacrifices, they nevertheless agreed to half the amount the duchess now requested. This compliance is to be interpreted as evidence of a distinctly positive attitude toward Margaret, despite the probability that the money went to support the duke's warfare.<sup>12</sup>

In April 1476, the catastrophic wars against the Swiss drove Duke Charles to demand even more from his subjects. Therefore, he made Margaret and Mary preside over two assemblies of the Estates General of the Netherlands, held in Ghent, where the chancellor had to request new military appropriations. The opposition to the seemingly unlimited demands of the duke was at that stage so fierce that even Margaret's proposal to mediate could not generate any further support for Charles's obviously failing campaigns.<sup>13</sup>

The news of the terrible defeat near Nancy on January 5, 1477, spread slowly in the Netherlands; it took a full week to reach Flanders, where Margaret and Mary resided. On January 15, they took action, again jointly. They wrote to the central *Chambre des Comptes* at Mechlin, urging the officers to continue their normal activities, notwithstanding certain "rumors" about the duke's presumed retreat. They also summoned the Estates of Luxembourg, the province that was the closest to the war-struck region. On January 18, Margaret and Mary protested in an emotional letter to King Louis of France against the formal claim to the city of Saint-Quentin made by his troops. They claimed to have several indications that the duke was still alive. Three days later, they jointly summoned the Estates General to Ghent, to discuss "all urgent affairs." It was only by accident that a servant of Charles's bastard brother, Anthony, returning from the battlefield where his master was held captive, revealed the duke's death to Margaret and Mary, assuming they had already been informed. On January 24, they publicly announced the news in a series of letters, admitting that the duke's warfare had laid too heavy a burden on his subjects, which they promised to alleviate soon. They went into mourning on January 25.<sup>14</sup>

In these days of uncertainty, the duchess and the heiress were constantly assisted by the chancellor, the president of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and six delegates of the Estates of Flanders. From January 28 onward, Mary acted alone, nominating Adolf of Ravenstein as her lieutenant general and revising the terms of Margaret's dowry. The fact that the number of Margaret's lordships as foreseen in the marriage contract was not only confirmed but extended, even though the wedding gift was not fully paid off, can be seen as evidence of the intimate relations between Mary and her stepmother.<sup>15</sup> Margaret had to retreat now to her cities Oudenarde and Mechlin, since King Louis of France had created suspicions among the Flemings about Margaret's political interference. From there, she still exercised a decisive influence on Mary's matrimonial choice. The kings of France and England each wanted to find a husband for Europe's richest heiress in their own courts, but both put forward unsuitable candidates who were in rivalry with each other. Margaret rejected candidates presented by an embassy sent by her brother and instead urged him to help her resist the French invasion. She decided that the emperor's son, Maximilian, about whom Duke Charles had been negotiating for years, would be the right consort for Mary. An embassy from Emperor Frederick III, on its way to Ghent, paid a more than ceremonial visit to Margaret in Mechlin in April,<sup>16</sup> and Mary and Maximilian were married later that year. Margaret's relations with Maximilian would remain cordial for the rest of their lives, as evidenced by the fact that he protected her from all problems she had with her dowry.<sup>17</sup> She was also the godmother of both his children, Philip and Margaret. In 1480, Maximilian sent her on a delicate diplomatic mission to her brother, who was then an ally of the King of France. She negotiated an alliance between England and Burgundy, which included the marriage between Philip and Edward's daughter, Anne, the granting of economic advantages, and the levy of six thousand English archers for the war against France.<sup>18</sup> The miniature in David Aubert's transcription of Jean Miélot's translation of *Romuléon*, dated 1480, which mentions Edward IV's device *Gy tens*, seems to represent Margaret of York mediating between her brother and the emperor (fig. 1). The manuscript, in which appear Edward's arms, may well have been offered to him by Margaret on this occasion.<sup>19</sup>

Mary's accidental death in 1482 must have been, from an emotional viewpoint, a great loss to Margaret. Moreover, it introduced a decade-long internal war in Flanders that affected her personally. The Three Members of Flanders—the college representing the whole country through the three largest cities—refused to recognize Maximilian as regent for his son, referring to the stipulations of his marriage contract of 1477. They considered void Mary's last will since it was drawn up without their



Figure 1.  
Master of the White Inscriptions. *Margaret of York and Edward IV (?)*, in Jean Miélot, *Romuléon*. London, British Library, Royal Ms. 19 E V, fol 367v. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library Board.

consent and likewise opposed the lordships of Flemish cities Mary had granted to Margaret, which exceeded those stipulated in her stepmother's 1468 marriage contract. The conflict concentrated on the appointment of officers in the cities belonging to Margaret's disputed dowry, which the Members in 1482 considered to be their prerogative.<sup>20</sup> It was Maximilian's victory in 1485 that affirmed Margaret's rights.

When the revolt broke out again and Maximilian was held captive for three and a half months in Bruges early in 1488, Margaret called on Emperor Frederick III for help, and she took care of Maximilian's son and heir, Philip the Fair.<sup>21</sup> She welcomed his daughter, Margaret, after her dismissal from the French court in 1493. Margaret of York's residence in Mechlin thus became a princely court, where Philip's children would be educated when he sailed off to Spain in 1501. Her godchild, Margaret, continued this tradition when she chose residence in Mechlin as a widowed governess in 1507.<sup>22</sup>

From 1486 to 1495, the conflicts about the English crown again had repercussions on relations between England and the Netherlands. Since Maximilian, probably at the instigation of Margaret, supported Perkin Warbeck as legitimate King of England, Henry VII forbade all trade with the Netherlands. It required hard negotiations to bring relations back to normal, a trade agreement was finally sealed in 1496. In this context, Margaret's and Maximilian's dynastic motivations, including her wish to restore her own dynasty to the English throne, rightfully were put aside.<sup>23</sup>

Summarizing Margaret's political career, we have to distinguish between her eight and a half years as duchess and the twenty-six years she spent as dowager. As duchess, her role was politically limited to the representation of her absent spouse in the years 1475 to 1477. Paradoxical as it appears, Margaret seems to have had more influence and initiative as a dowager, owing to her intimate relations with Mary, Maximilian, and their children. In this respect, widows were more independent than married women, especially dowagers closely related to royal dynasties. This explains the prominent role of widows as governesses in the Netherlands during a large part of the sixteenth century. Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, was the first in this remarkable series of women who turned their personal misfortunes into political advantages. Margaret of York was their model, as her residence, household, and library passed on to her heirs.

Misfortune followed Margaret of York. Not only did her spouse and her beloved stepdaughter die young, but her new country fell into civil war and economic recession, as did her native land, where all her brothers and nephews died violently, the York family was removed from the throne and persecuted, and relations between England and Burgundy were disrupted. None of the hopes people cherished at the time of her wedding in 1468 became reality, especially the hope for an heir to continue the glorious dynasty of Burgundy.

### Art Patronage and Charity

Did Margaret's art patronage and personal devotion reflect in any way the dramatic events that marked her life? The outlines of princely artistic patronage outside Italy are often difficult to draw with precision, because patronage in the North was more intimately bound up with devotion and charity on the one hand, and social status on the other. Thus, in the absence of those contracts or other documents concerning the relationship between artist and client which have sometimes proven useful in the study of Italian patronage, it is often difficult to determine the extent of a Northern European patron's actual influence on the form and content of a work of art.<sup>24</sup> Women especially were not expected to display a pronounced personal taste because their patronage was usually strictly limited to the devotional sphere. So it was absolutely normal for noble ladies to possess some richly illuminated and decorated books of hours, as Eustache Deschamps mentions in his *Miroir*.

Heures me fault de Nostre Dame  
Si comme il appartient a fame  
Venue de noble parage <sup>25</sup>

We will see, however, that Margaret went far beyond the traditional role taken by her predecessors

What we know about Margaret's building activities is that she ordered the reconstruction of her castle in Binche (1477–80), which accounted for twenty-three percent of her expenses in that demesne in 1477–78 <sup>26</sup> She had rebuilt the house she bought in Mons in 1480 and the hôtel in Mechlin that she had acquired from the Bishop of Cambrai, John of Burgundy, another bastard of Philip the Good. The accounts of her domains in Mechlin mention a yearly pension, paid from 1480 to 1490, to

maister Anthoine Keldermans, tailleur de pierres demourant a Malines, lequel madite dame par ses lettres patentes [ ] a retenu son maistre des euvres de machonnerie de ses hostelz maisons, fortresses, aux gages et pension de douze livres du pris de 40 gros monnaie de Flandres par an

This fixed sum was rather symbolic since it represented the equivalent of sixty working days for an ordinary master mason, or one-fifth of Margaret's collector's yearly revenue. Her jam maker got a pension of 73 lb, three times as much as the famous architect, but the architect's yearly pension was nevertheless a remarkable act of patronage <sup>27</sup>

Several churches received works of religious art from Margaret. In 1480, she donated to Saint Ursmer in her city of Binche a reliquary of the Holy Cross with figures in enamel, decorated with pearls and gems. The Binche chapter received from her embroidered chasubles and tunics and liturgical books, one of which was signed with her autograph (Appendix no. 27a). In 1472, she offered an altar antependium to the chapter of Saint Waudru in Mons. This saint was particularly revered by women, who sought her intercession in pregnancy by putting on her belt <sup>28</sup> Saint John's in Ghent was endowed with a stained glass window in 1487, probably to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Charles's funerary service, held there in August 1477. Similarly, Margaret offered Our Lady in Bruges a stained glass window representing the duke and duchess kneeling in prayer, ten years later, she presented another window to Saint Rombout's in Mechlin <sup>29</sup>

Such gifts certainly were not exceptional for a princess of her time. Margaret's charitable works perhaps reveal more about her personality. In the famous manuscript compiled by Nicolas Finet on her commission, *Benoit seront les misericordieux*, one of the two miniatures represents her performing the Seven Acts of Mercy (fig. 2). She helped hospitals in Binche in 1478–80, donating 30 lb par “que madite dame de sa benigne grace a donne pour Dieu et en aumosne pour l'augmentation dudit lieu et soustenement des povres membres de Dieu qui journellement y sourviennent esont secourus.” A cloister near Binche twice received 22 lb par “en consideration et regard a la povrete d'icelle eglise et couvent et au grant nombre de personnes qui y sont a entretenir pour oeuvre de pitie et en aumosne.” The wording in these domain accounts reveals the strong personal motivation of the dowager to help the sick and the poor. Further, Margaret's chaplain, Renault le Viel, received 24 lb par for entering the Franciscan Observants. However, these gifts represented no more than 1.27 percent of the receipts of the Binche domain <sup>30</sup>

The domain accounts of Mechlin reveal special charitable expenditures in the years 1481 and 1482. At this time, rye was selling there at 72 s per viertel, in contrast to normal years such as 1477 and 1484, when it sold at 16 s. The increase of 450 percent is symbolic of difficulties all over Europe. To offset the high price, Margaret ordered the distribution of about one-third of the annual rye yields from her Mechlin domains, which amounted to 3480 litres—sufficient for the yearly bread consumption of about ten people. Again, the account's wording is touching: “par mandement et ordonnance de madite dame avoir baillie et delivre en aucuns secreet lieux dise-

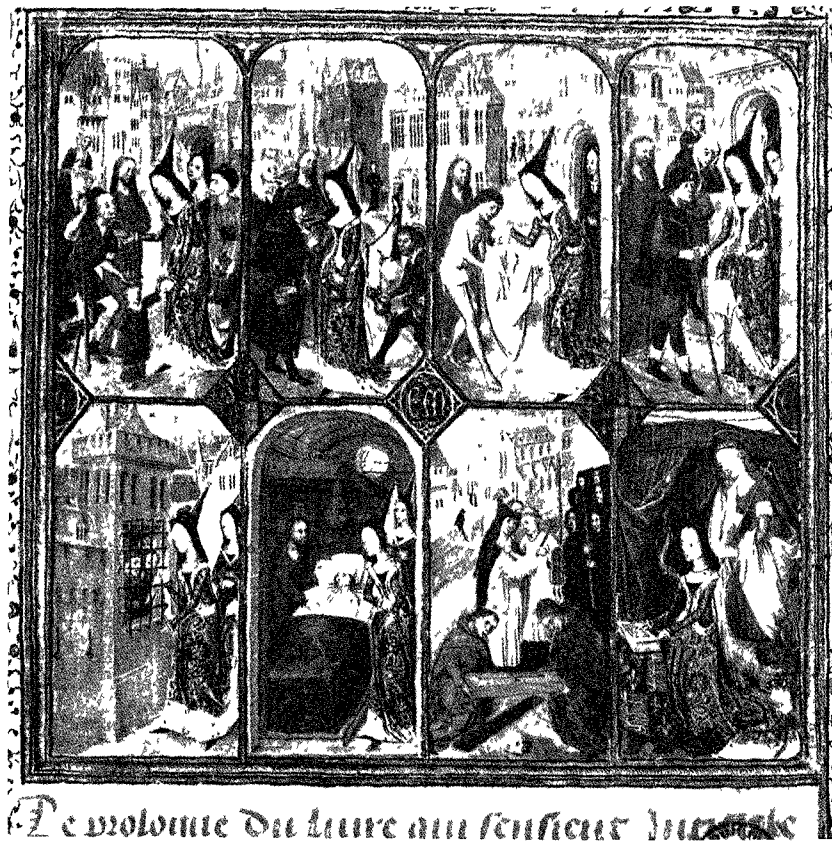


Figure 2.  
Master of Girart de Roussillon (or workshop).  
*Margaret of York Performing the Seven Acts of  
Mercy*, in Nicolas Finet, *Benoit seront les  
miséricordieux*. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale,  
Ms. 9296, fol. 1.

teux pour le vivre et sustentacion des povres membres de Dieu le nombre et quantité de 43 et demye fertailles [3480 litres] de seggle.” Since this terminology appears in the accounts of various of Margaret’s agents working in domains situated at a considerable distance from one another, the similarity in some of the wording between the Binche and Mechlin documents can only be ascribed to the personal intervention of Margaret herself. In the following year, 1482, when grain prices were just as high, Margaret ordered even more rye, namely 45 viertel (= “fertailles”).<sup>31</sup> This was to be distributed, however, not to any poor man but to her secretary, master Loys Conroy, and to her *argentier*, Hyppolite Berthoz, who was certainly not poverty stricken, since he was able to commission a triptych by Dirk Bouts.<sup>32</sup> In the late eighties, when grain prices rose sharply again, no further distributions to the poor are mentioned. Margaret’s charity obviously had its own priorities and limits.

A specific form of charity still requires our attention. From December 1478 onward, Margaret paid a priest in Binche 24 lb. par. a year for the nourishment and education of a boy, then approximately five years old, “que madame a mis a demourer en son hostel et illec acheté sa table.” She paid separately for his clothing and eventually for a surgeon when the boy broke his leg. In the same year, she installed in the convent of Saint Agnes at Ghent—with which she enjoyed special relations—the count of Saint Pol’s orphan daughter, Jeanne, who later took the veil there. In 1485, Margaret founded in two of her houses in Mons an asylum for repentant prostitutes, providing them with a good education; she continued to protect her foundation. In Ghent, she paid to have a child educated by the Brothers of Saint Jerome. At that time, their cloister was a very active workshop for manuscripts. The Rupelmonde domain account of 1499 mentions the payment of 704 lb. par. to a Pieter van Temple “pour les employer au profit d’un josne enfant angloix que madicte dame a baillie a nourrir.”<sup>33</sup> This sum equaled a maintenance of 44 lb. par. per year for sixteen years. Caring for children’s education, especially for orphans, was one of the Seven Acts of Mercy. The remarkable number of children Margaret helped in her immediate environment, which surely must have been higher than the examples quoted, may be connected to the fact that she bore no children herself.

During her life as dowager, Margaret was highly involved in religious affairs, primarily the reformation of convents toward the observance of stricter rules. She especially favored the observant Augustinian and Franciscan Orders and continued the Burgundian tradition of support for the Carthusians. Her sphere of influence was clearly determined by personal contacts, especially with the Bishop of Cambrai, Henri de Berghes, to whose diocese Mechlin belonged and who had been Margaret's court chaplain since 1479.<sup>34</sup> His brother, John III of Berghes, lord of Bergen op Zoom, was a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which Henri served as chancellor (fig. 3). Their sister, Elisabeth, supervised the school of the Bethany convent at Mechlin, which belonged to the Windesheim congregation. There is no indication, however, that Margaret had any special relation with the *Devotio Moderna*. She possessed in her own library only one text by Thomas à Kempis, *Imitation de Jesus Christ*.<sup>35</sup>

In Louvain in 1479, Margaret initiated the reform that led the hospitalers to Augustinian rule, and in 1496 she drove out unworthy Dominicans and introduced new monks who adopted that rule. She also reformed the Beghards of Louvain into Franciscans of the Third Order (Observants). In Mechlin in 1480, she managed, not without resistance, to convert the Blijdenberg nunnery into an Augustinian cloister. She succeeded in this endeavor with the help of Bishop Henri de Berghes and the cloister at Groenendaal, near Brussels, which belonged to the Windesheim congregation. On her visit to England in 1480, she insisted on the foundation of a Grey Friars convent, to which she donated a gradual (Appendix no. 25). Similarly, the dowager founded nunneries of the Poor Clares in Brielle in Holland in 1483 and in Mechlin in 1501, where she participated in the inaugural procession. In 1498 she founded a convent of nuns following the Augustinian rule in Binche. In Ghent, she financed the building of a new convent devoted to Saint Agnes. In 1501, she brought the secular clergy of Oudenaarde back to discipline, again with the help of Henri de Berghes. All these interventions occurred in cities belonging to her dowry or in those where she had residences (Louvain and Mons). It is equally significant that she wanted to be buried in the cloister of the Recollects, the reformed Franciscan nuns, at Mechlin.<sup>36</sup>

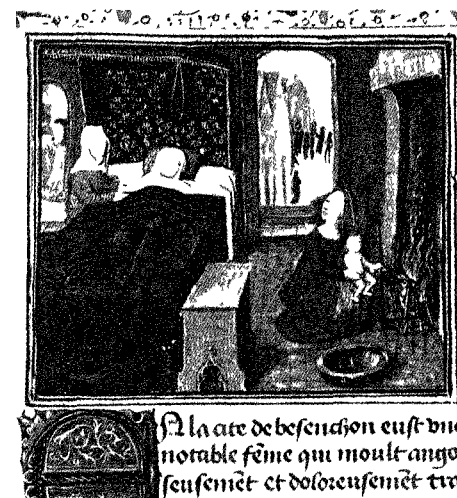
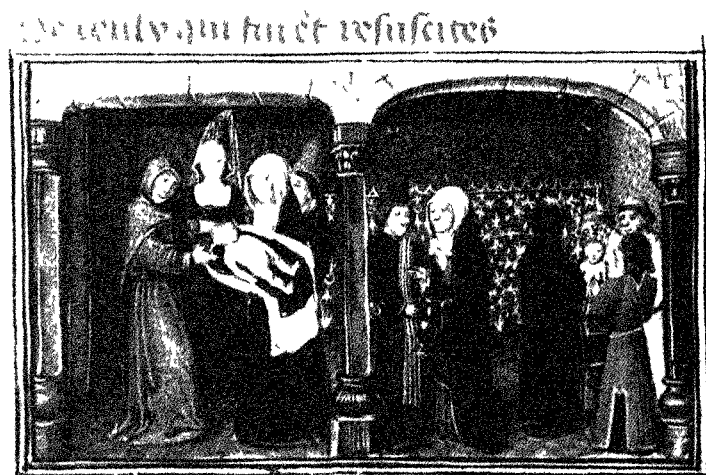
Margaret's actions were set in a time of decay in many religious institutions in the Netherlands. She firmly backed a reformist movement, stressing the strict observance of monastic rules, respecting absolute poverty, and concentrating on the spiritual life. As dame of Voorne in Holland, she had the right to appoint twelve canons to the chapter of Saint Catherine, and she was renowned for nominating only priests in whose fine education and proper morality she could be confident. Besides the Observant Franciscans and the Augustinians, she favored the Carthusians and the Brothers of Saint Jerome, who were prolific scribes. To the Carthusian monasteries at Louvain and Scheut, near Brussels, she donated one cell. Her preference



Figure 3.  
Anonymous master. *John and Henri de Berghes with Their Patron Saints*, left panel of a triptych. Bergen op Zoom, Markiezenhof.

Figure 4  
Master of Margaret of York (or workshop). *Revelation of a Dead Child*, in Pierre de Vaux, *La vie de Sainte Colette*. Ghent, Convent of the Poor Clares, Ms. 8, fol. 137r.

Figure 5.  
Master of Margaret of York (or workshop). *Rescue of a Pregnant Woman*, in Pierre de Vaux, *La vie de Sainte Colette*. Ghent, Convent of the Poor Clares, Ms. 8, fol. 145r.





for the Poor Clares originated in Ghent, where Saint Colette of Corbie founded her first convent, organized according to the original rules of poverty of Saint Francis and Saint Clare. Six years after Colette's death at the Ghent convent in 1447, the process of beatification began. For this purpose, her biography was prepared by her confessor, the Franciscan Pierre de Vaux. Colette started her reform in 1408 after having "had visions and heard voices." In one of these visions, Saint Anne appeared to her, the saint was surrounded by her glorious progeny. Although she married three men in succession, Saint Anne attained sanctity by serving the Church together with her descendants. This inspired Colette and launched her firm devotion to Saint Anne.<sup>37</sup>

Margaret's strong support for the Poor Clares is evidenced by her donation to their convent at Ghent of a manuscript of Pierre de Vaux's *Vie de Sainte Colette* of 166 folios, brilliantly illuminated with twenty-five miniatures and six historiated initials ascribed to two artists (Appendix no. 27). Each of the miniatures covers an episode in the saint's life (figs. 4, 5). On the front page, angels hold the coats of arms of Charles and Margaret, who are portrayed on fol. 40v as praying spectators at Saint Colette's vision of Saint Anne (fig. 6). In two places, the manuscript has a banderole with Margaret's device, *Bien en avoengne*, her coat of arms (fig. 7) appears twice, once with the initials C and M, which are repeated, with flint and steel, the symbols of Burgundy, in three initials. The handwriting, the miniatures, and the original binding are undoubtedly Flemish work. Margaret's inscription on the last page asks the nuns to pray for her and for her salvation (see fig. 66). De Vaux's *Vie de Sainte Colette* became immediately popular, in 1450 the Franciscans commissioned a translation into Latin, and in 1451 the prior of Saint Bavo in Ghent produced a Flemish version. Duke Philip the Good owned a copy dated about 1460 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10980), with two illuminated pages, which may have served as the model for the magnificent Ghent manuscript. This work evidently never belonged to Margaret's private library.

Margaret's founding of Poor Clares convents in Brielle and Mechlin thus becomes perfectly understandable in light of her special devotion to the saint, formed in Ghent, where the duchess was living at the time of her donation of the *Vie de Sainte Colette*. Saint Colette had interceded at some miraculous births and was thus especially revered by pregnant women and those hoping for pregnancy—which surely encouraged Margaret's devotion to the saint. Margaret's devotion to Saint Anne can



Figure 6  
Master of Margaret of York (or workshop)  
*Margaret of York and Charles the Bold Watching  
the Vision of Saint Colette* in Pierre de Vaux, *La  
vie de Sainte Colette*. Ghent: Convent of the  
Poor Clares. Ms. 8, fol. 40v.

Figure 7  
Margaret of York's seal with her coat of arms  
and the linked initials CM (affixed to the  
nomination act of Henri de Berghes as  
Margaret's court chaplain). Beigen op Zoom  
Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst. ARR 110.

be attributed to related circumstances, especially in Ghent. In the second half of the century, the city saw a revival of Saint Anne's cult. This revival has been connected with the disastrous Ghent war against Duke Philip the Good, which ended in 1453, with great loss of life among the citizens. Second and third marriages and renewed childbearing were advocated by the authorities through the cult of Saint Anne. An altar for her at Ghent was mentioned as early as 1305, located in a chapel in the Saint Nicholas church, the most central parish. In 1445 and 1470, the city magistrate registered new statutes for the guild of Saint Anne. In 1473, Duchess Margaret was enlisted as a member, and in 1476 Mary of Burgundy followed suit. This occasioned the production of a new register of the guild, now in Windsor Castle (Appendix no 28), with a remarkable frontispiece miniature displaying both women praying before the altar of Saint Anne (fig. 8). The central part of the triptych above it seems to represent the *Annunciation to Joachim and Anne*. The theme of pregnancy is again very obvious.

The miniature further represents the arms of the five duchies and twelve other lordships held by Charles the Bold since late 1475. Margaret's and Mary's arms are repeated, hanging above the altar and draped over their prie-dieux. Mary's hanging coat of arms, however, is half blank – a reference to her projected but not yet formalized engagement. The CM initials appear twice in the border, Margaret's device four times. Three men in the left lower border clearly represent the dean, the bailiff, and a board member of the guild for the year beginning on August 15, 1476, it was they who commissioned the register, as is to be read on fol. 6. The person holding a book

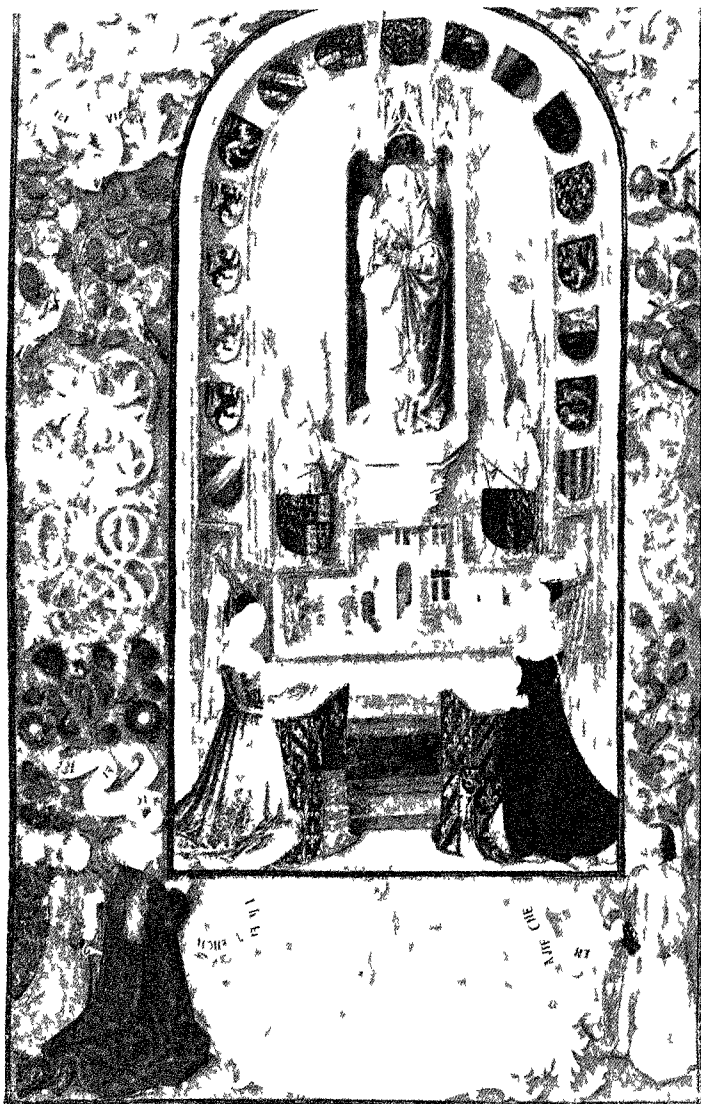


Figure 8  
Workshop of the Master of Mary of Burgundy  
*Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy Praying  
Before the Altar of Saint Anne in the Church of  
Saint Nicholas in Ghent* in the register of the  
guild of Saint Anne at Ghent. Windsor Castle  
Royal Library no shelf mark fol. 2 © 1990  
Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

in the lower border to the right probably is the guild's chaplain. The register itself opens with the names of the prominent members, in golden letters on red, starting with Margaret and Mary and followed by forty-nine people, more than half of them women, belonging to the dynasty and the court: Anne of Burgundy, Lady Ravensstein, Guillaume de Lalaing, first chaplain Philip Sydon, Mathijs de Hane (Coquel), tenor in the court chapel, and further regional officeholders. The miniature and the first part of the list of members (up to fol. 5v) must thus have been produced between mid-August 1476 and January 24, 1477, when Charles's death was officially announced at Ghent, an event which is emotionally referred to on fol. 6. The verso then cites twenty-six names, among them the guild officers for the year 1477–78. The register was updated, in a rather disorderly form, with the names of new members until 1578, the date of the instauration of the Calvinist Republic in Ghent.<sup>38</sup> The manuscript itself makes it very clear that it was related to Margaret (and Mary) only insofar as they were honored as prominent members and probably donors to the guild.

From 1472 on, both Margaret and Mary were registered as members of yet another pious Ghent guild, that of Saint Barbara, to whom an altar and a chapel had been consecrated as early as 1366 in the same church of Saint Nicholas that contained the 1305 altar of Saint Anne. The guild statutes were approved by the city magistrate in 1456. Saint Barbara was the patroness of those confronted with sudden death who still hoped to receive the sacrament. She was often represented with Margaret of Antioch, patron of pregnant women and unprotected infants.<sup>39</sup>

Margaret's subsidies to the Ghent Saint Agnes convent—dedicated to the fourth-century saint—again reveal a special preference for a figure revered as the patron of young women and children. Another Saint Agnes, of Montepulciano, belonged to the mid-thirteenth-century reformers who, like Clare and Francis, were inspired by Saint Augustine. The coherence in Margaret's devotion is striking. It almost always involves children, childbearing, and family. Even her donation of 100 lb. for the foundation of a chapel of Saint George at Ghent in 1498 falls into this category, for it refers to her loyalty to Duke Charles, who especially venerated this saint, patron of the Order of the Garter.<sup>40</sup>

### Manuscripts and Personal Devotion

Margaret commissioned a number of manuscripts during her nine years as duchess, but her interest weakened significantly during her longer period as dowager. Moreover, after 1477 she seems to have acquired relatively few books. How passionate a bibliophile was she then? Although her native English dynasty had no special interest in manuscripts, she did become deeply involved in the very strong Burgundian tradition of manuscript patronage. But since, as a dowager, she acquired no more manuscripts for herself, her interest in the field must have been tied to her official position. Among the manuscripts linked with her personally, it is necessary to distinguish between those she merely owned at some time and those she commissioned. Among the manuscripts bearing her signature, two were made for Duke Philip the Good—Jean Mansel's *La fleur des histoires* (Appendix no. 16), written in 1455–60, and a manuscript with works by Jean Gerson, Jacobus van Gruytrode, and Thomas a Kempis (Appendix no. 15), copied by David Aubert in 1462. The first of these was eventually passed on to Margaret and the second was probably a gift, thus they do not necessarily express her personal taste.<sup>41</sup>

More revealing in this respect are the manuscripts she commissioned for herself. A typical example of her personal acquisitions is *Benoit seront les misericordieux*. In the colophon, Margaret's almoner, Nicolas Finet, canon in Cambrai, explains that on express commission from the duchess he compiled texts from the Bible and the Fathers of the Church that he found in the Carthusian monastery at Herinnes in Hainaut. This manuscript contains two miniatures, one the famous Seven Acts of Mercy, the other depicting Margaret surrounded by the four Fathers, with Brussels monu-

ments in the background (see figs 2, 14) <sup>42</sup> The Brussels setting may well be a reference to the fact that Duke John II of Brabant and his wife, Margaret of York, who died in 1333, were buried in the church of Saint Gudule

Clearly belonging to Margaret's personal readings as well was an ascetic dialogue between Christ and Margaret, also written by Nicolas Finet, which carries her autograph at the end <sup>43</sup> In a similar vein is the devotional miscellany containing, among other texts, Thomas a Kempis's *Bonne et necessaire doctrine de toute nostre foy*, with the duke's and the duchess's arms on the frontispiece and Margaret's portrait in a miniature <sup>44</sup> Here she kneels before an altar with the Trinity, the Father holding the Son on his knees (see fig 19) This precedes a dominical prayer of the king's daughter in which the Pater Noster serves as a metaphor that expresses Margaret's wish to see her real Father, God

Quant seray-je mise en Sa salle royale et en Son palais imperial je qui suis  
durement emprisonnee et de toutes pars de guerre avironnee je qui sui fille de  
Roy ?

The collection of works by Jean Gerson, with the initials CM in the prologue and a signed inscription reading "ce livre cy est a tres haulte, tres excellente et puissante princesse Madame Marguerite d'York," also represented Margaret's personal readings <sup>45</sup> In addition, she may have possessed Augustine's *Contemplation pour attirer la personne de Dieu* and the *Meditations*, then attributed to Saint Bernard, along with several other wide-ranging devotional texts <sup>46</sup>

Margaret's choice of devotional texts was far from original but nevertheless went beyond the purely liturgical books most ladies of her status possessed Several texts were credited to famous authors such as Seneca and Gerson, although they were in fact either much earlier or much later anonymous treatises that had been circulating in various vernacular translations since the fourteenth century Sometimes it is apparent that a text has been "personalized" for Margaret In *La garde du coeur et de l'ame* (Appendix no 8[f]), a long paragraph recounting the fruitless sieges by the enemies of the fortress of the heart, found in other French versions, was omitted by David Aubert Is this omission a delicate avoidance of any reference to Charles the Bold's failed twelve-month siege of Neuss? In *Le miroir des pecheurs* (Appendix 8[1]), the translator added numerous popular comments that also appeared in the copy made for Anthony, Charles's bastard brother <sup>47</sup>

The accent in these compilations was on the text rather than on the illustrations, in sharp contrast to the tradition prevailing among the Burgundian dukes and their followers Most of Margaret's manuscripts contained only few miniatures—one each in *La vision de l'ame de Guy de Thurno*, Boethius's *La consolation de philosophie*, Finet's *Le dialogue a Jesus Christ*, and Frere Laurent's *La somme le roi*, two in Finet's *Benoit seront les misericordieux*, three each in the Brussels volume of Gerson's writings, four each in the Oxford volume of moral and religious treatises and the *Bible moralisee*, and five in the compilation of moral treatises now in Brussels (see Appendix nos 4, 7, 2, 6, 1, 3, 8, 22, and 21, respectively)

Against these nine devotional manuscripts with a maximum of five miniatures each, there were only three books, all of them narrative, with a considerably higher number of miniatures—seventy-nine in the *Apocalypse*, twenty in *Les visions du chevalier Iondal*, and thirteen in *La vie de Sainte Catherine* (Appendix nos 19, 5, and 18, respectively) <sup>48</sup>

By contrast, breviaries, books of hours, and many historical works were richly illustrated What is striking in the books commissioned by Margaret is the high number of portrait miniatures—seven represent her alone and four—all intended for other owners—show her with Charles, Mary, or King Edward IV (see figs 1, 6, 8) She is usually depicted kneeling in prayer (see figs 17, 19), twice in a presentation scene, including William Caxton's woodcut (see figs 21, 67), once performing the Acts of Mercy (fig 2), and once negotiating (fig 1) She clearly favored such representations in books—and also in stained glass—over panel painting

A manuscript such as *La vie de Sainte Colette* was probably commissioned by the duchess to present to the Ghent convent that still owns it. In this same category are a liturgical book donated to the Binche chapter and bearing an autograph (Appendix no. 27a), Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Les faits d'Alexandre le Grand*, which Margaret and Mary offered, with their signatures, to an English lord, probably Sir John Donne (Appendix no. 24), and the Escorial manuscript of Justinus, *In Trogi Pompei historias*, which Margaret gave to Maximilian (Appendix no. 26).<sup>41</sup>

Since earlier publications did not sufficiently distinguish the different functions of manuscripts related to Margaret of York, they are enumerated in five categories in the Appendix beginning on p. 259. It has to be stressed that the presence of a portrait miniature and other symbols of the duchess (initials, device, arms, daisies) do not necessarily indicate that she commissioned the book or that she did so for her own library. An autograph at the end can indicate either her dedication, her commission, or property.

From the list, it appears that Margaret of York owned no fewer than twenty-four manuscripts, of which at least eight were produced at her express request. The two historical works were acquired through the ducal family (Appendix nos. 11, 16). Apart from six liturgical books, which cannot all be classified with certainty (Appendix nos. 10, 20, 23, 25, 27a), she owned a large collection of devotional and moral treatises that were without exception inspired by and drawn from the Valois tradition. The translators and scribes—David Aubert, Jean Mielot, Vasco da Lucena, Charles Soillot, and Nicolas Finet—all belonged to the Burgundian court under Dukes Philip and Charles, the same texts existed in the duke's library and in those of close relatives like Anthony, or councillors like Louis de Gruuthuse.

How original then was Margaret's library? Was she really the bibliophile she is heralded as?<sup>50</sup> The total of twenty-four manuscripts is not impressive compared to the almost one thousand her consort inherited. Of course, Charles did not add many more books to the collection formed by his three predecessors, and the difference in social status has to be taken into account: men acquired more books than women. In addition, nobles and women acquired more in the vernacular and clerics more in Latin. The Abbot of Saint Bavo at Ghent, Duke Philip's bastard son, Raphael de Marcatellis, owned more than two hundred books, of which eighty were richly produced, with his coat of arms, device, and the intertwined letters LYS. Miniatures, however, appear only in a small number of them. Like his contemporary colleagues Philippe Conrault of Saint Peter's at Ghent and Jan Crabbe of Ten Duinen, most of the abbot's books were in Latin, with accents on classical history, philosophy, literature, Italian humanism, and scientific works.<sup>51</sup> Some canons of Margaret's time owned libraries of more than one hundred books, and the two largest collections had 347 and 321 titles, respectively. Law, theology, poetry, ethics, natural sciences, history, rhetoric, and grammar were the predominant categories. A rare record of around 1500 of a Bruges merchant of Genovese origin, Jan Adorne, indicates that he owned thirty-four books, of which twenty-five were in Latin, six in French, and three in Flemish. His interests comprised classical and vernacular literature, science, history, and devotional texts.<sup>52</sup> The 1423 inventory of Duchess Margaret of Bavaria's impressive library shows her lively interest in French novels, partly borrowed from Duke John's collection. Queen Isabella of Castile founded a library in the San Juan de los Reyes monastery in Toledo in 1474. The 1503 inventory mentions 201 books in various fields—sciences, classical authors, history, poetry, ascetic mysticism, and games. This bibliophile queen donated twenty books to Margaret of Austria after she had become a widow.<sup>53</sup>

Compared to all these libraries, Margaret of York's was small, limited, and traditional in its selection, and exclusively in French. Nevertheless, considering that it was strictly a private library for her own use, it displayed a lively interest in what practical theology of her time had to offer. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that as a widow she seems to have stopped acquiring books. Those she still commissioned were intended as presents for recipients outside the Netherlands. Furthermore,

eleven of the manuscripts related to Margaret of York, among which she commissioned five, were produced at Ghent, and five of those come with certainty from David Aubert's workshop in the years 1475 and 1476.<sup>54</sup> This concentrated period of active and focused acquisitions coincides with the years of Margaret's greatest participation in political life as representative of her absent consort. Although the difficult political situation put her under increasing pressure, she was nearly always alone, since the duke was occupied with ever failing military campaigns. She must have realized in these years that her marriage would remain childless. It was under these circumstances that Margaret became, for a brief period, a very active commissioner of books, appropriating the Burgundian tradition and environment. The choice in the form and content of her commissions is remarkably homogeneous and reveals her most private thoughts and feelings to an extraordinary degree.

With these insights into Margaret's attitude toward manuscripts, we can begin to situate *The Visions of Tondal*. It must be considered along with another of her manuscripts, the *Bible moralisee* decorated with the arms of the duke and the duchess. This latter manuscript includes the *Purgatoire de Saint Patrice* (Appendix no. 22 [f]). Like *The Visions of Tondal*, this tale of Irish origin was extremely popular and was translated into Latin, French, Dutch, German, and Italian. The legend was comparable to that of Tondal, whose journey, however, had not been voluntary, he was sent to hell as a punishment for being "so confident in his good looks, and in his strength, that to the salvation of his soul he never gave a thought." In his journey to heaven, Tondal encountered King Conchober and King Donatus, who had been "great enemies," but "made peace between themselves and repented." King Conchober vowed to "enter religious life," and King Donatus "gave away all that he had to the poor." The next stage in heaven that Tondal visits is that of the Faithfully Married.<sup>55</sup>

In the Netherlands, both *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* and *The Visions of Tondal* enjoyed great popularity—eight manuscripts in Dutch of each text have come down to us. Excellent Latin versions of both texts could be found in Utrecht about 1460. In five of the Dutch manuscripts, the works appear together, twice in conjunction with a Dutch translation of *La vision de l'âme de Guy de Thurno*, the tale that David Aubert produced for Margaret of York just one month before completing the *Tondal*. There are four different Dutch translations of the *Tondal*, which was first printed in Antwerp around 1482. It is remarkable that these five manuscripts belong to compilations for typical female devotion and that the documented first owners are two lay women, a Beguine, the Saint Agnes convent at Maaseik, and the convent of the Bethlehem Sisters at Nijmegen. Women typically read vernacular devotional texts. French copies of *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* number at least twenty-five, while *The Visions of Tondal* in French exists in fourteen manuscripts with ten different translations. An interpolation in a Jean Gerson manuscript containing a program of reading for the seven days of the week prescribed the *The Visions of Tondal* for Fridays, *La vision de l'âme* and the Apocalypse on other days. Margaret may have followed such advice.<sup>56</sup>

Three further pieces of evidence concerning Margaret's personal devotion must still be considered.

1. During Duke Charles's siege of the small Rhineland town of Neuss, which lasted from July 1474 to June 1475, Margaret sent him as a Christmas gift a splendid dais under a canopy, gold above and below, richly embroidered with the arms of Burgundy, an object that amazed the Milanese ambassador. This gift must have flattered Charles's taste for luxury. At the very beginning of the siege, Margaret had traveled with Charles from Brussels to Maastricht, and then went on alone to Aachen to donate her splendid wedding crown to the statue of the Virgin in the cathedral. The symbolism of this remarkable act is twofold. The Virgin, of course, symbolized motherhood. On a political level, Aachen was the place where the German kings had been crowned, although negotiations the previous year to bestow royal dignity on Duke Charles had failed, he remained ambitious. Margaret's crown in Aachen can be understood as a yet another expression of her husband's claim.<sup>57</sup>

2. In 1475, Margaret went to see the relics of Saint Gummar in the city of Lier,



Figure 9.  
Hans Memling. *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, oil on canvas. Bruges, Memling Museum, O.S.J.175.I. © A. C. L. Brussels.

near Mechlin. The occasion for this visit may have been the completion of the transept of the church, directed by Jan II Keldermans. The Augustinian Black Sisters had a chapel in the church.<sup>58</sup> Margaret also visited nearby relics of the saint. The local chapter offered her a *vita* of the saint in a parchment manuscript. She probably became familiar with the Gummar cult in Ghent, where an altar in the Saint Nicholas church was devoted to him, close to those of Saint Barbara and Saint Anne. Margaret became a member of guilds devoted to both saints in 1472 and 1473, respectively. In 1496 she arranged to have Philip the Fair's marriage to Joanna of Castile celebrated in Saint Gummar. As dowager, she returned to Lier on October 11, 1477, to participate in the annual procession of Saint Gummar, who was especially worshiped by the unhappily married.<sup>59</sup>

3. Memling's famous painting *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* shows two ladies in adoration (fig. 9). A strong tradition identifies the left figure, representing Saint Catherine, as Mary of Burgundy, and the one on the right, Saint Barbara, as Margaret. The duchess's veneration for both saints can be confirmed in other ways. She retained patronage rights over the chapter of Saint Catherine in Voorn, and there may have been a *Life of Saint Catherine* among the works she commissioned from David Aubert at Ghent in 1475 and 1476 (Appendix no. 18). Catherine was revered as the protectress of young girls and married women, and especially of the distressed. Both Margaret and Mary were, as noted, members of the guild of Saint Barbara at Ghent. It seems plausible, therefore, that the two saints in Memling's painting bear portraits of Margaret and Mary. The association fits well with all the duchess's devotional practices. Moreover, recent excavations of Mary of Burgundy's remains in Bruges have proven that her skull matches the head on the statue on her tomb in the Church of Our Lady, giving us evidence of her physical appearance.<sup>60</sup>

Let us try to bring together all these observations. Margaret was an active bibliophile as a duchess, but as a dowager she invested almost exclusively in religious reform and in charity, even if the amount of her donations did not meet the standards set by King Donatus in Tondal's vision. She paid special attention to the education of orphans and saw to the education of the children born to Mary and Philip the Fair—both concerns possible compensations for her own childless state. That she would never bear children probably seemed ineluctable by 1472, after which time the duke met her only rarely. Her intense devotion to the Virgin and Saints Colette, Anne,

Barbara, Catherine, Agnes, and Gummar, not to mention her patron saint, Margaret of Antioch, all point in the same direction. Margaret of York's marriage to Charles turned out to be an unhappy one because they did not have any children. The duke kept an ever-increasing distance from his wife, being engaged totally, even obsessively, in warfare. Since Margaret so clearly selected her commissions of manuscripts for specific functions, and even had personal adaptations made, I would suggest that she read *The Visions of Tondal* with a highly subjective eye. The year 1474–75, in which the manuscript was completed, was also the time of the siege of Neuss and Charles's almost complete neglect of his spouse. *The Visions* deal with an all too worldly knight who is taught to focus on the welfare of his soul and especially on making peace with his enemy and devoting himself to charity and a faithful marriage. The manuscript is so extensively illuminated that it takes an outstanding place in the category of personal readings Margaret commissioned. Who else could be addressed by this subtle message than the chivalrous duke himself? *The Visions of Tondal* may thus have functioned as an ultimate attempt by lonely Margaret, at least in her prayers, to persuade her spouse to leave his belligerent life full of false appearances and to turn to spiritual values, as she did herself.

## Notes

- 1 M R Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre. Relations politiques et économiques entre les Pays Bas bourguignons et l'Angleterre 1435–1468* (Brussels, 1966), pp 411–24, WP Blockmans, ed., *Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen, 1467–1477* (Brussels, 1971), pp 28–29
- 2 Vaughan 1973, pp 44–48, 60, Prevenier/Blockmans 1985, pp 191–96, Weightman 1989, pp 30–45, 90
- 3 Weightman 1989, pp 63–65
- 4 J Bartier, *Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels, 1970), pp 114–16, Vaughan 1973 pp 49–53, Weightman 1989, pp 47–60
- 5 L Dhancens, "De Blijde Inkomst van Philips de Goede in 1458 en de plastische kunsten te Gent," *Academiae Analecta Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Klasse der Schone Kunsten* 48 (1987), pp 53–89. For the 1496 entry, see Prevenier/Blockmans 1985, p 275 and Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 D 5. For Charles's entry of 1515, see J Jacquot, "Panorama des fêtes et cérémonies du règne. Evolution des thèmes et des styles," *Fêtes de la Renaissance. II. Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris, 1960), pp 413–91, esp 413–18 and pls xi–xii, with references to Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod 2591, and the edition printed by Gilles de Gourmont (Paris, 1515)
- 6 S Dauchy, "Le douaire de Marguerite d'York, la minorité de Philippe le Beau et le Parlement de Paris 1477–1494," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire* 155 (1989) pp 51–55, 78–79. Vaughan 1973, p 258, reports that the Medici bank at Bruges, directed by Tommaso Portinari, had to advance to King Edward the first installment of 50,000 crowns. In March 1477, Duchess Mary restored to Margaret the part of her dowry that had been paid and cancelled the payments due on the balance.
- 7 Weightman 1989, pp 88–95
- 8 Vaughan 1973, pp 158–59, Weightman 1989, p 72
- 9 Vaughan 1973, pp 234–35
- 10 In November 1474, the Four Members of Flanders visited Margaret and Mary, who had both been sick in Brussels, where they resided from July to December of that year, see Blockmans (note 1), pp 231–33, H Vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Charles, duc de Bourgogne, Marguerite d'York et Marie de Bourgogne, 1467–1477* (Brussels, 1936), pp 63–64
- 11 Dauchy (note 6), p 65, repeated with some minor modifications in the act of March 10 1477, from which the last phrase between brackets was taken, Dauchy, pp 76–77
- 12 Blockmans (note 1), pp 245–48. idem, *De volksvertegenwoordiging in Vlaanderen in de overgang van middeleeuwen naar nieuwe tijden, 1384–1506* (Brussels, 1978), pp 614–15. All the principalities offered special grants for the duchess's losses in Male-Brabant, 4000 ryders (equivalent to 48 Flemish groats each), Valenciennes, 14,000 lbs (= 20 groats), see A Pinchart, *Inventaire des Archives des Chambres des Comptes*, vol 3 (Brussels, 1900), pp 15, 394–95, 407–08. The duchess had stayed at Male castle from January 29 to May 2, 1472, Vander Linden (note 10), pp 37–40

- 13 R Wellens, *Les Etats Generaux des Pays Bas des origines a la fin du regne de Philippe le Beau, 1464–1506* (Heule, 1974), pp 144–52
- 14 M A Arnould, “Les lende-mains de Nancy dans les ‘Pays de par deça’ (janvier-avril 1477),” in W P Blockmans, ed., *1477 Le privilege general et les privileges regionaux de Marie de Bourgogne pour les Pays Bas* (Kortrijk and Heule, 1985), pp 1–18
- 15 Dauchy (note 6), pp 64–80
- 16 Y Cazaux, *Marie de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1967), pp 240–51
- 17 Dauchy (note 6), pp 112–16, see also Albert Derolez’s essay, p 101, below
- 18 Weightman 1989, pp 134–39
- 19 London, British Library, Royal Ms 19 E V (418 leaves, 10 miniatures, marginal decoration), fol 367v In the text, the emperor is Trajan, the kneeling man Hadrian
- 20 W P Blockmans, “Autocratie ou polyarchie? La lutte pour le pouvoir politique en Flandre de 1482 a 1492, d’après des documents inédits,” *Bulletin de la Commission royale d’histoire* 140 (1974), pp 257–368, Dauchy (note 6), pp 56–63, 80–116
- 21 R Wellens, “La revolte brugeoise de 1488,” *Handelingen van het Genootschap ‘Societe d’emulation’ te Brugge* 102 (1965) pp 5–52, idem (note 13), pp 199–213, Weightman 1989, pp 164–65
- 22 Weightman 1989, pp 167, 191–97
- 23 Ibid., pp 169–83, H J Smit, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland II 1485–1585* (The Hague, 1942), no 74, document of September 18, 1493, trade boycott, no 96, trade agreement of February 24, 1496
- 24 This issue is discussed in P Burke, *The Italian Renaissance Culture and Society in Italy*, rev ed (Princeton, 1987), esp pp 88–93
- 25 Quoted in Chesney 1951, p 36
- 26 Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Rekenkamer (hereafter cited as BARA Rk), nos 8838–40 In 1477–78, the building expenses amounted to 696 lb out of total expenses of 3024 lb, 17 s, 5 d par Margaret’s *agentier*, Hyppolite de Berthoz, was given 1916 lb, 10 s, 4 d par (fols 41v–47r, 56v) R Wellens, “Travaux de restauration au château de la Salle a Binche sous Philippe le Beau et Marguerite d’York,” *Annales du Cercle archeologique de Mons* 63 (1958) p 131ff
- 27 BARA Rk, no 11613, fol 11r (first mention) and yearly repetitions further in that volume The master mason’s daily salary at Mechlin was 12 den brab in summer and 10 in winter from 1433 to 1488, 13½ and 12, respectively, from 1489 onward, see E Scholliers, “Salaires a Malines aux xv et xvii siècles,” in C Verlinden et al., eds., *Documents pour l’histoire des prix et salaires en Flandre et en Brabant*, vol 2b (Bruges, 1965), pp 1279, 1246 The maximum wages per year would thus be about 45 lb (=40 groats, 3 d brab =2 Flemish groats) For the jam maker, see Weightman 1989, p 125, who does not mention which pounds were meant If it were pounds parisis (=20 Flemish groats), the jam maker’s pension was three times that of Keldermans
- 28 In this context, see also the cults of Saint Elizabeth and Saint Walburga in G Buschan, *Über Medizinzauber und Heilkunst im Leben der Völker* (Berlin, 1942), pp 148–49
- 29 Galesloot 1879, pp 217–18, 237–38, 243
- 30 BARA Rk, no 8839, fol 39v (quotations), no 8840, fols 39v, 58r
- 31 BARA Rk, no 11613, fol 15r, for the quotation from the account for June 24, 1481, to January 5, 1482 For the required minimal bread consumption, see W P Blockmans and W Prevenier, “Poverty in Flanders and Brabant from the Fourteenth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century Sources and Problems,” *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 10 (1976), pp 20–22 An Antwerp Viertel measured about 80 litres One adult normally needed about 335 litres per year
- 32 Left panel with portraits of the donor and his wife ascribed to Hugo van der Goes
- 33 BARA Rk, no 8839, fol 39v, no 8840, fol 58r, Weightman 1989, p 201, Galesloot 1879, p 237, E Dhanens, “Le scriptorium des Hieronymites a Gand,” *Scriptorium* 23 (1969), pp 361–79, BARA Rk, no 7544, fol 9v
- 34 Bergen op Zoom, Gemeentelijke Archief dienst, Archieven Raad en Rekenkamer van de Markiezen, no 110, dated June 18, 1478 As the archivist WA van Ham kindly mentioned to me, in 1481–82 Margaret bought a house named “huis van Wedergraeete” on the Koudenberg at Brussels, in the neighborhood of the court and other noble houses such as that of the Ravenstein family, it had belonged to the Bergen family, to which she sold it again in 1483, see BARA, *Diverse Manuscripten*, no 236, fols 137–38, 151
- 35 Two copies of the text were in Margaret’s library Valenciennes, Bibliotheque Municipale, Ms 240 (Appendix no 15[c]), Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, Ms 9272–76 (Appendix no 21[b]) For further discussion of Margaret’s involvement in religious affairs, see Nigel Morgan’s essay in the present volume
- 36 W Kohl, E Persoons, and A G Weiler, eds., *Monasticon Windeshemense Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique*, special issue no 16, 3 vols (Brussels, 1976, 1980), vol 1, pp 64–65, in vol 3, pp 47 and 141, Margaret of York prompted the formation of a visiting committee to reform a convent near Paris in 1495, E de Moreau and A de Ghellinck, *Histoire de l’Eglise en Belgique Tome comple mentaire Circonscriptions ecclesiastiques, chapitres, abbayes, couvents en Belgique avant 1559* (Brussels, 1948), pp 474, 488–89, Galesloot 1879, pp 212–37, C Morlion, “De vroegste geschiedenis van het Gentse St Agneete convent (1434–1454),” *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheid kunde te Gent* 38 (1984), pp 31–33, W Lourdaux, “Het boekenbezit en het boekengebruik bij de Moderne Devoten,” in *Contributions a l’histoire des bibliothèques et de la lecture aux Pays Bas avant 1600*, as *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique*, special issue no 11 (Brussels, 1974), pp 272–73, idem, “Les Devots Modernes, renovateurs de la vie intellectuelle,” *Bydragen en mededelingen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 95 (1980), pp 279–97 Our remarks about the *Devotio Moderna* are at variance with Weightman 1989, p 198
- 37 Corstanje et al 1982, pp 145–53, E Dhanens, “Een ‘Maagschap van de H Anna’ in het derde kwart van de 15de eeuw,” *Academica Analecta Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Klasse der Schone Kunsten* 48 (1987), pp 118–19
- 38 Dhanens (note 37), p 116, A de Schryver, in Ghent 1975, vol 2, pp 374–75, P Trio, *De Gentse broederschappen (1182–1580) Ontstaan, naamgeving, materiele uitrusting, structuur, opheffing, en bronnen* (Ghent, 1990), pp 125–32 The manuscript may well have been taken to England by a refugee after the Spanish reconquest of Ghent in 1584
- 39 Trio (note 38), pp 133–35, and D H Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978)
- 40 Galesloot 1879, p 237
- 41 In preparing this essay, I used Nigel Morgan’s draft list of devotional texts, presented at the symposium This list is now incorporated into the Appendix of the present volume
- 42 Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, Ms 9296, see Appendix no 1
- 43 London, British Library, Add Ms 7970, see Appendix no 2 The frontispiece miniature represents the duchess, her coat of arms, and the initials CM An autograph note at the end dedicates the manuscript to Jeanne van Halewijn, lady of Wassenaar, in 1500
- 44 Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, Ms 9272–76, see Appendix no 21
- 45 Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, Ms 9305–06, see Appendix no 3
- 46 Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, Ms 9272–76, see Appendix no 21
- 47 Chesney 1951, pp 27, 32–39
- 48 De Schryver, in Ghent 1975, p 331, esp n 25
- 49 See Albert Derolez’s essay in the present volume for the Justinus text

- 50 In recent literature, see Dogaer 1975, Hughes 1984, Weightman 1989, chap 7
- 51 A Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcellis, Abbot of St Bavon's, Ghent, 1437-1508* (Ghent, 1979)
- 52 R de Keyser, "Het boekenbezit en het boekeengebruik in de seculiere kapittels van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de Middeleeuwen," *Contributions a l'histoire des bibliothèques* (note 36), pp 9-68, A Derolez, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii De middeleeuwse catalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden I Provincie West Vlaanderen* (Brussels, 1966), pp 123-37
- 53 For Margaret of Bavaria, see J Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique* (Paris, 1830), p 114ff, for Isabella of Castile, A Sarria Rueda et al, *Les rois bibliophiles* (Brussels, 1985), p 77
- 54 Many authors, following Dogaer and Hughes, mistakenly ignore the calendrical style in the Burgundian Netherlands, which begins the year at Easter Thus February and March 1474 (old style) have to be read as 1475 (new style), since Easter that year fell on April 10
- 55 Malibu 1990, pp 55-56
- 56 The manuscript traditions and Dutch texts of both *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* and *Tondal's Visions* have been studied by R Verdcy en and J Endepols, *Tondalus' Visioen en St Patricius' Vagevuur* (The Hague and Ghent, 1914-17), vol 1, pp 110-15, 133-62, 276-86, 298-310 A recent and far more thorough study is Palmer 1982, pp 1, 97-130, 363-76
- 57 Vaughan 1973, pp 69-70, Vander Linden (note 10), pp 62-63
- 58 K Breugelmans et al, *Vier historische steden atlas* (Brussels, 1990), pp 92, 97
- 59 Galesloot 1879, p 244 For the life and cult of Gummar, see J Pycke, in R Aubert, ed, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol 21 (Paris, 1986), pp 562-64, s v "Gommaire"
- 60 P A Janssens, "De identificatie van de hertogin Maria van Bourgondie," *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België* 43 (1981), pp 213-70