

**Appendix One. Princess of England, Duchess of Burgundy, *Madame la Grande*. A Chronology.**



## Appendix One.

(Note: the dates have all been adapted to the new style. The Burgundian Low Countries, mostly, held to Easter as the start of the new year.)

### 1446.

3 May. Margaret of York is born in Fotheringhay, the sixth child and third daughter of Richard, duke of York, and Cicely Neville.<sup>1</sup>

Post November. Margaret's father is dismissed from his post as lieutenant-general in France, where he had maintained English control over Normandy. He returns to England.

### 1447.

23 February. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester dies. Some suspect elements around the queen of complicity. Richard, duke of York, inherits Baynards, Gloucester's castle in London.

July. Birth of Margaret's brother, William, at Fotheringhay. He died soon after.

9 December. Richard, duke of York is made lieutenant-general of Ireland.

### 1448.

16 March. The English surrender Le Mans to the French.

7 November. Birth of Margaret's brother, John, at Neyte. He died soon after.

### 1449.

June. Margaret's parents travel to Ireland. It is highly likely that she accompanied them there.

2 October. Birth of Margaret's brother, George, in Dublin.

29 October. The English surrender Rouen, and lose Normandy.

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<sup>1</sup> Christine Weightman lends some credence to the idea that Margaret could have been born at Waltham Abbey. However, the Annals, which extend to 1447, are full of local news, but never once mention Margaret, or even a visit by Cicely, which surely would have been important enough to warrant a mention. *Weightman*, 6-10, Kingsford, C.L., *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, 350-4.

31 December. The French capture Harfleur.

#### 1450.

June-July. Cade's Rebellion takes place. The mob sacks Richard, duke of York's property in London, in spite of rumours of his involvement in the affair.

12 August. The French capture Cherbourg.

8 September. Richard, duke of York, returns to England. Around this time, Margaret's brother, Thomas, is born, who dies as an infant.

#### 1451.

29 March and 13 April. Cicrozso d' Pigli, the Medici's agent in Brugge, mentions the rumour of an impending marriage between Charles the Bold and a "figlia del ducha di Iorco".<sup>2</sup>

12 June. The French capture Bordeaux.

12 August. Bayonne surrenders to the French.

#### 1452.

2 March. York submits to royal authority at Dartford.

2 October. Birth of Margaret's brother, Richard, at Fotheringhay.

23 October. The English recapture Bordeaux.

#### 1453.

29 May. Constantinople falls to the Ottomans, ending the Byzantine Empire.

At Pentecost. The duke of Alençon proposes a marriage with a daughter of York, but the sources are not clear who is meant by this.<sup>3</sup>

Sometime this year, Margaret's sister, Ursula, is born, she dies young.

17 July. The French are victorious in the battle of Castillon, effectively ending English occupation in France.

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<sup>2</sup> Grunzweig, A. (ed), *Correspondance de la Filiale de Bruges des Medici*, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Waurin*, VI, 372.

1 August. Henry VI collapses.

13 October. Birth of Edward, son and heir to Henry VI.

19 October. Bordeaux falls to France and the English presence in Aquitaine ends.

#### **1454.**

The rumours about a wedding of Margaret's sister, Elizabeth, to Charles the Bold resurface. According to Olivier de la Marche, Philip the Good blocked Isabella of Portugal's wish for an Anglo-Burgundian wedding.

27 March. Margaret's father becomes the protector of the realm during Henry VI's insanity.

October. Margaret's future husband, Charles the Bold, marries Isabella de Bourbon.

Christmas. Henry VI recovers from his illness.

#### **1455.**

5 February. End of Richard, duke of York's protectorate. Margaret's father comes under increasing pressure from his enemies.

22 May. The first battle of St. Albans, in which Richard faces the party under the duke of Somerset. Somerset is killed and Richard captures Henry VI.

19 November. As Henry VI relapses into insanity, Margaret's father once more becomes the protector.

#### **1456.**

A letter to Sir John Fastolf reveals the extent of Cicely Neville's involvement with the management of the lands of the house of York in East Anglia.

Cecily Neville joins the recently founded guild of Corpus Christi in York.

25 February. Richard loses his post as protector.

14 September. Margaret of Anjou holds her royal entry into Coventry.

#### **1457.**

6 March. Richard is re-appointed as lieutenant-general of Ireland.

28 August. The French attack Sandwich.

**1458.**

25 March. The 'Love Day' at St Paul's, London. The Yorkists and the families of those killed at St Albans end their differences, for the time being.

**1459.**

23 September. The battle of Blore Heath. The conflict between Richard of York and the house of Lancaster is reignited.

12-13 October. The Rout of Ludford sees Richard, duke of York's army scattered by the Lancastrians. Henry VI's soldiers enter the castle at Ludlow and pillage the private quarters of Cicely Neville, who is maltreated.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that Margaret of York witnessed the scenes. Richard flees to Ireland, Edward and the earl of Warwick to Calais.

20 November. The parliament, meeting at Coventry serves a notice of attainder on Richard, duke of York.

6 December. Cicely and her younger children go to Coventry to submit to Henry VI.<sup>5</sup> Cicely is ordered into the care of, Anne, duchess of Buckingham, her sister, with Margaret, Richard, and George, and is granted an annuity.

**1460.**

26 June. Having landed in England, Edward, Warwick and Salisbury visit the shrine of St Thomas Becket in Canterbury.

2 July. Margaret's brother, Edward, and the earl of Warwick capture London.

10 July. Battle of Northampton. Edward and Warwick defeat and capture Henry VI.

8 September. Richard, duke of York, returns to England and claims the crown in parliament. This is ignored, but his attainder is quashed.

2 October. Margaret's sister, Elizabeth, marries John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk.

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<sup>4</sup> Riley, H.T. (ed), *Registra quorundam abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, I, 345.

<sup>5</sup> Gairdner, J. (ed), *The Paston Letters*, I, 499; "William Gregory's Chronicle". In "The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century", *Camden Society*, New Series, XXVII, (1876), 206.

12 October. Cicely, Richard, George, and Margaret reside in the Paston's palace in London,<sup>6</sup> and move to Baynards Castle somewhat later. This becomes the Yorkist main base in London.

31 October. Parliament appoints York heir designate to Henry VI.

30 December. The battle of Wakefield sees the destruction of the Yorkist armies. Margaret's father and her brother, Edmund, earl of Rutland, are killed. Rutland was murdered after the battle had ended.<sup>7</sup> Antonio della Torre reports to the duke of Milan of the terror that the news struck into the hearts of Richard, duke of York's family.<sup>8</sup>

## 1461.

2-3 February. Battle of Mortimer's Cross. Edward scores his first victory over the Lancastrian armies.

17 February. Second Battle of St Albans. The Yorkist army under Warwick is defeated. Henry VI is recaptured by the Lancastrians. Margaret's brothers, Richard and George, are sent to the bishop of Utrecht for their safety.<sup>9</sup>

4 March. Margaret's brother, Edward, is proclaimed king of England.

29-30 March. The battle of Towton. This bloody encounter destroys the Lancastrians. Edward is now in control of most of the country.

17 April. Richard and George are with Charles the Bold in Brugge. Rumours fly that one of them is to marry the duke's heiress, Mary of Burgundy.<sup>10</sup>

27 April. Entry of Edward IV into London, where the population welcomes him joyfully.<sup>11</sup>

1 June. Edward IV rewards his mother with large estates, including Fotheringhay. Margaret of York is still living with Cicely at this time. Margaret is given a pension of £40.

28 June. The coronation of Edward as king of England.

22 July. Louis XI becomes king of France upon his father's death.

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<sup>6</sup> Davis, N. (ed), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, II, 216.

<sup>7</sup> *Waurin*, II, 260 and ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, 95.

<sup>9</sup> Kingsford, C.L. (ed), *Chronicles of London*, 174.

<sup>10</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, 104.

<sup>11</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, 99.

## 1462.

23 January. Margaret is granted a £40 annuity from the Exchequer.<sup>12</sup>  
May. The last Lancastrian strongholds in Wales are subdued, except for Harlech, which holds out until 14 August 1468, after Margaret had left for Burgundy.

Birth of John de la Pole, son of Margaret's sister, Elizabeth.

25 October. Queen Margaret of Anjou lands with a small Lancastrian band near Bamburgh. From there she soon controls most of Northumberland.

## 1463.

January. The last Scottish and Lancastrian forces withdraw across the border. With the exception of Harlech, Margaret's brother controls his entire kingdom.

Edward IV pays for the reconstruction of Fotheringhay.

March. Treason allows the Lancastrians to regain control over northern Northumberland.

## 1464.

25 April. Battle of Hedgeley Moor, in which the rebels are routed.

1 May. Edward IV marries Elizabeth Woodville. According to the Milanese ambassador, it was a love match.<sup>13</sup>

15 May. The last Lancastrian rebels are destroyed in the battle of Hexham.

1 June. England and Scotland sign a fifteen-year truce.

July. The surrender of Bamburgh ends the Lancastrian presence in the north.

## 1465.

Margaret receives an annual pension of 400 marks from her brother.<sup>14</sup>

26 May. The coronation of Elizabeth Woodville as queen of England.

25 September. The death of Charles the Bold's wife, Isabella of Bourbon, opens up opportunities for a new Anglo-Burgundian alliance.

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<sup>12</sup> *CPR 1461-67*, 93.

<sup>13</sup> *Milanese Calendar*, 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Foedera*, XI, 540, and 551.

15 November. The treasurer of the Exchequer is ordered to pay Margaret her outstanding annuity.

11 December. Birth of Elizabeth, first child of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville.

#### 1466.

Margaret moves to Greenwich and the court of Elizabeth Woodville. There, the Bohemian embassy of Lev z Rožmitálu witnesses her dancing with the nobles of the court.

1 March. Guillaume de Clugny travels to England to explore the possibilities of an Anglo-Burgundian wedding between Charles the Bold and Margaret. However, she was recently betrothed to Don Pedro of Portugal.

29 June. Don Pedro of Portugal, claimant to the crown of Aragon and betrothed of Margaret of York, dies.<sup>15</sup>

23 October. Edward IV promises Charles the Bold his friendship and assistance.<sup>16</sup>

#### 1467.

January. Anthony Woodville heads an English embassy to Burgundy to explore the possibilities of a wedding.

February. A French embassy proposes several different candidates for Margaret's hand, including the Sforza duke of Milan.

Pentecost. Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, half-brother to Charles the Bold, and Anthony Woodville, lord Scales, fight at the famous tournament at Smithfield. It is regarded as a political statement by Philip the Good, who paid for Anthony's trip.<sup>17</sup>

15 June. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, dies in Brugge.

24 August. Margaret is granted £400 by the king.<sup>18</sup>

1 October. Margaret of York agrees to marry Charles the Bold at Kingston-upon-Thames. "In primo die mensis Octobris rex tenuit magnum consilium cum dominis apud Kynstone super Thamesiam, ubi domini Margareta, soror Regis Edwardi in

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<sup>15</sup> Ballard, M., *Anglo-Burgundian Relations*, 37.

<sup>16</sup> A.D.N. B 330, 16128.

<sup>17</sup> "Hearne's Fragment". In Bohn, J. (ed), *The Chronicles of the White Rose of York*, 18-9; *Olivier de la Marche*, III, 48-54.

<sup>18</sup> *CPR 1461-67*, 39.

praesentia dominorum agreavit se ad concludendum matrimonium cum domino Karolo duc Burgundiae”<sup>19</sup>.

October. Another Burgundian embassy, including Ferry de Clugny and Josse de Halewijn, travels to England to discuss the forthcoming wedding.

This year, Mary, second child of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, is born.

## 1468.

16 February. Richard Neville, bishop of Salisbury, the chief English negotiator, signs the wedding agreement in Brussels. Isabella of Portugal signs on behalf of Burgundy. Edward agrees to provide Margaret with a dowry of 200,000 *écus d'or* (£41,666 13s 4d).

14 March. Edward IV renews the Anglo-Burgundian alliance.

17 May. The Holy See approves the marriage, which was within the prohibited bounds of consanguinity.

June. Margaret's train is assembled. She received valuable silks and gold and silver, as well as £900 for her expenses.<sup>20</sup>

Friday 21 June. Margaret of York, riding pillion behind the earl of Warwick, and a large entourage, leave London for her wedding.

Saturday 22 June. Margaret and her family go on pilgrimage to St Thomas Becket's shrine in Canterbury, *en route* for Margate.

Friday 28 June. Margaret of York and her party leave Margaret on board the *New Ellen* from London, accompanied by thirteen more vessels, including the warships *St John* and *Mary*.

Saturday 29 June. Margaret of York lands in Sluis to marry Charles the Bold.

Sunday 3 July. Margaret marries Charles the Bold in Damme, in the house of the *baljuw*, Eustache Wyts. The festivities that follow in Brugge would become legendary, if only because of the successful attempt of the organiser, Olivier de la Marche, to publish his own achievements.

23 July. The new duchess of Burgundy visits Dendermonde, which forms part of her future dower. She participates in the final act of the construction of the collegiate church of Our Lady, the placing of the capstone, which bears her arms.<sup>21</sup> With

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<sup>19</sup> Stevenson, J. (ed), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth King of England*, II, 788.

<sup>20</sup> PRO Warrants for Issues E404 74/1/35 and 74/1/69.

<sup>21</sup> Dhanens, E., *Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen. vol. IV, Dendermonde*, 45.

Isabella of Portugal, she also inaugurates the new Brigittine convent, which Isabella had founded. Later, Margaret was to donate books to its library.

7 August. Charles the Bold assigns Margaret her dower.

14 October. Treaty of Péronne. The authority of the Parliament of Paris over Flanders and Artois is reduced to a minimum, but the Anglo-Burgundian alliance is emasculated.

27 October to 9 November. Charles the Bold's army sacks and destroys the city of Liège, which had risen up against Burgundian domination.

## **1469.**

June-July. First rebellion by the earl of Warwick, and George, duke of Clarence, against Edward IV.

3 July. Margaret receives the earl of Warwick in Gent.

26 July. Warwick and Clarence's men defeat the royal army at the battle of Edgecote.

29 July. Warwick's men capture the king.

The English Merchant Adventurers open a permanent office in Bergen op Zoom.

30 March. Margaret stands godmother to James, son of Mary, daughter of the king of Scots, and her husband Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran.

April. Sigismund of Tyrol approaches Charles and Margaret to discuss the possibility of a marriage between Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I. Charles buys the Upper Alsace from Sigismund, inaugurating his conflict with the Swiss Confederation.

2 August. Margaret receives the bishop of Rochester.

Mid-October. Edward IV regains his freedom and personal authority.

## **1470.**

31 January. Charles the Bold receives the Order of the Garter.

8 March. Margaret adds her signature to a communiqué by Charles for the first time since their wedding.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Paravicini, W., *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen*, I, 426.

March. Margaret and Charles attend the carnival of Brugge.

17 March. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Aardenburg.

12 April. Margaret visits the charterhouse of Scheut near Brussels, and pays for the construction of two cells.

14 April. Warwick flees England for Calais.

24 April. Margaret holds her first entry into Mechelen. The next day, she watches the town's main civic festival, the *Peisprocessie*.

11-21 June. Margaret sits at a banquet with the knights of the Golden Fleece in Middelburg, Flanders.

July. Charles the Bold sends a large fleet to combat the piracy of the earl of Warwick from Calais.

Summer. Foundation of the first Rosary Confraternity in Douai by Alanus de Rupe.

13 September. The earl of Warwick returns to England as the champion of the house of Lancaster.

2 October. Edward IV flees England with a small group of retainers, including Richard, duke of Gloucester, Anthony Woodville, and lord Hastings.<sup>23</sup> He lands on the coast of Texel. Margaret is involved in covert negotiations with the rebels.

13-14 November. Margaret and Mary go on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Halle.

15 November. Margaret and Mary hold an entry into Mons.

19 November. Margaret and Mary hold an entry into Douai.

26 December. Charles the Bold decides to support Margaret's exiled brother, Edward, when the new Lancastrian regime enters into an alliance with France.

## 1471.

2-6 January. The deposed Edward IV and Charles the Bold meet in Aire, with Margaret as mediator. Charles promises to help his brother-in-law recapture the English crown.

January-February. Anglo-Burgundian hostilities break out around Calais.

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<sup>23</sup> *Waurin*, V, 611.

12-14 February. Richard, duke of Gloucester, visits Margaret in Lille to discuss the planned attack against England.

Death of Thomas à Kempis in Zwolle. His *Imitatio Christi* formed a major segment of the intellectual inventory of Margaret of York's library.

2 March. Edward IV's fleet sails to England from Damme.<sup>24</sup>

14 April. Edward IV defeats the Lancastrians in the battle of Barnett, killing the earl of Warwick in the process.

4 May. The battle of Tewkesbury ends the threat to Edward IV's crown by Margaret of Anjou. Her son is murdered after the battle. The captive Henry VI dies in the Tower shortly after. Margaret's family now firmly controls the English crown.

Margaret and Mary join the Gent Confraternity of St Barbara.

17 June. Isabella of Portugal cedes her claim to the English crown by virtue of her Lancastrian descent to Charles the Bold.

20 June. Margaret and Mary go on pilgrimage to Our Lady at Halle.

16 July-20 December. Margaret and Mary's households are separated for the first time since her arrival in the Low Countries.

16 October. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Boulogne.

3 December. Charles the Bold becomes governor of Gelre.

10 December. With Isabella of Portugal critically ill, Margaret handles all political affairs, as Charles and Mary attend the dowager.

17 December. Isabella of Portugal dies.

## 1472.

6 April. Margaret receives the English ambassador.

17 April. The castle at Male burns down. Charles and Margaret barely escape with their lives.

Edward IV grants his sister extensive trading privileges as a reward for her help during his exile.

2 May. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady at Aardenburg.

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<sup>24</sup> Warkworth, J., "A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth", *Camden Society*, X, (1839), 13.

13 June. Mary accepts her betrothal to Nicholas, duke of Calabria and Lorraine.

Summer. Franco-Burgundian conflict flares up upon the death of Louis XI's brother, the duke of Guyenne.

12 August. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady at Halle.

11 November. Treaty of Compiègne ends Franco-Burgundian war.

13 December. Charles buys the duchy of Gelre.

### 1473.

The children of the duke of Gelre are placed at Margaret's court.

Late January. Lord Hastings, accompanied by Sir John Paston, visit Charles the Bold and Margaret in Gent, with an eye on negotiating a combined Anglo-Burgundian offensive against France.<sup>25</sup>

23 February. Charles the Bold becomes duke of Gelre.

The sanitary system of the palace in Gent is rebuilt on Margaret's orders.

1-8 May. The knights of the Golden Fleece hold their chapter meeting in Valenciennes. Charles and Margaret both attend.

14 June. Margaret acts on her husband's behalf with the Estates of Flanders.<sup>26</sup>

20-21 June. Margaret hosts the ambassador of England.

July. Mary's fiancé, Nicholas, duke of Calabria and Lorraine, dies.

30 September-23 November. Charles the Bold and Emperor Frederick III meet at Trier to discuss a royal crown for the duke. The plan fails when Frederick flees Trier. A betrothal between Mary and Maximilian was agreed upon. A potential wedding between Mary and George, duke of Clarence, was also rumoured.

1 October. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Halle.

1 October-25 November. Charles meets with Emperor Frederick III in Trier to discuss a royal crown.

2 October. Margaret visits the charterhouse at Hérinnes for the first time.

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<sup>25</sup> Davis, N. (ed), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, II, 455.

<sup>26</sup> Blockmans, W.P. (ed), *Handelingen van de Leden van de Staten van Vlaanderen*, 188.

December. Ordinances of Thionville. Charles the Bold carries through far-reaching centralisation of his lands. A new high court of appeal is founded, with its seat in Mechelen.

#### 1474.

6 January. Margaret donates a substantial sum of money to the Dominican friary in Gent for the construction of a new west-wing and a new library.

Start of the reported miracles by the relics of St Gummarus in Lier.

7 February. Margaret and Mary go on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Aardenburg.

11 February. Guillaume de la Baume, *seigneur d'Illeins*, and Margaret's *chevalier d'honneur*, carries the flag before the cortege carrying the remains of Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal to be interred in the Charterhouse in Champmol, near Dijon.

6 March. The English ambassador visits Margaret in Gent. This is the beginning of the planned Anglo-Burgundian attack on France.

25 July. Charles the Bold recognises Edward IV as king of France.

31 July. Start of the siege of Neuss.

17 November. A deputation of the Estates of Flanders visits Margaret in Brussels to discuss her request for armour for the Burgundian army.<sup>27</sup>

#### 1475.

8 April. Margaret of York is raising troops in Flanders to serve in the army in the Rhineland.<sup>28</sup>

March. Lord Dacre visits Margaret in Gent with the purpose of ending the siege of Neuss and getting the invasion of France underway.

Late April-May. Margaret is in charge of the defence of Hainaut against French aggression.<sup>29</sup>

15 May. Margaret and chancellor Hugonet appeal to the Estates of Flanders for more men and weapons for the Burgundian army.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 230-1.

<sup>28</sup> Dadizeele, J. van, *Mémoires de/Gedenkschriften van*, 47-8.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Blockmans, W.P. (ed), *Handelingen van de Leden van de Staten van Vlaanderen*, 244. The request was made by several members of Margaret's affinity: Jacob Donche, Jean Gros, and Louis, *heer of Gruuthuse*, amongst them. Ibid.

25 May. Charles writes to Margaret and the chancellor Huguenot in Gent to inform her about the peace he has signed with Emperor Frederick III before Neuss. This ends his Rhineland campaign. It also indicates her central role in the Burgundian government at this time.<sup>31</sup>

Margaret's quarters in the palace in Gent are renovated. She also has a new garden laid out.

4 June. Margaret orders the Estates of Flanders to man the frontier castles with France.<sup>32</sup>

9 June. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Halle.

5 July. The English army lands in Calais.

6 July. Margaret is entertained by Edward IV in Calais.

14-18 July. Richard, duke of Gloucester, and George, duke of Clarence, are entertained by Margaret in Saint-Omer as the English invasion of France gathers pace.

12 July. Charles the Bold finally leaves the town of Neuss with his army.

14-18 July. Charles the Bold meets with Edward IV in Calais.

29 August. Peace of Picquigny ends the war between France and England, and turns Edward IV into a pensioner of Louis XI. The same day Margaret goes on pilgrimage to St Gummarus in Lier.

The death of Guillaume le Vasseur, confessor to Margaret of York since 1468, and an important spiritual councillor to the duchess.

Margaret attends the chapter meeting of the Observant Dominican *Congregatio Hollandica* in Lille.

7 September, Jacob Sprenger and Michael Francisci erect the Cologne Confraternity of the Rosary. Alanus de la Roche, founder of the Rosary, dies in Zwolle.

September. Margaret travels to Our Lady of Aachen on a pilgrimage.

30 November. The Burgundians capture Nancy.

1 December. Papal dispensation for a marriage between Mary and Maximilian is issued.

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<sup>31</sup> Paravicini, W., *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen*, II, 311.

<sup>32</sup> Blockmans, W.P. (ed), *Handelingen van de Leden van de Staten van Vlaanderen*, 248.

1476.

2 March. The Swiss shatter the Burgundian army in the battle of Granson.

28 March. Margaret of York writes to Claude de Neufchâtel, *Stadhouder* of Luxemburg, to tell him to convene the Estates of Luxemburg to vote for extra war contributions.<sup>33</sup>

5 April. Charles the Bold writes to Margaret of York, Huguenot, and Adolf of Kleef, with a request for more ordinance.<sup>34</sup>

13 April. Charles the Bold writes to Margaret and Humbercourt from Lausanne, to ask them to organise the war effort in the Low Countries.<sup>35</sup>

24 April. The Estates of Flanders send a deputation to Margaret of York to hear the requests she is to make on behalf of Charles the Bold.<sup>36</sup>

26 April. Charles the Bold has written to Margaret of York, Huguenot, and Adolf of Kleef to convene the Estates General in Gent.<sup>37</sup> They meet under Margaret's presidency.

30 April. The appointment of Jacob Donche as Margaret's personal representative in Dendermonde and the rest of Flanders. This heralds the start of a long career in Margaret's service.

April-May. In Lausanne, envoys of Charles the Bold and Emperor Frederick III agree to a wedding between Mary and Maximilian.

15 May. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Halle and to Our Lady of Vilvoorde.

15 May. Charles the Bold writes to Margaret from Lausanne, asking her to increase his military supplies.<sup>38</sup>

24 May. The Estates General meet to discuss the demands made by Margaret and Mary on behalf of Charles the Bold.

Margaret and Mary join the Gent Confraternity of St Anna.

22 June. Battle of Murten. The Swiss once more defeat the Burgundian army.

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<sup>33</sup> Paravicini, W., *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen*, II, 388-9.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 400.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 377.

<sup>36</sup> Blockmans, W.P. (ed), *Handelingen van de Leden van de Staten van Vlaanderen*, 278.

<sup>37</sup> Paravicini, W., *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen*, II, 401.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 388-9.

1 July. Charles receives the second instalment of Margaret's dowry from Edward. He still owes the Burgundian 100,000 *écus d'or*. Another 15,000 are paid at some time between this date and the duke's death.

19 September. Margaret entertains the *Vier Leden* of Flanders in Gent.

5 October. Duke René of Lorraine recaptures his capital of Nancy.

October. Margaret attends the chapter meeting of the Observant Dominican *Congregatio Hollandica* in Haarlem.

23 October. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to Our Lady of 's-Gravenzande, whilst on a fund-raising journey in Holland.

October. Margaret of York inaugurates the Brigittine convent in Gouda, having made substantial contributions to its cost.<sup>39</sup>

11-14 November. Margaret receives an English embassy in Gent.

## 1477.

5 January. The death of Charles the Bold on the battlefield at Nancy, fighting the Swiss.

15 January. Rumours of Charles's death reach Margaret and Mary in Gent.

24 January. Maximilian writes to Mary that he still considers their betrothal valid.

25 January. Margaret and Mary openly acknowledge the death of Charles by going into mourning. In Mechelen, Dendermonde, and Margaret's other dower towns, the churches ring their bells in mourning.

26 January. Mary and Margaret call the Estates General to Gent.<sup>40</sup>

28 January. Mary promises that Margaret will receive her dower.

3 February. Mary confirms Margaret in her dower of Mechelen, Dendermonde, and Oudenaarde.

February and the months following. French troops ravage her southern dower, permanently occupying her lands in the duchy of Burgundy, and inflicting immense damage on Cassel, Le Quesnoy, Dendermonde, Oudenaarde, and Binche.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Nyberg, T., *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*, 205.

<sup>40</sup> Cuvelier, J. (ed), *Actes des États Généraux des Anciens Pays-Bas*, I, 274.

<sup>41</sup> An embassy of Edward IV to Louis XI on Margaret's behalf in April 1478, described the damage as follows: the *Kastellerij* of Oudenaarde and all its villages had been destroyed and burned; the land and *prévôté* of Binche had been burned; the *prévôté* of Le Quesnoy had been destroyed, and the French

11 February. Mary abolishes most of the centralising policies of her father.

15 February. Georg Hessler and the bishop of Metz reach Margaret on an embassy from Emperor Frederick III.

9 March. A letter to Louis XI reveals the new power structure in Burgundy. Signatories are Mary, Margaret, Philip of Ravenstein, the chancellor Hugonet, and Humbercourt.<sup>42</sup>

10 March. Mary grants Margaret the dower lands of Chaussin and La Perrière. These are in the duchy of Burgundy, then under French occupation. She also gives Margaret lordship over Cassel and the castles of La Motte-au-Bois and Nieppe.

Shortly after 10 March. Margaret and Ravenstein are sent away from Gent, and are separated from Mary by the rebels.<sup>43</sup>

14 March. Hugonet and Humbercourt are arrested by Gent rebels and tortured.

26 March. Margaret writes to Frederick III that the wedding between her stepdaughter and the Emperor's son is the only option as far as she and Mary were concerned.

3 April. Rebels in Gent decapitate Guillaume Hugonet and Guy de Brimeu. The dynasty loses two of its main props. Margaret arrives in Mechelen.

21 April. Mary and Maximilian are married by proxy in Gent.<sup>44</sup>

Margaret attends the chapter meeting of the Observant Dominican *Congregatio Hollandica* in Gent.

Early May. James III of Scotland writes to Edward IV to ask for Margaret's hand in marriage for his brother, the duke of Albany. The offer is rejected on the grounds that it was tradition in England that none should marry within a year of widowhood. More likely, Edward realised he could not compel his sister to do anything.<sup>45</sup>

30 May. Although Edward IV had not paid Margaret's dower in full, she receives all her lands at the order of Mary of Burgundy.

June. Josse de Lalaing accompanies Margaret to Brussels, and there swears an oath of allegiance on the dowager's behalf to Mary of Burgundy.

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were still occupying the town; the dower lands in the duchy of Burgundy had been occupied; the village of Cassel had been burned and was still occupied. Plancher, U., *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, IV, CCXI; Münch, E., *Maria von Burgund*, II, 74-6.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 283.

<sup>43</sup> *Commynes*, II, 203; *Haynin*, II, 231.

<sup>44</sup> *Dagboek*, I, 252; *Excellente cronike*, f. clxxxiiij.

<sup>45</sup> Ellis, H. (ed), *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, 16-7.

25 June. Mary holds her *Blijde Inkomst* in Mechelen.

27 June. The duke of Gelre is killed in battle against the French at Tournai. He had tried to marry Mary of Burgundy.

28 June. Mary grants Margaret the lands of Le Quesnoy and Binche and those of Voorne and Brielle.

5 July. Maximilian reaches Liège.

11 July. Maximilian is in Brussels.

16 and 17 July. Maximilian and Margaret meet in Dendermonde.

19 August. Maximilian and Mary get married in Gent.

27 August. Maximilian and Mary confirm Margaret in all her dower lands.

15 September. Margaret promises Maximilian her support and loyalty.

11 October. Margaret goes on pilgrimage to St Gummarus in Lier.

14 October. Mary of Burgundy has her *Blijde Inkomst* in Lier, accompanied by Margaret, who also prays at the shrine of St Gummarus.

18 November. The dowager donates several stained glass windows representing the house of Burgundy to the St Rombout's church in Mechelen. That day she also buys the palace of the bishop of Cambrai and seven adjacent houses to construct a new palace.

3 December. The death of Laurent Muschelede, the influential prior of the charterhouse of Hérinnes, and spiritual father to Margaret of York.

11 December. Mary and Margaret give their approval to the *Groot Privilege*, undoing much of Charles the Bold's centralisation drive.

## **1478.**

3 January. Margaret's last recorded pilgrimage to Lier, with Maximilian, Mary of Burgundy, and with Anthony, the Great Bastard.

9 January. Maximilian I holds his entry in Mechelen.

18 February. George, duke of Clarence, is executed in England.

1 May. The knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece meet for the chapter in Brugge.

22 June. The birth of Philip the Fair, in Brugge. He is named after his grandfather. Six days later Margaret carries him to the baptismal font.

11 July. The French leave Margaret's dower town of Le Quesnoy.<sup>46</sup>

September. Margaret and Maximilian attend the Estates of Flanders.<sup>47</sup> That month she buys the late chancellor Hugonet's tapestries in Antwerp.

13 December. Maximilian, accompanied by Margaret of York, holds his *Blijde Inkomst* in Lier.

## 1479.

18 January. The *Blijde Inkomst* of Mary and Maximilian in Gent.

3 April. The town of Binche and the prince-bishop of Liège are involved in a dispute over the relics of St Ursmer. Margaret backs her dower town, which eventually wins. She also gives the church of St Ursmer a precious reliquary of the Holy Cross.

Easter. The relics of St Rombout are shown in Mechelen, which draws a large crowd of pilgrims. The dowager had been instrumental in the organisation of the event.

June. Louis XI orders the wholesale deportation of the population of Arras for their loyalty to the Burgundian dynasty.

June. Margaret buys two houses in Oudenaarde.

18 June. Margaret appoints Henri de Glymes as her court chaplain.

Margaret of York, on a fund-raising tour of her dower towns to contribute to the war against France, tries out a serpentine and damages a house in Brielle. That year the French target the Brielle herring fleet off their coast.

7 August. Maximilian and the Flemish militia inflict a severe defeat on the French at the battle of Guinegate. Although not decisive, this heralded the end of a genuine threat to the continued existence of the dynasty.

September. A letter by Maximilian to Margaret of York shows the extent to which the town of Mechelen was helping Margaret to guard her other dower lands, and her rather substantial contribution to the war effort of the dynasty.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> "Histoire des Païs-Bas depuis 1477 jusqu'en 1492". In Smet, J.J. de, (ed), *Receuil des chroniques de Flandres*, III, 695.

<sup>47</sup> Blockmans, W.P. (ed), *Handelingen van de Leden van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone*, 48-9.

<sup>48</sup> "Lettre de Maximilien à Marguerite d'York", *BCRH*, II (1851), 276-7.

October. Extensive renovations are carried out in Margaret's palace in Brielle, including the construction of a tennis court. This month the two-year reconstruction of the town's defences under Margaret's auspices also comes to an end.

## 1480.

10 January. The birth of Margaret of Austria in Brussels. Again, Margaret stands as godmother.

Easter. Margaret and Mary watch the *Peisprocessie* in Mechelen. This was also the second year of the public showing of the relics of St Rombout in Mechelen. Margaret, Mary and many of the Burgundian nobility and Church leaders attend the opening of the reliquary.

20 April. Margaret exiles several members of the bowmen guild of Brielle for their part in riots involving the convent of St Catherine, and their aggression against Jacob Donche and Jan III de Glymes, sent by her to investigate the troubles.

14 May. The young Archduke Philip the Fair is brought to Mechelen to hold his entry.

17 May. Election of Henri de Glymes as bishop of Cambrai.

7 June. Margaret leaves Brugge, "met 50 peerden ende met hangende vergouden waghene, ende met twalf witte aggeneyen, ende alle met ghetugen van rood gouden laken, ende op elc een dienende vrouwe".<sup>49</sup>

24 June. At Calais, Margaret embarks for England on an embassy to persuade Edward IV to take up arms against France. The mission is only partially successful, as Edward is keen not to jeopardise his French pension. She is accompanied by her *chevalier d'honneur*, Guillaume de la Baume and Jean Gros. They manage to negotiate a large trading concession for the dowager.

Summer. In Brielle, rioting breaks out during the competition of the bow guild.

20 July. Edward holds a banquet in honour of Margaret and Cicely Neville. It is attended by Richard, duke of Gloucester, their sister Elizabeth, and all other members of the house of York.

6 September. Margaret returns from England and enters Brugge.<sup>50</sup>

1 October. Consecration of Henri de Glymes as bishop of Cambrai.

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<sup>49</sup> "with 50 horses and in a suspended gilded wagon, carried by twelve white palfreys, all covered with crimson gold cloth, with on each a serving woman". *Het boeck van al 't gene datter gheschiedt is binnen Brugghe*, 22.

<sup>50</sup> *Het boeck van al 't gene datter gheschiedt is binnen Brugghe*, 25.

25 November. Margaret visits the Ter Duinen Abbey, and helps in the negotiations between Maximilian and the envoys of Louis XI.<sup>51</sup>

#### 1481.

20 January. The anti-Habsburg Hoek party captures the towns of Utrecht and Amersfoort. Bishop David of Burgundy asks Maximilian for military assistance.

Easter. Margaret adjudicates on the troubles of the previous year in Brielle.

6 May. Margaret joins the knights of the Golden Fleece for the chapter meeting in 's-Hertogenbosch, where she presents Philip the Fair.

10 September. Birth of the third child of Mary and Maximilian, François. He dies after only two months.

#### 1482.

27 March. Mary of Burgundy dies after a hunting accident, when she fell off her horse. Maximilian becomes the regent of the Low Countries.

28 March. Margaret has requiem masses celebrated for Mary's soul in Mechelen.

The first devotions to the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary spring up, some in Margaret's dower land of Voorne.

3 April. Margaret attends the funeral of Mary in the church of Our Lady in Brugge.

11 April. Margaret organises the defences of Le Quesnoy against French aggression.

28 April. The Estates General meet in Gent to discuss the regency.

May. The French attack Artois.

9 May. The knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece have their chapter meeting in 's-Hertogenbosch. Margaret of York introduces the young Philip the Fair as a member. Her *chevalier d'honneur*, Guillaume de la Baume, and Jan III de Glymes, a key member of her affinity, also join.

June. Richard, duke of Gloucester leads the English army against Scotland and captures Berwick-upon-Tweed (24 August).

Margaret of York and Henri de Glymes manage to impose reform on the *Blijdenberg* priory in Mechelen.

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<sup>51</sup> *Chronique des Dunes*, 558.

17 July. Gent, Ieper, and Brugge rise against Maximilian's regency.

Maximilian grants Margaret the income from all the lands forfeited from the Gent rebels.

July. The laying of the foundation stone of the Observant Franciscan friary of Greenwich. Margaret had been active on the friars' behalf, and several Franciscans from the Low Countries went to populate the friary.

7 August. The Estates of Brabant and Mechelen meet in Lier, and are chaired by Margaret of York.

13 August. Prince-bishop Louis de Bourbon of Liège, brother-in-law of Charles the Bold, dies in the battle of Huy. At his side, dies Michael de Glymes, brother of Henri and Margaret's negotiations partner in England in 1480.

September. The Observant Dominicans are forbidden to preach in Gent, and Jan Uytenhove, the vicar-general of the *Congregatio Hollandiae*, is imprisoned.

5 December. Margaret, accompanied by amongst others Engelbrecht II of Nassau, Henri de Glymes, and Josse de Lalaing, represents Maximilian at the Estates of Flanders.<sup>52</sup>

23 December. Maximilian signs a peace treaty with France at Arras, effectively acknowledging the loss of the duchy of Burgundy. The infant Margaret of Austria is sent to France as the fiancée of the Dauphin. Margaret receives 20,000 *écus d'or* in compensation for her lost dower in the duchy of Burgundy.<sup>53</sup>

### 1483.

9 January. Maximilian restores Burgundian control in Liège.

10 January. The Estates of Flanders recognise Philip the Fair, and deny Maximilian's regency. Flanders is lost to the dynasty, and Margaret's dower lands there are occupied by rebels.

9 April. Death of Edward IV.

26 April. Margaret receives a papal bull to establish a convent of Poor Clares in Brielle.

A delegation from Brielle complains to Margaret about the troubles caused by pirates. The dowager assists her town financially to combat the problem.

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<sup>52</sup> Blockmans, W.P. (ed), *Handelingen van de Leden van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone*, 250-1.

<sup>53</sup> *Molinet*, I, 389.

5 June. Maximilian signs an accord with the Estates of Flanders at Hoogstraten, recognising the regency council.

26 June. Richard, duke of Gloucester, proclaims himself king of England.

6 July. Richard III is crowned king. The two sons of Edward IV disappear.

5 August. Josse de Lalaing is killed in the assault on Utrecht. His son, Antoine, is sent to Margaret's court in Mechelen. Later that month, Maximilian captures the town.

31 August. Louis XI, king of France and adversary of Margaret of York, dies.<sup>54</sup>

September. The council of Burgundy meets under Maximilian's and Margaret's auspices to discuss the aftermath of Louis XI's death.

7 October. The death of Ferry, cardinal de Clugny, bishop of Tournai. He had been one of Margaret's main allies.

October. Maximilian denounces the treaty he had made with the Estates of Flanders in Hoogstraten, and claims the regency for himself. They turn to France for help, but in vain.

#### **1484.**

February. Margaret helps the Augustinians to found the Bethlehem priory at Zoutleeuw.

31 March. Richard III's only son and heir, Edward, dies.

May. Jan III de Glymes attends Richard III at York.

8 June. Margaret is host to Maximilian and Anthony, the Great Bastard, in Mechelen.<sup>55</sup>

14-22 July. Richard III holds his formal entry into York. There he entertains Jan III de Glymes and Niclas von Popplau.

11 November. Michael Francisci is elected vicar-general of the *Congregatio Hollandicae*.

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<sup>54</sup> It was noted that at various points, Louis XI had intended to destroy Margaret. Davis, N. (ed), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, II, 419.

<sup>55</sup> Gachard, L.-P., "Itinéraire de Maximilien. Archiduc d'Autriche, roi des Romains, duc de Bourgogne etc. etc., dans les années 1484, 1486 et 1488", *Collection des voyages des souverains de Pays-Bas*, I, 104, n. 2.

26 November. Maximilian captures Dendermonde from the Flemish rebels. Andries vander Meulne and Jean de Douvrin, members of Margaret's affinity, help to secure the surrender.

#### 1485.

5 January. Maximilian captures Oudenaarde from the Flemish rebels.

Richard III publishes an ordinance to improve the harbour facilities at Scarborough. Margaret was later to claim the port as part of the deal made with Perkin Warbeck.

19 April. Margaret secures papal permission for the foundation of a Brigittine convent in Brielle.<sup>56</sup>

27 April. Margaret inaugurates a convent for repentant prostitutes in Mons.

22 June. Maximilian holds his entry in Brugge and is recognised as regent.

28 June. Treaty of Sluis. The Estates of Flanders recognise Maximilian's regency.

7 July. Maximilian holds his entry in Gent and is recognised as regent.

July. Margaret chairs a meeting of the Estates of Flanders in Dendermonde.

12 July. The young Philip the Fair, released by the rebels, is sent under the escort of Philip of Ravenstein and Olivier de la Marche to Dendermonde, and on to Margaret's court in Mechelen, where he is to be raised.

22 August. Richard III is killed during the battle of Bosworth. The Tudors displace the house of York on the English throne.

1 September. A grand council meets in Margaret's palace in Mechelen under the presidency of Maximilian. They debate the reform of abuses in benefices, and the current political situation.<sup>57</sup>

September. A deputation of the Oudenaarde St Sebastian guild of archers comes to Mechelen to petition Margaret for her approval of their new statutes. This is but one example of the hands-on approach of the dowager in the running of her dower lands.

12 October. Henry VII signs a truce with France, fuelling Burgundian suspicion of the new English king.

October. Margaret accompanies Philip the Fair for his *Joyeuse Entrée* in Binche.

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<sup>56</sup> Nyberg, T., *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*, 218.

<sup>57</sup> *Galesloot*, 274.

## 1486.

Margaret is approached for the first time to assist in the foundation of a charterhouse in Leuven.

16 February. Maximilian is elected King of the Romans.

4 April. Maximilian is crowned King of the Romans in Aachen.

Easter. Francis, viscount Lovell, rises in rebellion against Henry VII.

28 May. The French renew their war with Burgundy.

June. Henry VII confirms Cicely Neville in all her estates.

1 July. Lambert Simnel is in Mechelen.

9 July. Maximilian returns to Mechelen. Soon after, Emperor Frederick III comes to Mechelen.

2 October. Margaret of York accompanies Philip the Fair for his *Blijde Inkomst* in Lier.

13 October. Frederick III attends mass with Margaret at the Bethanië convent.

## 1487.

This year, Margaret donates a stained glass window to the St Rombout's church in Mechelen, depicting her husband and herself.

February. The fugitive viscount Lovell, and Margaret's nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, take refuge at her court in Mechelen.

5 March. Margaret visits Brugge, and hosts a banquet for the well-born women of the town on behalf of Maximilian.

17 March. Margaret chaired a meeting of the Hainaut Estates in Mons.

22 March. Margaret attends the requiem mass for Mary of Burgundy in the church of Our Lady in Brugge.

The town of Mechelen contributes to Margaret's military activities against Henry VII.

Spring. The French attack Francophone Flanders, and defeat and capture Engelbrecht II of Nassau. At the same time, a flotilla takes viscount Lovell and the earl of Lincoln to Ireland.

May. Henry VII strips Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Edward IV, of her lands.

24 May. Lambert Simnel is crowned in Dublin.

16 June. Battle of Stoke, where Henry VII defeats the Yorkists, and their Burgundian supporters.

## 1488.

9 January. The Flemish renew their rebellion against Maximilian.

3 February. Maximilian is captured in Brugge and is incarcerated.

The chronicler and *rethoricien* Olivier de la Marche leaves Margaret's service. He had been her *maître d'hôtel*, and now joined the household of Philip the Fair. He had been in Margaret's vicinity since 1477.

28 February. Margaret calls the Estates General to Mechelen to discuss the imprisonment of Maximilian.

14 March. The Burgundians lose control over Liège.

Henri de Glymes returns from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

2 May. Margaret is awarded the income from those lordships confiscated from the rebels in Gent and Brugge by Philip the Fair and Frederick III. This was compensation for the income lost from the occupation of all her Flemish dower lands during the troubles.

16 May. Maximilian I's imprisonment ends when his father and an army from the *Reich* come to his assistance. He promises a regency council.

Rumour has it that Henry VII is planning to send a fleet against Margaret's dower of Voorne and Goedereede.

9 June. Maximilian repudiates the regency council. Loyalists like Louis, *heer* of Gruuthuse, and Philip of Ravenstein join the Flemish rebels.

24 June. A new Hoek uprising breaks out in Holland.

An English herald comes to Mechelen with a peace proposal from Henry VII.

September. Southern Brabant and Namur join the Flemish rebels. Habsburg power is now restricted to northern Brabant, parts of Hainaut, and Zeeland.

11 September. Margaret entertains the emperor Frederick III.

18 September. Maximilian retakes Namur.

18 October. The rebels capture Brussels.

### **1489.**

February. Engelbrecht II and Albrecht of Saxony capture Artois. Margaret and Philip the Fair visit the recently re-conquered Namur.

April. Henry VII supplies Maximilian with 2,000 archers and 1,000 pikemen.

23 April. After a failed uprising against Henry VII in northern England, its ringleader, John Egremont, flees to Margaret's court.

26 May. The Burgundian fleet destroys that of the rebels on the river Lek, and separates the uprisings in Holland and the south.

June. The Habsburg army takes Diksmuide, where the English troops distinguish themselves by their brutality.

22 July. The Treaty of Frankfurt ends French involvement with the civil war in Flanders and regulates the relations with Bretagne.

14 August. Albrecht of Saxony ends rebellion in southern Brabant.

1 September. The rebels under Philip of Ravenstein are left with only Brugge and Sluis. Gent also still holds out.

1 October. The Treaty of Monthil-lez-Tours is signed, in which Flanders recognises Maximilian as regent. Brugge and Gent do not sign.

November. Margaret visits Engelbrecht II of Nassau in Breda.

26 November. Burgundian control over Liège is restored.

10 December. The town of Leuven approves the construction of a new charterhouse there. It was to become a symbol of Margaret's affinity.

### **1490.**

Guillaume de la Baume, one time *chevalier d'honneur* of Margaret of York, dies in France.

The death of Jehan de Brayna, the prior of the Dominican friary in Brussels and Margaret's confessor.

8 February. Maximilian exempts Brielle from taxation for the duration of Margaret's life, at her request.

Jan Briart van Ath, a leading humanist, is appointed as Margaret's court chaplain.

11 September. Margaret visits Mons, where she possesses a house.

September. Henry VII sends troops to assist Maximilian against the rebels in Flanders as part of a treaty against the French in Brittany and Flanders.

29 November. The Habsburg armies take Brugge. This is followed by the Peace of Damme.

#### 1491.

13 January. Henri de Glymes writes a new set of statutes for the Augustinian nuns of Dendermonde, at the request of *Madame la Grande*. The nuns had fled to safety within the town walls during the civil wars of the 1480's.<sup>58</sup>

Perkin Warbeck is active in Ireland, on behalf of France.

Engelbrecht II of Nassau, Maximilian I's loyal commander in the Low Countries, attempts to gain control over Mary of Burgundy's children from Margaret. The citizens of Mechelen, under Filips Keerman, thwart his plans.

The *Zwarte Zusters* settle in Dendermonde, with Margaret's assistance.

Workmen restore and embellish Margaret's residence in Binche.

23-29 May. The Order of the Golden Fleece holds its chapter in the St Rombout's church in Mechelen. Margaret observes the tournament.

18 June. Adriaan Floriszoon receives his doctorate in theology from the University of Leuven, for which Margaret had paid.

10 July. Gent rebels capture Hulst.

12 September. Margaret receives the son of the Byzantine emperor. The son in question was Andreas, son of Thomas Palaeologus, the brother of the last ruling emperor, Constantine XI, and considered the rightful emperor in the west after the fall of Constantinople.

13 December. Charles VIII of France and Anne, duchess of Brittany, marry. She had previously married Maximilian by proxy, but this was disregarded. This brings England and the Low Countries even closer together.

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<sup>58</sup> Donckt, R.A. van der, "Statuten in 1493 door de Kamerijkse Bisschop verleend aan de Kanunnikessen van Sint Augustinus van het Sionklooster te Oudenaarde", *HGOKO*, XIV, (1965).

## 1492.

19 January. Gent rebels capture Diksmuide.

8 February. The Estates General meet in Mechelen.

28 March. Gent rebels capture and destroy Geeraardsbergen.

Spring. In Holland, the peasant uprising, known as the *Kaas- en Broodvolk*, commences. Jan van Egmond tries to recapture Alkmaar, but fails.

4 May. The *Kaas- en Broodvolk* capture Haarlem.

5 May. Jan van Egmond destroys the *Kaas- en Broodvolk* outside Leiden. Liège's neutrality is guaranteed by both Burgundy and France.

10 July. Zierikzee, the last stronghold of the northern rebels, falls to Maximilian.

23 July. Maximilian conquers the last outposts of the Flemish rebels, and the civil war comes to an end.

29 July. Peace of Cadzand officially ends civil war. Gent's privileges and autonomy are revoked.

October 1492. France expels Perkin Warbeck.

9 October. At Sluis, Philip of Ravenstein surrenders to Maximilian. This ends the civil war.

3 November. England and France conclude peace at the Treaty of Étapes.

November. Margaret issues letters of marque authorising the capture of English merchant vessels.

24 November. Louis, *heer* of Gruuthuse, dies in Brugge. An early ally of Margaret, he had deserted the Burgundian cause eight years previously.

December. Perkin Warbeck arrives at Margaret's court in Mechelen.

## 1493.

3 March. Margaret of York and Henri de Glymes impose the *claustrum* on the *Bethlehem* convent in St Remigius-Leis at Hannut.

25-26 March. Canon Maes's play on the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady is performed in front of thousands in Mechelen, with Margaret and Philip the Fair amongst those attending.

April. Margaret finally manages to help the Observant Franciscans to enter the convent of Namur, after a struggle of twelve years. That same month, Henri de Glymes is elected chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

May. Yorkists disaffected with Henry VII are in contact with Margaret in Mechelen.

23 May. The Treaty of Senlis is signed, ending the conflict between France and Burgundy. Maximilian acknowledges the loss of the duchy of Burgundy. Margaret of Austria is sent back to the Low Countries.

12 June. Margaret of York greets Margaret of Austria on her return from France. The young archduchess is placed under *Madame la Grande's* care.<sup>59</sup>

20 July. From Dendermonde, Margaret writes to Isabella of Castile to proclaim her support for 'Richard of York'. The letter does not deceive Isabella. It shows Warbeck to be at Margaret's court.<sup>60</sup>

19 August. The death of Emperor Frederick III in Vienna.

Margaret of York and Philip the Fair throw their support behind the new devotion to the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

18 September. Henry VII imposes an embargo on trade with the Low Countries.

October. Engelbrecht II of Nassau is made Stadhouder-Generaal of the Low Countries.

#### **1494.**

This year, Margaret founded the convent of the *Zwarte Zusters* in Binche.

24 January. Perkin Warbeck signs his 'will', in which he names Maximilian as his successor as king of England.

16 March. Maximilian marries Bianca Sforza at Innsbruck.

16 April. David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht and brother-in-law of Margaret of York, dies.

1 June. Margaret of York, Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria travel to Maastricht, where they welcome Maximilian, the newly crowned King of the Romans, and his bride, Bianca Sforza. Maximilian had attended his father's funeral

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<sup>59</sup> *Molinet*, II, 373.

<sup>60</sup> Morel-Fatio, A., "Marguerite D'York et Perkin Warbeck", *Mélanges D'Histoire offert à M. Charles Bémont*, 412.

in Vienna, and had gone to Italy to marry his new bride. Perkin Warbeck is in his train.<sup>61</sup>

6 August. Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria, and Philip the Fair welcome Maximilian and his new wife Bianca Sforza in Mechelen.

August. The Estates General meet in Mechelen.

7 September. Jan III de Glymes inherits the lands of his father after the latter's death.

9 September. Philip the Fair is declared of age, and Maximilian's regency over the Low Countries ends. He makes his first *Blijde Inkomst* in Leuven, under the eyes of Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria, Maximilian, and Bianca Sforza.

10 September. The Burgundians unite behind the Croÿ and *Madame la Grande* in their opposition to a German majority on Philip the Fair's *Conseil privé*. Margaret attends the chapter meeting of the Observant Dominican *Congregatio Hollandica* in Gent.

24 December. Philip the Fair confirms Margaret in the possession of all her dower lands.

## 1495.

5 January. Margaret exchanges her dower town of Le Quesnoy for Rupelmonde, closer to the core of her lands.<sup>62</sup>

3 February. Margaret of York and Jacob Sprenger impose observancy on the Dominicans of Leuven.

31 March. The Holy League against France is signed.

3 May. Cicely Neville, Margaret's mother, dies at Berkhamstead castle and is buried at Fotheringhay. She does not mention Margaret in her will.

Late June. A fleet of vessels sail from Flushing to take Perkin Warbeck and a small army to England.

3 July. The landing in England fails and Warbeck goes to Scotland.

Philip the Fair holds his *Blijde Inkomst* in Brussels, assigning a prominent role to Margaret of York in the proceedings.

Henri de Glymes approves the devotion to the Seven Sorrows.

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<sup>61</sup> Los, Johannis de, "Chronicon". In P.F.X. Ram (ed), *Documents relatifs aux troubles du pays de Liège*, 109.

<sup>62</sup> Potter, F. de and Broeckaert, J., *Geschiedenis van Rupelmonde*, 54.

October. Papal approval to the devotion of the Seven Sorrows is given. That month, a Spanish embassy arrives to discuss the upcoming double wedding between the children of Mary and Maximilian, and those of Ferdinand and Isabella.

6 November. After a fire burns down the Brigittine convent on Brielle, Margaret pays for its reconstruction.

#### 1496.

March. The ordinance for the court of Philip the Fair in Mechelen is drawn up. Jan III de Glymes becomes his first chamberlain, thus ensuring a strong presence of the 'English Party'.

20 October. In Lier, Philip the Fair is married to Juana of Castile.

24 November. Philip the Fair and Henry VII sign the *Intercursus Magnus*, regulating trade between England and Burgundy. It had been negotiated by, amongst others, Thomas Portinari.

#### 1497.

3 February. Margaret hosts Albrecht of Saxony, Maximilian's strongman in the Low Countries, in Mechelen.

25 February. Margaret of Austria leaves Margaret of York's court to travel to Castile.

3 April. Margaret of Austria marries Don Juan of Castile, heir to the throne.

3 May. On her birthday, the now 51 year-old Margaret writes to the magistrate of Mechelen from Binche, to thank them for their letters. She assures them that her illness has abated, and that she is feeling much better.<sup>63</sup> She had been ill twice in the previous six months.

July. Margaret falls ill again.

6 July. Warbeck leaves Scotland for Ireland.

7-20 September. Warbeck lands on the Cornish coast. He is soon captured.

20 September. The dormitory and library of the friary of the Observant Franciscans in Mechelen burn down. Margaret pays for its reconstruction.

4 October. Juan of Castile dies, and the widowed Margaret of Austria returns to live with Margaret of York.

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<sup>63</sup> A.M. Brieven, CCCCXXXV.

Margaret sells her palace in the *Keizerstraat* in Mechelen to the town, and buys a smaller residence. She can still make use of the building in the *Keizerstraat*.

20 October. Henri de Glymes blesses the wedding of Juana of Castile and Philip the Fair in Lier.

12 December. Margaret dines with Philip the Fair in Brussels.<sup>64</sup>

## 1498.

All members of the dynasty, and the main members of Margaret of York's affinity, join the Brussels Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows.

1 May. Margaret is present as the nuns of Rijnsburg receive their new reformed statutes.

24 May. Margaret donates £100 *Vlaamsch* to the Confraternity of St George in Gent.

4 July. Death of Philippe of Burgundy, and husband of Anne, heiress of Borssele, some years before his own father, Anthony, the Great Bastard. Philippe was a key member of the 'English Party'.

July-September. After months of tense diplomacy, much of it carried out by Henri de Glymes, Margaret sends a conciliatory letter to Henry VII, in which she apologises for supporting the impostor Perkin Warbeck.

2 August. The Treaty of Paris confirms that of Senlis against the wishes of Maximilian. It is conducted by Busleyden, and is a victory of the 'Francophone Party' in Burgundy.

October. The 'Francophone Party' in Burgundy rejects Maximilian's wish for aid to re-conquer Gelre.

15 November. Margaret carries Eleonora, first child of Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile, to be baptised in the St Gudule Church in Brussels.

## 1499.

The general meeting of the Observant Franciscans takes place in Mechelen, under Margaret of York's auspices.

July. Edmund de la Pole, leading male member of the house of York, flees England and turns up at the court of Margaret.

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<sup>64</sup> Gachard, L.-P., "Itinéraire de Philippe le Beau", *Collection des voyages des souverains de Pays-Bas*, I, 119, n. 2.

23 November. Perkin Warbeck is executed on the gallows at Tyburn.

24 November. Edward, earl of Warwick, the son of Margaret's brother George, is executed.

## 1500.

11 February. Jan Briart van Ath, Margaret's court chaplain, receives his doctorate in theology from the University of Leuven, for which she had paid.

24 February. The birth of Charles V in Gent.

28 February. *Madame la Grande*'s household consists of 122 individuals, almost as many as when she first came to the Low Countries in 1468.<sup>65</sup>

7 March. The baptism of Charles V in Gent, at which Margaret plays a leading role.

Late March. Margaret of York and Philip the Fair attend the annual Night Watch Procession in Gent. Their presence signals a rapprochement between the city and the dynasty.<sup>66</sup>

Easter. Margaret is godmother to Charles de Croÿ, prince of Chimay.

Margaret, assisted by members of her affinity, pays for the construction of a new charterhouse in Leuven.

17 June. Margaret sits in judgement on several murder cases in Dendermonde.

20 July. The death of her brother, Don Juan, leaves Juana of Castile and her husband, Philip the Fair, as heirs to the crown of Castile.

12 September. The death of Albrecht of Saxony, Maximilian I's erstwhile military commander in the Low Countries.

## 1501.

23 January. Margaret presents the future Charles V to be knighted at the chapter meeting of the Golden Fleece in Brussels.

25 January. Margaret of York accompanies the Poor-Clare Colettines to their new foundation in Mechelen. The Immerseel family paid for the house.

20 February. Margaret visits Mons on pilgrimage.

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<sup>65</sup> "Lettre de Madame Marguerite d'Yorck à Pierre de Kuik, évêque de Tournai", *MSHB*, IV, (1842).

<sup>66</sup> Arnade, P., *Realms of Ritual*, 61-2.

28 February. Margaret writes to the bishop of Tournai to recommend new statutes for the secular clergy of Oudenaarde drawn up by Jan Briart van Ath. She feels that the seculars lack in zeal.

18 July. Isabella of Austria, the sister of Charles V, is baptised in Brussels by Henry de Glymes. Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria are godmothers.

15 September. Before leaving for Spain, Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile leave their three children under the care of Margaret of York in Mechelen.

October. Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria go on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Halle, just before the latter travels to Savoy and her second wedding.

15 November. Margaret visits Mons to say farewell to Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile, *en route* to Spain.

## 1502.

26 January. Maximilian and Engelbrecht II of Nassau visit Margaret in Mechelen and attend the *koningsschieten* of the crossbow guild. The Estates General assemble in the town.

1 February. Olivier de la Marche, long-standing friend of Margaret, dies in Brussels.

2 June. Death of Michael Francisci, confessor of Philip the Fair and main protagonist in the development of the Rosary and Seven Sorrows devotions.

Jan III and Henri de Glymes return from Spain in disgrace, politically outmanoeuvred by Busleyden

Margaret adjudicates in a dispute between the citizens of Fontaine-Lévêque and the prince-bishop of Liège.

22 August. The death of François de Busleyden, the Francophone opponent of the De Glymes and Margaret's affinity.

The town of Mechelen grants Margaret 2,000 *florins* "voer zeckere diensten die zy der stad gedaen heeft".<sup>67</sup>

7 October. Henri de Glymes dies in his castle in the Cambrésis.

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<sup>67</sup> "For certain services that she had done for the town". A.M., Stadsrekeningen, S 1, n. 113, (1502-1503), f. 113.

**1503.**

23 April. Margaret intervenes on behalf of a servant girl who had committed theft in Dendermonde.

Margaret of York, Charles V, and Eleonora watch the *Peisprocessie* in Mechelen.

July. The removal of Edmund de la Pole to Aachen by Maximilian is indicative of Margaret's failing health and political clout.

21 October. Margaret writes her last will.

9 November. Philip the Fair visits Margaret of York in Mechelen upon his return from Spain.

Tuesday 23 November. Margaret of York dies in her house in Mechelen, aged 57 years and six months.

Margaret's heart is buried at the charterhouse of Hérinnes, her intestines in that of Leuven, whilst her body is interred in the church of the Observant Franciscans in Mechelen.

Jan III de Glymes, the head of the 'English Party' in Burgundy, and long-standing ally of *Madame la Grande*, is the executor of her will,<sup>68</sup> together with her chaplain, Jean Briart of Ath, Olivier de Kesele, her secretary, Baude de Grespé, and Pierre de Lannoy, *seigneur* of Fresnoy.<sup>69</sup>

To Philip the Fair, she bequeaths the money still owing to the exchequer from her unpaid dower. £30 *Vlaamsch* is used to institute a bursary for students of theology at Leuven. £80 *Vlaamsch* is set aside to pay for an annual requiem mass for her own soul and for those of Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy, in the St Rombout's church in Mechelen, whilst £30 is given for the same purpose to the chapel of Our Lady in the St Ursmer Church in Binche. £400 *Vlaamsch* is left to the Grande Chartreuse, motherhouse of the Carthusian Order. £60 *Vlaamsch* is left to the *Zwarte Zusters* in Binche; and, finally, the largest sum, £920, to the hospital in Leuven. It must be recalled that only part of Margaret's will survives.

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<sup>68</sup> Paravicini, W., *Guy de Brimeu*, 514, n. 74.

<sup>69</sup> *Galesloot*, 320. Olivier de Kesele played a significant role in Margaret's life. *Ibid*, *passim*.

**Appendix Two. The Household Ordinance for  
Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, 1468.**

## Appendix Two.

### Commentary:

This is the only surviving ordinance for Margaret of York's household.<sup>1</sup> Previous biographers have either failed to notice its presence in the Archives départementales du Nord in Lille, or chose not to use it. Monique Sommé, in her magisterial study of the structures through which Isabella of Portugal exercised influence and power,<sup>2</sup> and Mark Ballard, in his thesis on Anglo-Burgundian diplomacy,<sup>3</sup> both indicated its existence, the latter even made some use of the document. However, this is the first time it has been edited.<sup>4</sup>

The usefulness of this document is limited by two facts. Firstly, the ordinance was drawn up at the behest of Charles the Bold, just before Margaret arrived in the Low Countries. One may detect the influence of Isabella of Portugal on its composition, for some of the personnel had been retainers of the dowager.<sup>5</sup> This is not a household that Margaret had constructed in person. Secondly, it was only the first in a long line of ordinances, all of which have been lost. It is a snapshot of the situation at the start of Margaret's residence in the Low Countries, and the lack of any other material makes it impossible to trace an evolution of any kind. Naturally, this severely restricts the possibilities of deducing anything about the way Margaret of York used her household in order to influence Burgundian politics.

For all these restrictions, there is, nevertheless, much information contained within this ordinance, which can enhance our understanding of court and household in fifteenth-century Burgundy. Its single most important feature is the level of continuity it portrays. Many of the individuals in this early ordinance had long-

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed study of the household and its multifunctional character, see Mertes, K., *The English Noble Household*.

<sup>2</sup> Sommé, M., *Isabelle de Portugal*, 302, n. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Ballard, M., *Anglo-Burgundian Relations 1464-72*.

<sup>4</sup> Because of its date, Sommé's study, as well as that by Laporte and others on the ducal palace of Ten Walle in Gent, where the duchess spent much of her first years in Burgundy, have proven particularly useful. To this may be added Malcom Vale's recent study of court and culture, with its emphasis on the Low Countries in the three centuries preceding this ordinance. Together with this ordinance, they add considerably to our knowledge of the daily environment of Margaret of York in her first years in the Low Countries. Sommé, M., *op.cit.*; Vale, M., *The Princely Court*; Laporte, D. et al, *Het prinselijk hof Ten Walle*.

<sup>5</sup> This is mentioned below for the relevant individuals.

standing records of service to the Burgundian dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Some were to continue serving the dukes and duchesses long after 1477, with Guillaume Poupet the most striking example.<sup>7</sup> Another example for this is “tamburin” or “Tambouret”, who had served Philip the Good as *valet d’aumône*, and continued in the service of Isabella of Portugal and Isabella de Bourbon, before entering the service of Margaret of York. He had also served as an aide to Nicolas Finet since the 1430s.<sup>8</sup>

Some of these long-standing servants worked for the dynasty with other members of their family. Simon du Chasteller, who worked in Margaret’s household as the second *maitre d’hotel* after Poupet, and his wife, Jehenne, who was a lady at the court, exemplify this. She had been a lady at the court of Isabella of Portugal; Simon had been the *écuyer trenchant* of Philip the Good. He had had the responsibility of educating Adolf of Kleef, and was well placed, therefore, to assist Poupet in the daily running of Margaret’s household.<sup>9</sup> And amongst the *fruitiers* we find Pierre Damant, whilst in the *aides de fruiterie* there is a Jehan Damant. One of these brothers, Jehan, was already in the service of Philip the Good as early as 1407.<sup>10</sup> Pierre had served in the household of Isabella of Portugal.<sup>11</sup>

What becomes very clear from the ordinance is that Charles the Bold wished to ensure that his new wife would become a real Burgundian, and decided to use her household to accomplish this. Margaret’s designated *chevalier d’honneur*, Pierre de Bauffremont, *comte de Charny*, for example, was a close associate of the duke, and had served his father loyally. This was clearly not a random choice: Marie-Thérèse Caron regarded his appointment as a reward for his previous loyalty.<sup>12</sup> De Bauffremont headed Margaret’s reception in Sluis in 1468, and his presence in her household gave her access to a knowledgeable source of information on just about every aspect of Burgundian life. His wife, Marie, who had married Pierre in 1447, complemented her husband’s role.<sup>13</sup> She had served in the household of Isabella of

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<sup>6</sup> This, too, is mentioned below for the relevant individuals

<sup>7</sup> Q.v. Part One, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 334.

<sup>9</sup> Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 272 and 277. He was one of the members of the household with his own room in the palace in Gent. Laporte, D. et al, *op.cit.*, 183.

<sup>10</sup> C.f. Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 232, and the tables on 491 and 500. By this date, Jehan must have been a very old man.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Caron, M.-T., *La Noblesse dans le Duché de Bourgogne*, 315-21.

<sup>13</sup> Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 66-8.

Portugal, but her presence at Margaret's court was far more significant than that. She was, in fact, a half-sister of Charles the Bold, one of the pampered bastards of Philip the Good,<sup>14</sup> for whom the latter had managed to secure an advantageous marriage. The newly-wed English princess could not have asked for a better guide to Burgundy than this princess of the blood.<sup>15</sup>

The exclusive focus on Burgundy in the ordinance is further confirmed by the complete lack of any English personnel in the household. The reference to 'Griselle dangleterre', a servant of the bedchamber, could just conceivably indicate English origins, but is as likely to indicate English ancestry, with Griselle being a rather uncommon name in fifteenth-century England.<sup>16</sup> When Margaret's large entourage returned to England after the festivities of her wedding,<sup>17</sup> she was more or less on her own. The months of her wedding, then, constituted a liminal period in Margaret of York's life. Not only was she separated from all that had been familiar until then, she also encountered those who were to guide her into her new life. Of these, none was more important than her new stepdaughter, Mary of Burgundy. Significantly, the latter's *hôtel* was attached to that of Margaret, as was the norm for a daughter of the duchess of Burgundy. This proves that the close association between the two women was more than coincidence: Charles the Bold and Isabella of Portugal had clearly planned to accord the role of foster mother to Margaret of York.

Its multilingual character further confirms the Burgundian character of Margaret's household. Malcolm Vale has pointed to the fact that whereas the culture of the courts in the Low Countries may have been Francophone, they, nevertheless, displayed a linguistic variety of sometimes bewildering complexity.<sup>18</sup> At the Burgundian court, or in the Burgundian household, this complexity grew markedly under the impact of Isabella of Portugal. She brought with her many Portuguese,

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<sup>14</sup> Beaune, C. (ed), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 336-7. She grew up with David, her full brother, later bishop of Utrecht.

<sup>15</sup> One may also recall the close relations between Margaret and Anthony, the Great Bastard. Q.v. Part One, pp. 86-7.

<sup>16</sup> I would like to thank Graeme Small for this suggestion.

<sup>17</sup> For her English retinue see ADN, *Compte de l'Argenterie*, 1468, f. 159 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Vale, M., *op.cit.*, 283 and 288-94. C.f. Armstrong, C.A.J., "The Language Question in the Low Countries: the Use of French and Dutch by the Dukes of Burgundy and Their Administration". In J.R. Hale et al, *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*; Degroote, G., "Taaltoestanden in de Bourgondische Nederlanden", *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, XLIX, (1956).

some of whom found their way into the service of Margaret of York.<sup>19</sup> Just how complex the situation was in Margaret of York's household is illustrated by the presence of individuals such as Fernando de Lisbonne, and Cornille Pieterszone, secretary and *maistre de la chambre aux deniers* respectively. Fernando was Portuguese, and Pieterszone Flemish, both could write and speak French, and, quite possibly, had a command of English as well.<sup>20</sup> We know that Nicholas Finet, and most likely the other religious in the household, had a command of Latin as well as French, and, again most probably, Dutch. Even the scribe of this ordinance, although not necessarily actually employed by Margaret of York, was multi-lingual. The spelling of the word 'queux' as 'keux' on f. 6<sup>f</sup> could be suggestive of a Dutch-speaker, or at least one who was bilingual. Only a Picard or Dutch-speaker would have used 'k' instead of 'qu'.<sup>21</sup> Further evidence for this may be found on f. 9<sup>f</sup> where the name 'Rollequin' is also spelled as 'Rollekin'. The way in which the scribe spelt the month 'June' also gives credence to his knowledge of both French and Dutch. Instead of writing the French *juin*, or the Dutch *juni*, he combined both to give *juiny*.<sup>22</sup>

Keeping the warning against generalising from this single ordinance in mind, one is struck, nonetheless, by the divergence between Margaret's household and her affinity. The only members of the household that can also be placed within the circle of Margaret's allies are Nicolas Finet and Guillaume Poupet. The latter, her *premier maistre dostel*, is, of course, a very significant figure. He was to serve Margaret for the rest of his life, and, as Part One has revealed, was frequently at the centre of her affinity. However, none of her later servants from her dower towns, and none of her aristocratic allies feature in this ordinance. Caution is advisable, though. One may call to mind Guillaume de la Baume, Pierre de Bauffremont's successor as *chevalier d'honneur*, and a very active member of Margaret's affinity.

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<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Vasque de Lucene, who wrote or translated several of Margaret's manuscripts. Gallet-Guerne, D., *Vasque de Lucène et la cyropédie à la cour de bourgogne (1470)*. Q.v. Appendix Three, nos. 18 and 29.

<sup>20</sup> Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 327.

<sup>21</sup> Pope, M.K., *From Latin to Modern French*, 18, 192, 327-30 and 701.

<sup>22</sup> For example on f. 3<sup>f</sup> and f. 3<sup>v</sup>.

As it stands, this ordinance reveals only a little about the structures through which Margaret exercised power.<sup>23</sup> Only the presence of the important figure of Guillaume Poupet throws a sliver of light on the way Margaret could have used her household to extend her influence. Nor should we completely ignore Finet. Her first almoner was instrumental in introducing the new duchess to the leading churchmen of the Low Countries, and the Church became one of the most important channels through which Margaret was to exert influence and power. In addition, his was a long career of service. He had been Isabella of Portugal's *soubz aumousnier* and then, from 1446, her almoner, a function which he kept in the household of Isabella de Bourbon.<sup>24</sup>

A further brief glimpse of the household in action comes from the account of Margaret's entry into Mons in 1470, when its crucial members were still in place.<sup>25</sup> The women of the household, although not mentioned by name, were very much present. Six of the ladies of the chamber accompanied Margaret and Mary on white horses, followed by three carts with the rest of the women of the household.<sup>26</sup> The *comte* De Charny, her *chevalier d'honneur*, had been deeply involved in the preparations of the event, which show him to have been the organiser of the household.<sup>27</sup> Guillaume Poupet, Jaques de Villers, who had progressed to the post of *maistre d'hôtel*, and Hippolyte de Berthoz, her *argentier*, who had joined the household since 1468, all received money from the town of Mons.<sup>28</sup> The mention of these three men is particularly interesting: the household was not a static organisation, and this brief glimpse merely enhances the sense of regret that must be felt at the loss of subsequent ordinances.

What this ordinance does tell us is the immediate authority that Margaret gained when she married Charles the Bold; this is the ordinance for a very prestigious household indeed. The total number of personnel was, however, not as large as this document suggests. Take, for example, the *panetiers*, or pantlers,<sup>29</sup> of whom there

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<sup>23</sup> One cannot, therefore, draw firm conclusions as has been done with regard to the households of her brothers. Morgan, D.A.L., "The house of policy: the political role of the late Plantagenet household, 1422-1485". In D. Starkey et al, *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*.

<sup>24</sup> Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 333.

<sup>25</sup> *Joyeuse Entrée*, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 22.

<sup>27</sup> Q.v. Part Two, p. 226.

<sup>28</sup> *Joyeuse Entrée*, 23.

<sup>29</sup> Those in charge of the pantry, typically in charge of bread, cheese, and napery. Woolgar, C.M., *The Great Household*, 236.

were eight in Margaret's household. Four of these worked for a period of six months each, and the remaining four each took turns of three months. At any given time, therefore, there were only three *panetiers* present in Margaret's household. This should caution against presenting the household in terms of the total number of names listed in the ordinances. Monique Sommé already reached this conclusion with regard to the household of Isabella of Portugal.<sup>30</sup> It may not be true, therefore, that Charles the Bold and Margaret of York were forced to live in separate palaces because of the size of their respective households, as has been argued. Nevertheless, one is faced with a significant household: at any given time, there were 84 people in the duchess' vicinity. In all, the household employed 129 staff.<sup>31</sup> From a letter she wrote to the bishop of Tournai in 1501, we know that that year she was still employing 120 people, which suggests that neither the function nor the size of the household altered significantly during the almost four decades that she lived in the Low Countries.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, during the crisis of late 1476 and early 1477, it is likely to have grown. We know that several of Charles's chaplains were present at Margaret's court during this time, and they are unlikely to have been the only ones finding refuge there.<sup>33</sup> An ordinance by Charles the Bold of 1471 shows, incidentally, that belonging to the duchess' household had some particular perquisites.<sup>34</sup> The duke excused all its members from having their goods confiscated if they died in Hainaut, where there existed a law that allocated the possessions of the deceased to the count.

The document reveals other aspects of the court, not necessarily pertinent to Margaret of York, but interesting in their own right. It casts light on the precarious nature of fifteenth-century life, for example, even within this privileged environment. Four of the servants died soon after their appointment, before the ordinance was even drawn up. Incidentally, this fact indicates that the household had been in place before August, probably even before Margaret's arrival in Sluis in the final days of June. One of the members of the *panetrie*, one of the two *huissiers de salle*, or ushers, one

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<sup>30</sup> Sommé, M., *op. cit.*, 226 and following.

<sup>31</sup> This was a large household. Contrast the 60 members of the household of Anne Neville, wife of Richard, duke of Gloucester in 1473. Ward, J.C., *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, 51.

<sup>32</sup> Robinson, W.C., "Margaret of York", *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXXVIII, 579.

<sup>33</sup> A.D.N. B 3440.119280; c.f. Higgins, P.M., *Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy*, 94. See also Appendix Three, no. 40.

<sup>34</sup> Bartier, J., *Légistes et gens de finances*, 189 and n. 1.

of the servants of the almoner, and one of the *sommeliers*, or table servants, all failed to survive the first few weeks of Margaret of York's presence in the Low Countries.

It may seem an unnecessary observation, but this was very much a class-conscious environment. Yet service was not, of itself, regarded with contempt. Indeed, all those on the list were in service. Most of these were considered each other's equals: according to Olivier de la Marche, the *panetier*, the *échanson*, the *écuyer trenchant*, and the *écuyer d'écurie* were all of equal rank.<sup>35</sup> There were, however, servants and servants. The *comte de Charny's* service was rather different from those who served the servants. One could think of the two *femmes de chambre* who were allowed for the *damoiselles*, or of the servants of the almoners. Was this hierarchy of service also replicated in the structure of the household; did the palaces reflect the differences in service? Unfortunately, we are able to give only a partial answer to this question. Poupet's room in the palace in Gent had its own access and glazed windows, but still strikes one as rather simple.<sup>36</sup> The tailors, on the other hand, were provided with a rather more sumptuous accommodation, although that may reflect a concern for the dresses of the duchess, rather than for her personnel.<sup>37</sup> Payment, too, reflected the hierarchical structure of the household. According to Olivier de la Marche, *panetier*, *échanson*, *écuyer trenchant*, and *écuyer d'écurie* should receive equal pay. This was not the case in Margaret of York's household.<sup>38</sup> Amongst the *panetiers*, for example, six received six *bouches*, but two received only three. Once more, there was service and there was service.

Another element of late medieval life, at least at the court, which the ordinance shows clearly, is the centrality of religion. The court was not just the home of the ruler, or the nerve-centre of the lands under his control, it was also the place where temporal met spiritual. For the dukes of Burgundy, this merger was never better expressed than in the person of the confessor. Normally a Dominican, and usually an *Episcopus Palatii*, this was the cleric at the core of the spiritual duties of the court.<sup>39</sup> The ordinance contains no reference to a confessor, but this was not unusual as he was usually not a household official. We do, however, know that the Dominican,

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<sup>35</sup> Olivier de la Marche, IV, 20.

<sup>36</sup> Laporte, D. et al, *op.cit.*, 132.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 187-8.

<sup>38</sup> Olivier de la Marche, IV, 20.

<sup>39</sup> Arts, J., O.P., *De Predikheren te Gent 1228-1854*, 126.

Guillaume le Vasseur, was appointed in 1468, and was retained until his death in 1475.<sup>40</sup> What happened then is uncertain, but, in 1478, Jehan de Brayna, the prior of the house in Brussels, was appointed, and he, too, was retained until his death in 1490.<sup>41</sup>

If the confessor is omitted,<sup>42</sup> there is still much that tells us about the wider ecclesiastical establishment in Margaret of York's household. In the first place, there was the almoner, master Nicolas Finet. Here, it is his role rather than his personal history that interests us, for the inclusion of an almoner points to one of the major functions of a noble lady: to indulge in charity. We do not know how charitable Margaret of York was, other than incidental information. However, Finet did produce the lavish *Benois seront les miséricordieux*, in which Margaret is depicted conducting the Seven Acts of Mercy.<sup>43</sup> In his role as almoner to the duchess, Finet was the most important cleric in the household, after the confessor. This ordinance does not reveal much about the hierarchy amongst the clergy, but Monique Sommé found that the differentiation can be discovered in the money they were given to spend on vestments.<sup>44</sup>

In Isabella of Portugal's household, Finet had also functioned as chaplain. This duality of function may also be found in Margaret's ordinance. The roles of chaplain and of under-almoner were filled by master Jehan mayin. Subsequently, one of Margaret's court chaplains, Henri de Glymes, was to rise to prominence from this position, but, on the whole, we have precious little information on the chaplains at Margaret's court. The same is true for the chapel: we know nothing about the singing in Margaret's household.<sup>45</sup> This silence is lifted briefly in late 1476 and early 1477, when the musical master, Antoine Busnois, was at her court. He also sang at Margaret's wedding, or more accurately, upon her arrival.<sup>46</sup> This probably set a pattern: the duchess just shared the chapel of the duke. It is particularly noticeable

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<sup>40</sup> Meyer, R.P.A. de, O.P., *La Congregation de Hollande*, LXVI.

<sup>41</sup> The name 'de Brayna' also appears as 'Braezna' and as 'Van Braliën'. It is possibly Portugese. *Ibid*, 370.

<sup>42</sup> The ordinance of Isabella of Portugal did include a confessor. Sommé, M., *op.cit*, 229.

<sup>43</sup> K.B.B., Ms. 9296, f. 1. Q.v. Appendix Three, no. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Sommé, M., *op.cit*, 334. These were, in descending order of importance, the almoner, the under-almoner, the chaplain and the clerk of the chapel.

<sup>45</sup> For the chapel, c.f. Vale, M., *op.cit*, 220-2.

<sup>46</sup> A.D.N. B 2068, f. 160, "à A. de Busne, dit Busnois, chanter etc seze livres", for his singing on the last day of June, 1468.

that there is no hint of a choir on any of the illuminations which show Margaret of York engaged in devotional practices. The standard depiction is of the duchess kneeling before an altar, either in the company of ladies of the court, or all alone, but without a hint of the liturgical colour of the occasion. This is also true for the trappings of the liturgy: she did employ a clerk of the chapel, but what the chalices, vestments, patens and other implements of the chapel actually looked like remains hidden from view. Once more, only the illuminations provide glimpses of the beauty of the objects, with a particular emphasis on drapery, but they are nothing more than that. The ordinance, in combination with the pictorial evidence, makes it clear that there was a lively religious culture at the court of Margaret of York, but one may only perceive its outlines.

The ordinance does show the sumptuous character of the court, although many of the jobs listed are, of course, relatively menial.<sup>47</sup> Several of the artisans at the court were instrumental in maintaining and increasing the lustre of the duchess' household. As one would expect, Margaret employed several people to look after her collection of tapestries.<sup>48</sup> Their relative importance may be gauged from the fact that they had their own room in the palace in Gent. It should be noticed that Margaret of York and Charles the Bold showed considerably more interest in tapestries than Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal. The ostentatious display of tapestries had become part of the expression of power and authority, and Margaret indulged fully. In Gent, she had tapestries hung in a room adjacent to the bathroom, in her room on the ground floor, in her bedroom, and, in 1473, in three rooms newly decorated for herself.<sup>49</sup>

Naturally, the display of wealth and power was not confined to the walls of the rooms; the duchess' own wardrobe was also eminently suitable to display her status. Reminiscent of her mother's expenditure on sumptuous dresses, Margaret of York knew how to dress to impress. For this, she required the necessary personnel. She employed a tailor, a furrier,<sup>50</sup> and a *varlet de garde robe*. These had their own, rather

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<sup>47</sup> C.f. Vale, M., *op.cit.*, 169-70.

<sup>48</sup> Virtually nothing has survived of this collection. There is one small fragment in the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam, which could show Charles and Margaret, and may have belonged to the duchess. *Marguerite d'York et son temps*, 41. C.f. Franke, B., "Vrouwelijke rolmodellen op wandtapijten". In *Dames met klasse*, 155-61.

<sup>49</sup> Laporte, D. et al, *op.cit.*, 188-9.

<sup>50</sup> Severin de la passage had also served Isabella of Portugal as furrier. Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 228.

large quarters in the palace; indeed, they had their private rooms and a workshop.<sup>51</sup> These were airy, had glass panes in the windows, and were discreetly whitewashed. Obviously, clothes played an important role at the court, and the expenditure on the living and working quarters of the tailors reflected this.

Finally, there is the ostentatious display of food, then as now expressed in terms of quality, quantity, and exotic origins.<sup>52</sup> In terms of quantity, there is little that the ordinance reveals, although from the description of Margaret's wedding it is obvious that quantity was important.<sup>53</sup> The ordinance does reveal something of the importance of quality and the exotic. She employed no fewer than two *espissiers*, who were paid the significant amount of four *bouches*. Yet trust in them was low: in the palace in Gent, they were locked into a room with bars across the hatch in the door, through which they passed the expensive goods.<sup>54</sup> There is plenty to suggest that Isabella of Portugal, used to spices in her native land, was instrumental in introducing their extensive use in Burgundy. Their use increased as trade with Portugal intensified whilst they explored the African and Asian trade routes. There is no evidence that Margaret made any alterations in the palace in Gent with regard to the spice room. Was she less interested, or were the arrangements satisfactory anyhow?

Margaret's interest in wine is beyond doubt. As in all noble households of the later Middle Ages, she employed several people to look after the standard drink of the day, wine. However, she was not content to drink the vintage of the Burgundian court. In the Gent palace, the wine cellar was extensively renovated to accommodate the tuns she brought with her from England.<sup>55</sup> The English had been used to drinking Gascon wine, which had been imported in vast quantities from Bordeaux during the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.<sup>56</sup> Although the collapse of English rule in Gascony in 1453 had greatly damaged the trade, the English preference for Bordeaux wines continued unabated. When, after 1475, trade picked up again, it was once more to Bordeaux that the English turned for their favourite beverage.

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<sup>51</sup> Laporte, D. et al, *op.cit*, 188-9.

<sup>52</sup> C.f. Vale, M., *op.cit*, 205.

<sup>53</sup> Q.v. Part Two, pp. 213-4.

<sup>54</sup> For this and what follows, c.f. Laporte, D. et al, *op.cit*, 163-4.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 165.

<sup>56</sup> For this and what follows, c.f. Bolton, J.L., *The Medieval English Economy*, 290.

It was most likely wine from Bordeaux that Margaret brought with her to the Low Countries, possibly the famous *Madiran*, which was prevented from reaching the Low Countries by war. She may have been right to import the *grand cru* from Bordeaux. Wines from the Rhineland made up half of all the wine consumed in the fifteenth-century Low Countries, augmented by local produce, which, in light of the climatic decline of the period, must have been very acidic.<sup>57</sup> There was some use of Burgundian wines, but the delight of Charles the Bold's army, when they managed to get their hands on a consignment of Alsace wines during their campaign of 1475, speaks volumes for the average quality of wine in the Low Countries.<sup>58</sup> As to beer, we may be certain that fairly large quantities were consumed, but are left in the dark as to where it came from and how much was bought.

At the final count, there is a surprisingly large amount of information that is contained within this rather bland list of names. The daily life of Margaret of York, normally hidden from view, comes to life in vivid colours. One can see the people that surrounded her, even if only for the first few years. There is also the thoroughly Burgundian environment in which she ended up in 1468, if one discounts the wine. With this much information, one can only express regret that not more ordinances, not to mention household accounts, have survived.

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<sup>57</sup> Verhuyck, P. and Kisling, C., *Het Mandement van Bacchus*, 17-33.

<sup>58</sup> Vaughan, R., *Charles the Bold*, 418.

[f. 1<sup>r</sup>] 6 août 1468

31 août 1468

Cest lordonnance faicte par mon tres redoubte seigneur Monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne de Brabant de lembourg et de luxembourg Conte de flandres dartois de bourgoingne et Pallatin de haynin de hollande de zeellant et de Namur Marquis du saint empire seigneur de frize de sallins et de mallins Par ladvis et deliberacion des gens de son conseil sur le gouvernement de lostel de madame la ducesse de bourgoingne sa compaigne commenchant le premier jour de septembre prouchainement venant ce present an mil iiii cent soixante huit Et ne serviront les officiers de madicte dame compez par deux ans apoint servant le terme qui commencha le premier jour de juillet derrenier passe que jusques au derrenier jour de decembre prouchainement venant Et les autres dudis deux an les six mois apres ensuivans et de la en avant chacun a son tour et terme selon les ordonnances derrenieres precedentes et tout par la forme et maniere cy apres declairee

### Et premierement

Madame aura pour la servir et acompaigner et entre entours elle les dames damoiselles [f. 1<sup>v</sup>] et autres gens et officiers cy apres nommez qui toutes et quanteffois quilz seront entour elles et en sondit service seront compez a gaiges et auront livree par la maniere que cy apres sera declairee Et veult mondit seigneur que nul quel quil soit des gens et officiers de madicte dame ne serve en absence dautre ne

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<sup>59</sup> I would like to thank my wife, Dr. Anna Jane Schnitker, for her help with the intricacies of French palaeography. Some of the names were particularly unclear. All the usual abbreviations have been expanded.

que nul soit compte pour quelconque cause que ce soit sil nest en personne devers elle ou sinon par ocupacion de malladie qui lui survienque lui estant ondit service

## Dames et damoiselles<sup>60</sup>

La Contesse de Charny dame dhonneur tousiours servant laquelle aura xi bouches comptees pour chacune bouche iij s par jour

Item pour servir madicte dame et conduire les filles et estre continuellement entour elles laquelle ne prennent aucuns gaiges mais sera delivree de sa bouche seullement et aura pencion sur lexttraordinaire de madicte dame telle quelle luy ordonnera

[f. 2 <sup>r</sup> ] Jehenne de Senres		
Anthonneste de beffroymont		
ysabel danpy		
Anne delesins		
marye glimes		
Jehenne de glimes		Lesquelles gentilz femmes seront delivrees de leur
Jehenne de Rochebaron		bouches et ne prendrent aucuns gaiges mais auront
michielle desue		pencion de madicte dame comme dessus
Jehenne du chasteller		
ysabel de chaumergy		
[Gap in text] de Rocefay		
ysabel de bosthuuse		

Item aura madicte dame trois femmes de chambre pour se servir assavoir

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<sup>60</sup> It is noticeable that the names of the *dames et damoiselles* in Isabella of Portugal's first household remained vacant in the ordinance. Did this mean that she was allowed to choose them personally, and that Charles – or Isabella – decided not to grant Margaret of York such a privilege? Sommé, M., *op.cit.*, 227.

Anthourette de villers |

Lienor de dampires | Lesquelles femmes de chambre seront delivrees de leurs

Griselle dangleterre | bouches comme dessus

Item auront lesdis filles aussy deux femmes de chambre pour les servir cestassavoir

[f. 2<sup>v</sup>] Lesquelles seront semblablement delivrees de leurs bouches et ne prenderont aucuns gaiges mais auront pencion comme les autres precedentes

Item aura madicte dame deux lavendieres pour le linge de chambre et de la panetrie servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacune une bouche comptee cestassavoir

Marguerite de vinier

Willemine offrenay

Lesquelles serviront assavoir ladicte marguerite les six mois de juillet aoust derrenie passe septembre octobre novembre et decembre prouchainement venant en ce present an mil iiii cent lxxviii. Et ladicte Willemine les autres six mois apres ensuivans Et de la en avant chacune a son tour et terme comme dessus est declaire en lintitulacion de ces presentes ordonnances

Item aura madicte dame pour lacompaignier ung chevalier dhonneur assavoir le Conte de charny tousiours servant lequel aura douze bouches comptees pour chacune bouche iij s par jour Et xxiiij serons pour son plat luy estant devers madicte dame

Item aura madicte dame trois maistres dostel assavoir guillaume de poupet premier maistre [f. 3<sup>r</sup>] dostel tousiours servant lequel aura neuf bouches comptees a trois solz pour chacune bouche quand il servira et sera devers madicte dame

Messire Simon du chasteller		
Jehan de Sallins		Servans par demi an aussi comptez chacun a noef bouches

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit Messire Simon les mois de juillet et aoust derrenie  
passez septembre octobre novembre et decembre prouchainement Et le dit de Sallins  
les mois de janvier fevrier mars avril may et juiny Et de la en avant a son tour et  
terme comme cy devant est declaire

## Panetrie

Item aura madicte dame six pannetiers deux faisans la despens quatre autres qui  
serviront la bouche Et auront chacun compte six bouches cest assavoir

Jehan de vaultraners		
Jehan de tenay		Faisans la despens et serviront a tour de six mois en six mois assavoir

Ledit vaultraners les mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre  
et ledit de tenay les autres six mois

[f. 3 <sup>v</sup> ] huguenin nagu		
Mansart desue		De la bouche servans chacun pour trois mois assavoir
Simon de damas		
Jehan de la porte		

Ledit Nagu les mois de Septembre octobre et novembre Ledit Mansart decembre  
janvier et fevrier Ledit de damas mars avril et may Et ledit de la porte juiny juillet et  
aoust

Item aura madicte dame deux pannetiers servans a tour de six mois en six mois  
comptez chacun a trois bouches cestassavoir

Guillemin

henriet maillet ou hughenin de bersilles pour servir apres ce quil aura apointie avec  
ledit henriet ou apres son trespas

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit guillemin les mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre  
novembre et decembre. Et ledit maillet les autres six mois

Item aura madicte dame ung oublieur nomme gillet de la Valle tousiours servant  
compte a deux bouches

[f. 4<sup>r</sup>] Item aura madicte dame deux huissiers de salle servans a tour de six mois en  
six mois lesquelz auront chacun trois bouches comptees cest assavoir

Guillaume le merchier

Charles de heize

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit guillaume les mois de juillet aoust septembre  
octobre novembre et decembre desquelz six mois par apointement faict entre ledit  
guillaume et Jaques Soillot du consempt de mondit seigneur Ledit Jaques prend trois  
mois du trespas dicellui guillaume Et veult et ordonne mondit seigneur par ces  
presentes ordonnances que apres le trespas de luy deulx ledit office ne soit  
impetrable mais serviengne a son ordonnance Et ledit de heize les autres six mois  
ensuivans

## Eschansonnerie

Item aura madicte dame six eschansons deux faisons la despence et quatre autres qui serviront la bouche et auront chacun compte six bouches Cest assavoir

[f. 4<sup>v</sup>] De moisne de Neufuille<sup>61</sup> |

Jaques de Villers<sup>62</sup> | Faisans la despens servans atour de vi mois en six  
mois

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit de Neufuille les mois de juillet aoust septembre  
octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit de villers les autres six mois ensuivans

Henry de Salins |  
Jehan de La gruuthuuse | Servans la bouche comptez chacun par trois mois  
Philippe dallesins |  
Philippe de persi |

Desquelz serviront cestassavoir ledit de Sallins les mois de septembre octobre et  
novembre Ledit de La gruuthuuse decembre janvier et fevrier Ledit dalesins mars  
avril et may et ledit de persi juiny juillet et aoust

Item aura madicte dame deux sommeliers servans a tour de six mois en six mois et  
auront compte chacun quatre bouches cestassavoir

Guyniot charpy ou Jehan Lore auquel mondit Seigneur le a acorde pour servir apres  
quil aura apointie avec Ledit guyniot ou apres son trespas

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<sup>61</sup> De Neufuille came from a family with a long service record to the ducal house. He was not a monk, but merely perpetuated his grandfather's nickname. His grandfather had served Philip the Good, whilst his father had been in the service of Isabella of Portugal. Sommé, M., *op.cit*, 303.

<sup>62</sup> De Villers's father was *chevalier d'honneur* to Isabella of Portugal. Jacques had served in the household of Isabella of Portugal and of Isabella de Bourbon. Sommé, M., *op.cit*, 302. With Olivier de la Marche, he had been instrumental in organising the festivities of Margaret's wedding in 1468. Millar, A, *Olivier de la Marche*, 79.

Guyot chosser

[f. 5<sup>r</sup>] Lesquelz serviront Cestassavoir les mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit guyot les autres six mois apres ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux garde huches servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront compte chacun deux bouches Cest assavoir

George de gand

Christien chassot

Lesquelz serviront Cest assavoir ledit george les mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit chassot les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux aydes en ladicte eschansonnerie servans a tour de six mois en six mois comptez chacun a deux bouches cest assavoir

Baudechon Louchet

Denis bauldekin

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit Louchet les mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit denis baudequin les autres six mois ensuivans

### [f. 5<sup>v</sup>] Escuiers trenchans

Madicte dame aura quatre escuiers trenchans servans chacun pour trois mois comptez chacun a six bouches Cest assavoir

Moreau de Neufuille

Marc Laichier

Christofre barose

[Gap in text] de drincquain

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit moreau les mois de septembre octobre et novembre  
Ledit marc decembre Janvier fevrier Ledit christofre mars avril et may et ledit de  
drinckain juiny juillet et aoust

Item aura madicte dame quatre varles servans qui serviront a tour de trois mois en  
trois mois et auront compte chacun trois bouches Cestassavoir

Pierre eminart

Jehan du mez

Jaques maillardet

Benoit de saint Remy

[f. 6<sup>r</sup>] Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit emmenart septembre octobre et novembre  
Ledit du mez decembre janvier et fevrier Ledit maillardet mars avril et may et ledit  
benoit<sup>63</sup> juiny juillet et aoust

## Cuysine

Item aura madicte dame deux escuiers<sup>64</sup> de cuisine servans a tour de six mois en six  
mois et auront compte chacun quatre bouches Cest assavoir

Oste de hallewin

Loys le brune

Lesquelz serviront Cestassavoir ledit de hallewin les mois de juillet aoust septembre  
octobre novembre et decembre et ledit le brun les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux keux pour sa bouche servans a tour de six mois en six  
mois et auront chacun compte quatre bouches Cest assavoir

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<sup>63</sup> The word *juillet* is crossed out here.

<sup>64</sup> The word *trenchant* is crossed out here.

Guyot constant lequel excersera ledit office a la charge que lavoit Collinet le merchier de jaques [f. 6<sup>v</sup>] de conflans paravant keux de madame la Contesse de charrollois cui dieu pardonist par appointment fait par madame la douagiere

Collinet le merchier

Lesquelz servont Cestassavoir ledit guyot les mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre prochainement venant en ce present an mil iiiitre lxxviii Et ledit collinet les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux hasteurs de cuisine servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacun deux bouches Cest assavoir

Noel foussiel

Jehan herguet

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit noel lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit herguet les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux potagiers servans a tour de six mois et auront chacun compte deux bouches Cest assavoir

Hayne de gand

Denysot marsilles

[f. 7<sup>r</sup>] Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit hayne les six mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit denis les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux aydes de Rost et de potagerie servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacun compte leur bouche Cest assavoir

Humbert de le broucke

Herman Walins

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit Humbert lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre  
octobre novembre et decembre et ledit Herman les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux porteurs de cuisine servans a tour de six mois en six  
mois et auront compte chacun leur bouche Cest assavoir

Jaquet fongelin

Henry le granmelier

Lesquelz serviront cest assavoir ledit Jaquet les mois de juillet aoust septembre  
octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit henry les autres six mois ensuivans

[f. 7<sup>v</sup>] Item aura madicte dame deux saussiers servans a tour de six mois en six mois  
et auront compte chacun trois bouches Cest assavoir

Collin le febvre

Jarot de le nef

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit collin lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre  
novembre et decembre et ledit Jarot les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux aydes de sausserie servans a tour de six mois en six  
mois comptez chacun une bouche Cestassavoir

Pierre Montenier

Jenemin le vasseur

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit montenier lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre  
octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit le vasseur les autres six mois ensuivans

## Fruiterie

Item aura madicte dame deux fruitiers servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacun compte trois bouches Cestassavoir

[f. 8<sup>r</sup>] Pierre damant

Jehan daissy

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit damant lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit daissy les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux aydes de fruiterie lesquelz tiennent les torches en la chambre de madicte dame et auront compte chacun leur bouche Cest assavoir

Guillem le canu |

Jehan damant | Tousiours servans

## Escuierie

Item aura madicte dame deux escuiers descuierie servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacun trois bouches comptees a trois chevaulx a livree en lescuierie Cest assavoir

Cornille de le barre

Anthoine de Latre

Lesquelz serviront Cest assavoir ledit Cornille lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit anthoine les autres six mois ensuivans

[f. 8<sup>v</sup>] Item aura madicte dame quatre huissiers darmes servans a tour de trois mois en trois mois et auront chacun compte quatres bouches Cest assavoir

Clays le brunguette  
Pierquin de manerans  
Jaques nazey  
Guyot de forelle

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit brunguette les mois de septembre octobre et novembre Ledit de manerans decembre janvier et fevrier Ledit Nasey mars avril et may Et ledit de forelle juiny juillet et aoust

Item aura madicte dame deux chevaulcheurs de lescuierie faisans la despence servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront compte chacun deux bouches et ung cheval de livree a lescuierie Cest assavoir

Jehan kiers  
Tassinot aiguerey

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit kiers les mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre Et ledit tassinot les autres six mois ensuivans

[f. 9<sup>r</sup>] Item aura madicte dame deux chevaulcheurs de son escuierie chevaulcheurs servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacun leurs bouche comptee et ung cheval a livree en lescuierie Cest assavoir

Henryet vanden Hove  
Rollekin Hoen

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit henryet lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre decembre et ledit rollequin les autres six mois ensuivans  
Item aura madicte dame deux varletz de piet comptez chacun a leur bouche  
Cestassavoir

Noel viellart |  
Jennin du buisson | Tousiours servans

Item aura madicte dame six chartons comptez chacun a leur bouche Cest assavoir

Jarotin de le cousture |  
andre de tallemer |  
huguenin le chercy | Tousiours servans  
Malot pirotin |  
Vernot charron |  
Vernot pirotin |

[f. 9<sup>v</sup>] Item aura madicte dame ung palfrenier nomme Jehan belle tousiours servant  
compte a sa bouche et son cheval a livree alescuierie

Item deux varletz de haghenees aussy comptez chacun a leur bouches Cestassavoir

haquinot derison |  
Jehan mariotte | Tousiours servans

Item aura madicte dame ung mareschal nomme Jehan guillet dit le pirart tousiours  
servant compte a sa bouche et son cheval a livree alescuierie

Mondit seigneur a ordonne que maistre Jehan le marissal servira par deux an  
allencontre dudit pirart et servira son terme de son terme de servir (*sic*) le premier  
jour de Janvier

Item aura madicte dame deux bouteleurs comptez chacun a leur bouche servans a  
tour de six mois en six mois Cestassavoir

gillelken Loys

Pasquot desmasieres

Lesquelz serviront Cestassavoir ledit pasquot pour le premier terme depuis le premier jour de septembre jusques au derrenier jour de decembre [f. 10<sup>r</sup>] prouchainement venant Et ledit gillekin les mois de Janvier fevrier mars avril may et juiny Et de la en avant serviront chacun a son tour et terme

## Fourriere

Item aura madicte dame deux fourriers servans a tour de six mois en six mois comptez chacun a quatre bouches Cestassavoir

Lambin de kerkamp

Hues de brach

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit Lambin apresent servant lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit hues les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame deux varletz de fourriere servans a tour de six mois en six mois chacun compte a deux bouches Cestassavoir

Pierre mirey

godeffroy de halles

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit mirey prouchainement serviront lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit godeffroy les autres vi mois ensuivans

[f. 10<sup>v</sup>] Item aura madicte dame deux espissiers servans aussi de six mois en six mois et auront compte chacun quatre bouches Cestassavoir

Phillebert Seingle

Evrard Sparke

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit phillebert lesdis mois de juillet aoust et septembre  
octobre novembre et decembre et ledit evrard les autres six mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame ung tailleur de robes tousiours servant nomme Jehan peron  
compte a trois bouches

Item ung tappisseur nomme Jehan de brut aussi tousiours servant compte a trois  
bouches

Item aura madicte dame deux aydes de tappisseur servans a tour de six mois en six  
mois et auront chacun deux bouches comptees cest assavoir

Jehan du vinier

Michiel outrenay

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit du vinier apresent servant lesdis mois de juillet  
aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit outrenay les autres six mois  
ensuivans

[f. 11<sup>r</sup>] Item aura madicte dame deux portiers servans atour de six mois en six mois  
comptez chacun a deux bouches Cestassavoir

Jehan branche

Henryet du bois

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit Jehan branche presentement servant lesdis mois de  
juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit henriet les autres six  
mois ensuivans

Item aura madicte dame ung fourrier de robes nomme severin de la passage tousiours  
servant et aura compte trois bouches

Item ung varlet de garde robe nomme Jehan de la fourriere tousiours servant et aura compte trois bouches

Item ung varlet de chambre nomme Jehan le Lantreiner tousiours servant lequel aura compte quatre bouches

Item ung Tamburin nomme Jaquet du marcher aussi tousiours servant et aura deux bouches comptees

Item aura madicte dame ung maistre de la chambre aux deniers nomme maistre Cornille pieterssone [f. 11<sup>v</sup>] tousiours servant et aura compte six bouches et quand il yra hors pour le fait de son office il aura son clerc compte a deux bouches

Item aura madicte dame deux contrerolleurs de la despense servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacun compte quatre bouches Cest assavoir

Jehan bayart

Phelippe trebran

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit bayart pour ce present terme du premier jour de septembre jusques a derrenier jour de decembre prouchainement venant Et ledit threbrain les mois de janvier fevrier mars avril may et juiny et de la en avant chacun a son tour et terme

Item aura madicte dame deux clerks des offices servans a tour de six mois en six mois et auront chacun quatre bouches comptees

Jehan de la chappelle

maistre Jaques de Laverderne

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit la chappelle lesdis mois de juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et ledit maistre Jaques les autres six mois ensuivans

[f. 12<sup>r</sup>] Item aura madicte dame ung aulmosnier nomme maistre nicolle finet compte a quatre bouches

Item ung chappellain et soulz aumosnier nomme maistre Jehan mayin prestre compte a deux bouches

Item aura madicte dame ung cleric de chappelle et garde des joyaulz tousiours compte a trois bouches nomme Rollequin Miart

Item ung varlet daumosne nomme tamburin lequel est apointie de deux solz par jour sur le rosynal (?) de bourgoigne ou collinet finet auquel mondit seigneur le a acorde pour servir apres rosynal (?) aura apointie avec ledit tamburin ou apres son trespas et aura lors une bouche comptee

Item madicte dame aura ung medecin nomme messier dominicque tousiours servant devers elle et aura six bouches comptees

Et maistre Jehan de Lannoy aussi medechin apresent servant devers madicte dame et mademoiselle de bourgoingne pour six mois assavoir juillet aoust septembre octobre novembre et decembre et aura quatre bouches comptees

Item aura madicte dame ung secretaire tousiours servant nomme maistre Jehan soillot [f. 12<sup>v</sup>] Lequel aura six bouches comptees et en son absence maistre fernande de lissebonne<sup>65</sup> et apres la provision dudit maistre en la chambre des comptes ledit maistre fernande aura son lieu de secretaire

Item deux aydes de chambre servans a tour de six mois en six mois comptez chacun a une bouche Cestassavoir

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<sup>65</sup> Margaret and Charles would write character references for Fernande to the chapter of the church of St Pierre in Lille on the occasion of his wedding. Paravicini, W. et al, *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen*, II, 69.

Jehan faille

Jehan de vrezecourt

Lesquelz serviront assavoir ledit faille apresent servant jusques en la fin de decembre  
prouchainement venant et ledit de vrezecourt les mois de janvier fevrier mars avril  
may et junny et de la en avant chacun a son tour et terme

**[Here begins the household ordinance for Mary of Burgundy]**

[f. 13<sup>r</sup>] **Sensievent les gens** qui seront et sont devers mademoiselle de Bourgoigne

**Premierement**

La dame du chastelles qui aura trois bouches comptees

Item la nourrice de madicte damoiselle nomme Jehin de dampires qui sera comptee a deux bouches

Item une femme de chambre nommee Jehenne de mateurs qui sera comptee a une bouche

Item ung chappellain nomme mesire jehan finot lequel aura une bouche comptee

Item ung varlet de chambre nomme jarotin de mey aussi compte a une bouche

Item ung keux qui sera ayde de chambre nomme girard de hourbron et aura une bouche comptee

Lesquelles femmes et hommes serviront devers madicte damoiselle tant que le cas le requerra selon le bon plaisir de mondit seigneur

**Appendix Three. A New List of Manuscripts related to Margaret of York.**

## Appendix Three.

To date, there have been three attempts at making a full list of the manuscripts that once belonged to Margaret of York, or that were associated with her. It is in the nature of these lists, that as soon as scholars have finished their compilations, another manuscript turns up at an auction house, or another becomes associated with the duchess on the basis of some, frequently obscure, detail. It would, therefore, be foolish to claim this list to be definitive. It is, however, the first list in which the contents of the manuscripts are examined in a holistic fashion. Until now, this type of analysis has only been applied to one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 365, *Traités Morales*.<sup>1</sup> Moving beyond content, the context of the collection is also examined here.

There is much in these manuscripts that throws further light upon the world of Margaret of York. Through donations of books it is possible to add to our knowledge of Margaret's affinity, as examined in Part One, and about how she oiled the wheels of diplomacy. The manuscripts were also important tools in the cultural expression of power. That, too, is highlighted here. To make sense of her collection, and to facilitate its usefulness, the manuscripts have been divided into categories. This has not been done before, and breaks down what is otherwise a deceptively long list.

No claim is made here in the field of art history. Provenance, number of folios, whether a manuscript is made of paper or vellum: these are not questions which concern us here. To the historian, questions of provenance and workshops must, ultimately and regretfully, take second place. It would be a bold historian who claims enough knowledge to make any statement on the complex world of late medieval Burgundian illuminators. The complexity of the attributions is such that it leaves anyone but an art-historian utterly confused. For the most recent attempt to clear up the enormous confusion around the various 'Masters', 'Circles', 'Workshops', 'Ateliers' etc, Brinkmann's *Die Flämische Buchmalerei am ende des Burgunderreichs* forms a good

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<sup>1</sup> Chesney, K., "Notes on Some Treaties of Devotion Intended for Margaret of York (MS. Douce 365)", *Medium Aevum*, XX, (1951).

starting point.<sup>2</sup> Another good port of call is Smeyers's *L'Art de la Miniature flamande*.<sup>3</sup> His analysis is thorough, and it should be used by anyone interested in the artistic merits of Margaret's complete collection.

This approach has, of course, serious repercussions for any research into Margaret's role as patron of the arts. The rather innovative reconstruction of Margaret's quarters in Mechelen, and the wildly guessed list of painters represented there, made by Weightman is simply unsustainable when asked for evidence.<sup>4</sup> The above confusion of masters etc makes most statements on illuminators dubious. One could be forgiven for assuming that the Master of Margaret of York was patronised by the duchess, but he has recently become a whole group!<sup>5</sup> The one painter-illuminator who we can place in Margaret's vicinity without any doubt is Simon Marmion.<sup>6</sup> Marmion was active in Amiens from 1449, and came to Valenciennes where he became a member of the guild of St Luke in 1458. He died there in 1489, by which time he had achieved the reputation of being the finest miniaturist in the Low Countries.

In 1454, Philip the Good had chosen him to execute the decorations for the famous Crusading banquet of the pheasant. Unfortunately, no signed or documented work by Marmion has survived, but two of Margaret's manuscripts were undoubtedly by his hand, her copies of *Tondal* and *Thurno*. In all likelihood this is also the case with the only surviving panel painting which can be positively linked with the duchess. On the reverse of a *pieta* in the Metropolitan Museum of art in New York is painted Margaret's crest, accompanied by several interlinked initials C and M.<sup>7</sup> Maryan Ainsworth has argued that Marmion may have painted this for the chapter meeting of the Golden Fleece in Valenciennes, in 1473, where he may also probably executed the decorations.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Brinkmann, B., *Die Flämische Buchmalerei am ende des Burgunderreichs*. The attributions in this manuscript are dealt with by amongst others Charron, P. and Gil, M., "Les enlumineurs des manuscrits de David Aubert". In D. Quérueil (ed), *Les manuscrits de David Aubert*, 94; Winkler, F., *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*, 41-42.

<sup>3</sup> *Smeyers*, 374-91, is devoted to Margaret's collection from an art-historical view.

<sup>4</sup> *Weightman*, 124-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Illuminating*, 217-8.

<sup>6</sup> See the extensive information in Kren, T. (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> See illustration XXXIX, p. 328.

<sup>8</sup> Ainsworth, M.W., "Simon Marmion, the Lamentation". In *Illuminating*, 107.

The stunningly realistic body of Our Lord, so typical of the Christocentric devotions of the late fifteenth century, provides a rare glimpse of the complexity of duchess's devotional world. Most evidence suggests, after all, a more Marian hue to Margaret's religious outlook. The composition also rather diminishes the importance of Mary Magdalene to the onlooker. Had the Magdalene been the central element of the painting, one could have argued, as Weightman has done with relation to a *Deposition* now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, that the painting reflects a need for repentance on the part of the duchess. However, this becomes less tenable in the light of this painting.<sup>9</sup>

Returning to the list of manuscripts which follow here, it needs to be emphasised that some of the manuscripts discussed here were not in Margaret of York's library, but can, nevertheless, be associated with her. Clearly, as was discussed in Part Three, there was no such thing as 'the library of Margaret of York'. The whole concept of a library during the fifteenth century differed far too much from a contemporary one to make such a categorisation valid.<sup>10</sup> Margaret's was a book collection, possibly several book collections, which belongs very firmly to a tradition of book collecting during the fifteenth century, a tradition which was particularly popular amongst the aristocracy of the Low Countries.<sup>11</sup> This, too, is an important statement in itself.

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<sup>9</sup> *Weightman*. 184-6. The argument that it is Margaret of York who is depicted on the Getty *Deposition* is rather weak, anyhow.

<sup>10</sup> Derolez, A., "Hoe lagen de boeken in Nederlandse bibliotheken op het einde der Middeleeuwen?". In C. de Backer et al, *Codex in Context*.

<sup>11</sup> C.f. Keyser, R. de et al, *Studies over het Boekbezit en Boekengebruik in de Nederlanden vóór 1600*; Korteweg, A.S., *Boeken van Oranje-Nassau*; Lemaire, C., "Lijst van Handschriften". In M.P.J. Mertens et al, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*; Derolez, A., *The Library of Raphael de Mercatellis, Abbot of St. Bavon's, Ghent, 1437-1508*; Boinet, A., "Un Bibliophile du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le Grand Bastard de Bourgogne", *BEC*, LXVII, (1906).

## Books commissioned by Margaret of York and forming part of her library.

**1) Name:** *Benois seront les miséricordieux.*

**Current location:** Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 9296.

**Date:** The dating of this manuscript is rather problematic. The usual loose dating of the work to between 1468 and 1477 is rather unsatisfactory, as is the notion that the inclusion of the arms of Charles the Bold, or the initials 'C' and 'M', necessarily places the manuscript between these dates. One can concur with Cockshaw that such an occurrence says nothing about the date at which a manuscript was created.<sup>12</sup> The original on which this text is based may provide a better clue. Gerard Haghen van Breda's *Beati misericordes* was written at the Charterhouse at Hérinnes.<sup>13</sup> The death of the prior, Laurent Muschelede, either in 1471 or 1477, has a strong bearing on the dating of Margaret's vernacular translation of the *Beati misericordes*.<sup>14</sup> He had been Margaret of York's spiritual councillor, possibly responsible for introducing her to the devotion of the Rosary. He almost certainly provided her with access to the original version of the manuscript.<sup>15</sup> The duchess's close association with Hérinnes is well documented, and, from 1472, she frequently visited the Charterhouse.<sup>16</sup> Muschelede's death deprived her of a source of spiritual counselling, and this would have been a good incentive to order her almoner to copy this text and translate it into more accessible French.<sup>17</sup>

**Scribe:** Nicholas Finet.<sup>18</sup>

**Place:** Brussels.<sup>19</sup>

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Ascribed to Dreux Jean, to the Master of Guillebert de Lannoy, or to the Master of Girart de Roussillon.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Cockshaw, P., "Some Remarks on the Character and Content of the Library of Margaret of York". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 60.

<sup>13</sup> For Gerard Haghen van Breda, c.f. Hendrickx, F., *De Kartuziers en hun klooster te Zelem*, 101.

<sup>14</sup> Not a single date surrounding this manuscript is free of uncertainty. The date of Muschelede's death is given by the authoritative *Prosopographia Carthusiana Belgica* as 1471. However, the contemporary *Chronica domus capellae*, by Arnoldus Beeltsens, gives his death as 1477. Grauwe, J. de, *Prosopographia Carthusiana Belgica*, 236; Beeltsens, A. and Ammonius, J., *Chronique de la Chartreuse de la Chapelle à Hérinnes-lez-Enghien*, 79. The latter is the more likely, as Alanus de Rupe visited the prior in 1475!

Meyer, R.P.A. de, O.P., *La Congregation de Hollande*, lxxx.

<sup>15</sup> Grauwe, J. de, "Historia Carthusiana Belgica", *A. Cart.*, (1985), 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Weightman*, 73-4.

<sup>17</sup> C.f. Scholtens, H.J.J., "De litteraire nalatenschap van de Kartuziers in de Nederlanden", *OGE*, XXV, (1951), 580.

<sup>18</sup> He also translated the text from the Latin into French. Colophon on f. 1<sup>v</sup>. He calls himself Margaret of York's almoner and a canon of Cambrai. Carpentier, J. le, *Histoire genealogique des Païs-Bas*, 474. Jean de Haynin wrote "Mestre Nicolle Finet, aumonier de madame la doagierre et de mademoiselle de Bourgogne, lequel estoit natif de ma ville de louvegnies empres Bavai, beny le lit ou monsieur le duc et la dame des noches coucerte secte prumierre nuit". *Haynin*, II, 42. Finet had been in Margaret's household since her arrival in 1468, A.D.N. B3376, n. 113546, f. 12<sup>r</sup>. Q.v. Appendix Two, p. 380.

<sup>19</sup> Since Finet was archdeacon of Brussels. Carpentier, J. le, *op.cit.*, 474.

**Number of Miniatures:** 2.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Margaret of York's device. *Marguerites*. Initials.<sup>21</sup>

**Inscription:** Dedicated by Finet to "princesse madame Marguerite d'York".

**Signature:** Margarite de Yorke.

**Author(s):** This is a large compilation, containing at least 38 different texts. Although Finet translated the compilation, it was actually created by Gerard Haghen van Breda, O.Cart. (?-1465). Many of the texts are by Church Fathers, including St Jerome (c. 341-420), St John Chrysostom (c.347-407), St Ambrose (c.339-397), St Augustine (354-430) and St Basil (c.330-379). Later authors include St Bede (673-735) and St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), whilst the *Apostles' Sayings* also feature. Who wrote the original texts matters less here, than what the texts say, and why they were put together by the Carthusian collector.<sup>22</sup> The whole compilation is intended to illustrate the Sermon on the Mount.

**Texts included:** The manuscript contains a large body of sermons, amongst others by St Augustine, Pope Leo the Great and St Paul. F. 125<sup>r</sup> to 150<sup>r</sup> are taken up by examples of mercy, illustrated by means of a large number of hagiographies, including *vita's* of SS Julian, Pope Gregory, Dominic, Giles, Our Lady, Jerome, Martin, Elizabeth of Hungary, and Clare. An important passage may be found on f. 198<sup>r</sup> in the *vita* of St Gertrude of Nivelles, where there is a reference to a "deuote Vierge", who "fonda plusieurs eglises et edifices" in which grow up "pluseurs saintz". Margaret of York was to make a career of founding and reforming churches and convents of all types.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 5.

Hughes: 12.

Barstow: 1.

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<sup>20</sup> Dreux Jean has been identified with the Master of Girart de Roussillon, and with the Master of Guillebert de Lannoy. Rouzet, A., "Guillebert de Lannoy. Le Livre de l'instruction d'un jeune prince". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 177; Dogaer, J. and Debae, M. (eds), *La librairie de Philippe le Bon*, 78, called this particular 'Master' the pupil of Dreux Jean.

<sup>21</sup> f. 17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> The wide range of sources reveals something of the amazing libraries in Charterhouses. Only one inventory of a library in a Low Countries' Charterhouse survives, that of Utrecht. C.f. Gumbert, J.P., "Over Kartuizerbibliotheken in de Nederlanden". In R. de Keyser et al, *Studies over het Boekbezit en Boekengebruik in de Nederlanden vóór 1600*, 164-5.

**Literature:**

*Marguerite d'York et son temps*, 30-31.

Bartier, J., *Karel de Stoute*, 124-25.

Cheyns-Condé, M., "Expression de la piété des duchesses de Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", *CEEB*, XXIX, (1989), 60-1.

Dekeyzer, B., "Benois seront les misericordieux". In *Dames met klasse*, 70-1.

Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw der Vlaamse Miniatuur*, 149-50.

Delaissé, L.M.J. et al, *Medieval Miniatures from the Department of Manuscripts The Royal Library of Belgium*, 196-9.

Durrieu, L, *La miniature Flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne*, 70.

*Galesloot*, 239 and 255-8.

Gheyn, J. van, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, III, 366-7.

*Hommel*, 329.

Liebaers, H. (ed), *Treasures of Belgian Libraries*, 52.

*Pächt*, 13.

Rouzet, A., "Benois seront les miséricordieux". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 97-98.

*Weightman*, 203-4.

**2) Name:** The manuscript's heading is: *Le livre de l'ame contemplative*. It is also known under a variety of other names: *Jean Gerson, Opera*; *Devotional Writings by Jean Gerson*; *Jean Gerson, Oeuvres*.

**Current location:** Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 9305-6.

**Date:** There is little in the manuscript to suggest a date.

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** Brugge (?).

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** The Master of Margaret of York.<sup>23</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 3.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Initials of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York.

**Inscription:** "Ce livre cy est a tres haute tres excellente et puissante princesse Madame Marguerite d'York ducesse de bourg<sup>ne</sup> de brabant" etc.

**Signature:** margarete de york.

**Author(s):** Jean Gerson (1363-1429).<sup>24</sup>

**Texts included:** Three of Gerson's works are included: *Traicte de mendicite spirituelle*; *La medicine de l'ame* and *La montaigne de contemplacion*.<sup>25</sup>

**Notes:** The first two texts are also to be found in K.B.B. Ms. 9272-76, *Traicés de Morale*. As that manuscript can be dated somewhat earlier than this, it seems probable that Margaret decided to have an additional copy made of these two texts, which she obviously rated highly, to have at hand at a different location. Given that the manuscript probably originated in Brugge this could well have been made to be kept in the castle at Male near Brugge.<sup>26</sup> There may have been a 'library' in her palace in Mechelen at a later date, and Galesloot mentions a library in Binche.<sup>27</sup> All this suggests that the 'library' was never just that, with one collection in one place. Instead, the duchess had several small collections in several places.

### **Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 6.

Hughes: 15.

Barstow: 3.

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<sup>23</sup> This manuscript gave the illuminator his name. Winkler, F., *op.cit*, 86 and 165.

<sup>24</sup> Chancellor of the University of Paris and bishop of Cambrai. Gerson has been the subject of an extensive biography, which place his works in context. Posthumus Meyjes, G.H.M., *Jean Gerson. Zijn Kerkpolitiek en Ecclesiologie*.

<sup>25</sup> C.f. Gerson, J., *Oeuvres Complètes*, Glorieux, P. (ed), VII, 220-280, 404-7 and 16-55.

<sup>26</sup> Although we have no evidence for a library at Male. The accounts of the reconstruction of the palace after the fire of 1472, do not mention a library. Huisman, P. et al, *Male, burcht en abdij*, 158.

<sup>27</sup> *Dogaer*, 100; *Galesloot*, 225. There is, however, an indication that she had at least a reading-room. A.D.N. 852 f. 45<sup>v</sup>, 47<sup>v</sup> and 51<sup>v</sup>

**Literature:**

Delaisé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 123.

Gheyn, J. van, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, III, 88.

Rouzet, A., "Jean Gerson. Oeuvres en français". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 99.

Winkler, F., *Die Flämische Buchmalerei*, 86.

**3) Name:** *La somme de perfection*.<sup>28</sup>

**Current location:** Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 9106.

**Date:** 1475.<sup>29</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert.

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Master of the *Traité de Morale*.

**Number of Miniatures:** 1.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Device.

**Inscription:** Aubert indicates that the Ms was written "au commendement de tres haulte ... madame Marguerite de York".

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Frère Laurent du Bois, O.P. (active around 1279),<sup>30</sup> Albert of Cologne alias Albert de Montferrant, archbishop of Cologne,<sup>31</sup> Rutebeuf (d. c. 1285),<sup>32</sup> and several anonymous authors.

**Texts included:** i) Laurent du Bois, *La Somme le roi*, with the first two parts missing.<sup>33</sup> ii) *Comment Jhesu Crist enseigna ses appotres*. iii) *La Patre Nostre en francoiz*. iv) *Comment l'on doit se confesser*. v) *Comment chascune creature doit avoir en luy vraye cognoissance de son createur*. vi) *Les dix commendements de la loy* (From *La Somme le roi*). vii) *Aucuns bons motifs des sains de paradis*. viii) *Plusieurs beaulz exemples, en declairant d'une vertu qui s'apelle fontaine d'humilite*. ix) *Ung exemple de moral sur une fiction du corps et de l'ame*. x) *Le signifiement et ordonnance de la sainte messe*. xi) *Plusieurs beaulz exemples et enseignemens*. xii) *La vertu et proufit que dessert la personne quy est en l'amour de Nostre Seigneur*. xiii) *Des branches du pommier*. xiv) *Signes de l'amour de Nostre Seigneur*. xv) Albert of Cologne, *Neufs articles*. xvi) *Dits de Saint Pol*. xvii) *Six maistres de tribulation*. xviii) Rutebeuf, *Ave Maria*. xix) *Ung exemple moult notable sur l'euvangile touchant a chascune creature*. xx) *De la nativite de Antecrist*. xxi) *Des quinze signes qui advendront devant le grant jugement*. xxii) *Des peines des damnes et de la gloire des bienheureux*.

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<sup>28</sup> The manuscript is also known as *La somme le roi* after its first text, as well as *Somme des Vices et Vertus*.

<sup>29</sup> The date is given in the manuscript.

<sup>30</sup> Frère Laurent du Bois was the confessor of king Philip III of France. C.f. Langlois, E., *La vie en France au moyen âge, IV, La vie spirituelle*, 123-4. He was also known as Laurent d'Orléans.

<sup>31</sup> No one named Albert or Albrecht is given in any of the lists of the archbishops of *Cologne*. Gams, P.P.B., O.S.B., *Series Episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, 269-71.

<sup>32</sup> C.f. Smith, F.S., *Secular and Sacred Visionaries in the Late Middle Ages*, 89-91. For the text, c.f. Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Zink, M. (ed), II.

<sup>33</sup> A copy of this work could also be found in the library of Engelbrecht II of Nassau. Vosters, S.A., "De bibliotheek van Engelbrecht II van Nassau", *Oranjeboom*, XLVI, (1993), 27. C.f. Brayer, E., "Contenu, Structure et Combinaisons du Miroir du Monde et de la Somme le Roi", *Romania*, LXXIX, (1958).

**Notes:** Laurent du Bois's text has been called "the most celebrated manual of religious instruction".<sup>34</sup> It dominates this manuscript, even without its first two parts; in all it takes up 199 folios out of a total of 253.<sup>35</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 2.

Hughes: 18.<sup>36</sup>

Barstow: 6.

**Literature:**

Delaisé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 160.

*Galesloot*, 264.

Gheyn, J. van, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, III, 400-2.

Lemaire, C., "Laurent du Bois. La Somme de Perfection". In H. Liebaers, *Le cinquième de l'imprimerie*, 25-29.

Rouzet, A., "Laurent du Bois". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 96-7.

Straub, R.E.F., *David Aubert, escrivain et clerc*, 44-5.

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<sup>34</sup> Muir, L.R., *Literature and Society in Medieval France*, 169-70.

<sup>35</sup> For an outline, c.f. Langlois, E., *op.cit.*, IV.

<sup>36</sup> She confused the contents with that of K.B.B. Ms. 9030-37.

**4) Name:** *La dyalogue de la ducesse de bourgogne a Ihesu Crist*.<sup>37</sup>

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Inventory Number:** Add. Ms. 7970.

**Date:** ca. 1470.<sup>38</sup>

**Scribe:** Nicholas Finet.

**Place:** Brussels.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Ascribed to the Master of Girard of Roussillon, and to the Master of Guillebert de Lannoy.

**Number of Miniatures:** 1.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Initials C and M; marguerites.

**Inscription:** Finet states that he wrote the text "a la requeste de ... princesse Marguerite d'Yorck".

**Signature:** margarete.

**Author(s):** Nicholas Finet.

**Texts included:** *La dyalogue de la ducesse de bourgogne a Ihesu Crist*, a personalised list of questions and answers between Margaret of York and Our Lord. It is also a reminder of the importance of humility, with Christ emphasising the dangers of pride.<sup>39</sup> The work is very Christ-centred, and offers a counter-balance to the seemingly endless parade of saints and the deep Marian element in Margaret's religious life. The book urges her to think "longneusement Jour et nuit en la loy de dieu les meueillez miracles et misteres de la passion et charite du filz de dieu".<sup>40</sup> Does this manuscript reflect the concerns of the duchess, or that of her almoner? Christ does most of the talking in this dialogue, so it is Finet who clearly wishes to answer Margaret's questions on paper. However, Margaret seems to have initiated this process, and some of the questions mirror the concerns of Isabella of Portugal and Cicely Neville, her great mentors, particularly the question of how she can live the monastic life "au millieu du monde et maison des princes en la compaignie dez noblez".<sup>41</sup> One may also recall the enormous influence of Thomas à Kempis here, both on the duchess and on her contemporaries.

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<sup>37</sup> I would like to thank Dr Livia Visser-Fuchs for her help with this.

<sup>38</sup> The date is from the British Library's in-house catalogue. 1490 was the date given after an earlier examination. Roscoe, W., Madden, F. and Ricci, S. de, "A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall", *Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, VII, (1932), 56.

<sup>39</sup> f. 9-10.

<sup>40</sup> f. 14-5.

<sup>41</sup> f. 24<sup>v</sup>.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 14.<sup>42</sup>

Hughes: 13.

Barstow: 2.

**Literature:**

Cheyns-Condé, M., "Expression de la piété", 61.

Hellinga, L., "Caxton and the Bibliophiles", *Communications Congrès International de Bibliophile*, XI, (1979).

*Illuminating*, 215-6.

*Pächt*, 13.

Pearson, A., "La dialogue de la duchesse de bourg<sup>ne</sup> a ihū c[hri]st". In *Dames met klasse*, 244-5.

*Weightman*, 208, and n. 70.

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<sup>42</sup> Dogaer gives this manuscript as a fragment of a gradual, confusing it with B.L. Ms. Arundel 71, f. 9, *Fragment of a Gradual*. As a result, the *dyalogue* is not mentioned in his list.

**5) Name:** *De la consolation de philosophie*.<sup>43</sup>

**Current location:** Jena, Universitätsbibliothek.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. El. F. 85.

**Date:** 1476.<sup>44</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert.<sup>45</sup>

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Attributed to the Master of Margaret of York, and to the Master of Mary of Burgundy.<sup>46</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 1.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Device.

**Inscription:** By Aubert to "Madame Marguerite d'Engleterre".

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (ca. 480-524).

**Texts included:** The fifth and final book of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.

**Notes:** The miniature, which depicts Aubert handing Margaret this copy, is of interest as it shows her as patron of the arts, and provides an insight into the setting of her court, even if in an idealised version.<sup>47</sup> It also calls to mind the title page of Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*. Jean de Meun(g), one of the authors of the *Romance of the Rose*, had indicated in his translation that he had taken some liberties when translating from Latin into French. This, so he said, was definitely a lay-person's copy.<sup>48</sup> This manuscript later belonged to Engelbrecht II of Nassau, but is believed to have been purchased by him after Margaret's death.<sup>49</sup> However, since Engelbrecht died in 1504, seven months after Margaret, it is more likely that he either purchased it from the duchess, or that she presented him with the copy, which has great artistic merit.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 12.

Hughes: 11.

Barstow: 7.

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<sup>43</sup> For a modern translated edition, see Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, P.G. Walsh (transl. and ed).

<sup>44</sup> The date is noted on the manuscript by David Aubert.

<sup>45</sup> After a translation by Jean de Meun(g), of *Roman de la Rose* fame.

<sup>46</sup> Alexander, J.J.G., *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*.

<sup>47</sup> See also Part Two, pp. 148-9.

<sup>48</sup> Muir, L.R., *op.cit.*, 167-8. Jean de Meun(g)'s translation was the subject of a study. C.f. Langlois, Ch.-V., *op.cit.*, 269-326.

<sup>49</sup> Korteweg, A.S., *op.cit.*, 22.

**Literature:**

Cheyns-Condé, M., "Expression de la piété", 60.

Doutrepont, G., *La Littérature Française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne*, 234.

Eichberger, D., "Livre de Boece de Consolation". In *Dames met klasse*, 241-2.

Olschki, L., *Manuscrits français à peintures des bibliothèques de Allemagne*, 31-2.  
*Pächt*, 4.

QuérueI, D. (ed), *Les manuscrits de David Aubert*, 95 and 100.

Straub, R.E.F., *David Aubert*, 49-50.

**6) Name:** *Les visions du chevalier Tondal*.

**Current location:** Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 30.

**Date:** 1474.<sup>50</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert.<sup>51</sup>

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Simon Marmion.<sup>52</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 20.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Device. Initials C and M.

**Inscription:** The dedication by Aubert was to "madame Marguerite de Yorch".

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** An Irish monk named Marcus, writing in Latin, in Regensburg around 1149, with as title *Visio Tnugdali*.<sup>53</sup>

**Texts included:** *Les visions du chevalier Tondal*.

**Notes:** This is only one of two of Margaret's manuscripts to have had a special publication dedicated to it.<sup>54</sup> It has also formed the basis for a colloquium.<sup>55</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 8.

Hughes: 17.<sup>56</sup>

Barstow: 5.

**Literature:**

*Harvard College Library. An Exhibition of Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*, 26-7.

Challis, K., "Les visions du chevalier Tondal". In *Dames met klasse*, 245-6.

Charron, P. and Gil, M., "Les enlumineurs", 95 and 100.

Doutrepoint, G., *La Littérature Française*, 235.

*Illuminating*, 112-6.

Straub, R.E.F., *David Aubert*, 72-3.

*Weightman*, 206-7.

Wieck, R.S., "Margaret of York's Visions of Tondal". T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 119-28.

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<sup>50</sup> The date is given on the manuscript. Aubert's date reflects the Burgundian use of Easter as the start of a new year. It was completed about a month before the accompanying *La vision de l'âme de Guy de Thurno*.

<sup>51</sup> He may also have translated the text into French from Latin. Wieck, R.S., "Margaret of York's Visions of Tondal". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 119.

<sup>52</sup> This is the only Tondal which is illuminated. Charron, P. and Gil, M., *op.cit.*, 95.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the original text, c.f. Owen, D.D.R., *The Vision of Hell*, 27-37.

<sup>54</sup> Kren, T. and Wieck, R.S., *The Visions of Tondal from the Library of Margaret of York*.

<sup>55</sup> Kren, T. (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*.

<sup>56</sup> Giving Guy de Thurno as its author.

**7) Name:** *La vision de l'âme de Guy de Thurno*.  
**Current location:** Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum.  
**Inventory Number:** Ms. 31.  
**Date:** 1474.<sup>57</sup>  
**Scribe:** David Aubert.  
**Place:** Gent.  
**Language:** French.  
**Illuminator(s):** Attributed to Simon Marmion.  
**Number of Miniatures:** 1.  
**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.  
**Other Marks of Ownership:** Device. Initials C and M.  
**Inscription:** Aubert wrote that the Ms was written "par le commendement et ordonnance de ... Madame marguerite de Yorch".  
**Signature:** No.  
**Author(s):** Unknown.  
**Texts included:** *La vision de l'âme de Guy de Thurno*. It dates to the 1320s and was originally in Latin: *De spiritu Guidonis*.  
**Notes:** The foliation begins at 45, supporting the idea that *Les visions du chevalier Tondal* originally preceded this text.

**Previous numbers:**

Dogaer: 9.  
Hughes: 16.  
Barstow: 4.

**Literature:**

*Harvard College Library. An Exhibition of Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*, 27.  
Charron, P. and Gil, M., "Les enlumineurs", 95 and 100.  
Cheyns-Condé, M., "Expression de la piété", 60.  
Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 159.  
Doutrepont, G., *La Littérature Française*, 235.  
Hoffmann, E.W., "Simon Marmion or 'The Master of the Altarpiece of Saint-Bertin'", *Scriptorium*, XXVII, (1973).  
*Illuminating*, 111-2.  
Straub, R.E.F., *David Aubert*, 73.

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<sup>57</sup> The date is inscribed on the manuscript. The in-house description of the J. Paul Getty Museum gives 1475. Aubert's date reflects the Burgundian use of Easter as the start of a new year, placing the completion date of the manuscript somewhere between January and Easter 1475. I would like to thank Susan L'Engle, Assistant Curator at the museum, for her help.

**8) Name:** *Traité Morales et religieux.*

**Current location:** Oxford, Bodleian Library.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. Douce 365.

**Date:** March 1476.<sup>58</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert.<sup>59</sup>

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.<sup>60</sup>

**Illuminator(s):** The Master of Mary of Burgundy.<sup>61</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 4.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** "Par le commandement de treshaulte, tres-excellente et trespuissante princesse, Et ma tresredoubtee et souveraine dame, Madame Marguerite de Yorke".<sup>62</sup>

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Jean Gerson, St Pierre de Luxembourg (1369-1387),<sup>63</sup> Pierre de Blois (ca. 1135-1505),<sup>64</sup> Gerard of Liège O.P. (fl. 1270),<sup>65</sup> Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.- 65 A.D.),<sup>66</sup> St Bernard of Clairvaux O.Cist.

**Texts included:** 1) Jean Gerson, *L'abbaye du Saint Esprit*; 2) *traictié qui demoustré comment l'on doit tout son temps ordonner a dieu server*; 3) St Pierre de Luxembourg, *Livret*; 4) *Du gouvernement cotidien*; 5) Pierre de Blois, *Les douze fleurs de tribulation*; 6) Gerard of Liège O.P., *La garde du coeur et de l'ame*;<sup>67</sup> 7) Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Des remedes de fortune*;<sup>68</sup> 8) Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De quatre vertus cardinalz*;<sup>69</sup> 9) St Bernard of Clairvaux O.Cist., *Le miroir des pecheurs*;<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Aubert has March 1475, in the old style.

<sup>59</sup> Straub, R.E.F., *op.cit.*, 74.

<sup>60</sup> Not translated from the Latin, but copied from vernacular sources. Chesney, K., *op.cit.*, 12.

<sup>61</sup> *Pächt*, 20, n. 2 and 3.

<sup>62</sup> f. 267.

<sup>63</sup> Bishop of Metz and Cardinal, canonised in 1527. Jorga, N., "Philippe de Mézières", *Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes*, (1896).

<sup>64</sup> Archdeacon of Bath and London, but possibly an unknown, thirteenth-century writer. Chesney, K., *op.cit.*, 23. See also Revell, E., *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*,

<sup>65</sup> In England his works were sometimes attributed to Robert Grosseteste.

<sup>66</sup> The authority of the Roman poet and philosopher was high during the later Middle Ages, when it was believed that he had corresponded with St Paul. His poetry could also be read as containing covert Christian messages. See Sénèque, *Dialogues*, IV, Waltz, R. (ed. and transl.).

<sup>67</sup> A translation from the Latin *De custodia cordis*.

<sup>68</sup> Seneca's authorship is debatable, but that is irrelevant here; Margaret of York, like all medieval readers, believed it to have been by his hand. As f. clv indicates, this text was transcribed from a French version written originally for Philip the Good. Margaret shared her interest in this with Anthony, the Great Bastard, who may well have introduced her to it.

<sup>69</sup> Again Seneca's authorship is disputed, and again this is immaterial here. What is beyond doubt is that St Martin of Braga added the prologue and epilogue. Chesney, K., *op.cit.*, 31. This was one of the more popular treatises of the late Middle Ages.

<sup>70</sup> Once more a disputed authorship, and once more a text which owed much to a copy in the library of Anthony, the Great Bastard.

**Notes:** This is another collation of spiritual guidelines, of which Margaret collected several. It is of interest to note that these were clearly considered timeless. Amongst the manuscripts one can find up-to-date contributions by her contemporaries, such as Thomas à Kempis or Jacobus van Gruytrode, as well as works several centuries old. However, at times, these texts have been rigorously updated by the scribes, who clearly functioned as editors at times. In this manuscript, for example, Gerard of Liège's *La garde du coeur et de l'ame*, has had the passages on warfare removed, which, as Chesney argued, were probably considered obsolete.<sup>71</sup> The inclusion of texts which were attributed to Seneca and St Bernard of Clairvaux reveal the need to have recourse to authority.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 20.

Hughes: 20.

Barstow: 8.

**Literature:**

*Marguerite d'York et son temps*, 32.

Chesney, K., "Notes on Some Treaties of Devotion Intended for Margaret of York (MS. Douce 365)", *Medium Aevum*, XX, (1951).

Doutrepont, G., *La littérature française*, 181, 234.

*Illuminating*, 197-8.

Lieftinck, G., "De Meester van Maria van Bourgondië", *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Oudheidkundige Bond*, XVII, (1964), 257-94.

*Pächt*, 2-3.

Pächt, O., and Alexander, J.J.G., *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, I, 26.

Waagen, F., *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, 82.

*Weightman*, 7-16, 91-2.

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<sup>71</sup> Chesney, K., *op.cit.*, 27.

**Books in the Library of Margaret of York with no evidence for a commission by her.**

**9) Name:** *Traité de Morale*.

**Current location:** Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 9272-76.

**Date:** Late 1460's, or 1470 at the latest.<sup>72</sup>

**Scribe:** Unknown.

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Master of the *Traité de Morale*, except for the last illumination, which is by the Master of Mary of Burgundy.<sup>73</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 5.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Jean Gerson; Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471); St Bernard of Clairvaux; St John Chrysostom and several anonymous authors.

**Texts included:** i) Jean Gerson, *Traictie de mendicite spirituelle, Le medicine de l'ame* and *Meditation de la mort*; ii) St John Chrysostom, *Reparation du pecheur*; iii) St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Meditations*; iv) Thomas à Kempis (or attributed to), *Une bonne et necessaire doctrine de toute nostre foy, Imitation de Jesus Christ*. There are also three anonymous texts in the manuscript: i) *Une devote, humble et salutaire visitation*; ii) *Trattie de l'ame embrasee d'amour et du feu de charite*; iii) *Admonestement de vivre contre la vanite du monde*.

**Notes:** More than half of the texts in this manuscript originated in the circle of the Brothers of the Common Life. Margaret had close ties with some of the monasteries of the Windesheimer Congregation, in particular with Bois-Seigneur-Isaac.<sup>74</sup> Its prior, Gaspar Ofhuys, reformed the house at Oignies at Margaret's request, and their relationship remained close until her death.<sup>75</sup> The most famous work in this manuscript, the *Imitation de Jesus Christ*, could not have come from this house, however, as its library did not have a copy.<sup>76</sup> Most likely, she came into contact with the work at the

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<sup>72</sup> The manuscript is usually attributed to either, 'the period of Margaret's marriage' (1468-77), or to the mid-1470's. A slightly later date is tentatively postulated here, based on the fact that more than half this manuscript is taken up with work that came either directly from Thomas à Kempis, or at least from the tradition of the Brethren of the Common Life. Although there is no substantial evidence for an earlier dating, it can be proven that her earliest contact with the *Windesheimer* Congregation took place in 1468.

<sup>73</sup> The Master of the *Traité de Morale* has been called an imitator of Alexander Benning. Winkler, F., *Die Flämische Buchmalerei*, 117 and 163.

<sup>74</sup> Prieuré de Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, Archives: *Chronique*.

<sup>75</sup> Borgh, J. vander, "Prieuré Bois-Seigneur-Isaac", *M.B.*, IV, 1089-1103.

<sup>76</sup> For a catalogue of the libraries of the congregation, c.f. Wien, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Series Nova, 12694.

famed *Roodklooster*, the some-time residence of Hugo vander Goes, and popular with the Burgundian dynasty.<sup>77</sup> The *Imitatio Christi* was a firm favourite in the Low Countries, anyhow, and appeared in print as early as 1474, only three years after Thomas à Kempis's death.<sup>78</sup> Its inclusion in this manuscript is yet another example of the duchess's devotional life. Its message was enforced by the inscription following her crest, which states that it was written "premierement pour les simples curez et prestres", but also for the sick, children, masters of hospitals and "maisons dieu", and for those who desire a religious life, but are forced to live in the world.<sup>79</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 4.

Hughes: 19.

Barstow: 21.

**Literature:**

*Marguerite d'York et son temps*, 30.

Cheyns-Condé, M., "Expression de la piété", 60.

Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 161-2.

*Galesloot*, 259-61.

Gheyn, J. van, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, III, 512.

*Illuminating*, 160.

Liebaers, H. (ed), *Treasures of Belgian Libraries*, 68.

Rouzet, A., "Traité de Morale". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 97.

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<sup>77</sup> Persoons, E., "Prieuré du Rouge-Cloître, à Auderghem", *M.B.*, IV, 1089-1103.

<sup>78</sup> Hellings, W., "Thomas a Kempis voor het eerst in druk". In D. Kanduth et al, *Bijdragen over Thomas à Kempis en de Moderne Devotie*, 123.

<sup>79</sup> f. 9<sup>v</sup>.

**10) Name:** *Bible moralisée* or *Traité ascétique* or *Recueil ascétique*.

**Current location:** Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.

**Inventory Number:** Ms 9030-37.

**Date:** Probably 1475.<sup>80</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert.<sup>81</sup>

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** The Master of Mary of Burgundy executed the coloured miniatures, the Master of the *Traité de Morale* the grisaille ones.

**Number of Miniatures:** 4.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.<sup>82</sup>

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Margaret of York's device.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175-1253), Honorius of Autun (fl. 1106-1135), H(enri) of Saltrey O.Cist. (fl. 1189) All other texts are anonymous.

**Texts included:** i) *Exodus*; ii) Grosseteste, *Chateau d'amour*;<sup>83</sup> iii) Honorius of Autun, *Lucidaire*;<sup>84</sup> iv) H(enri) of Saltrey O.Cist., *Purgatoire de Saint Patrice*. The anonymous texts are: i) *Moralitez des philosophes*; ii) *Plusieurs moult belles auctoritez de aucuns sains de Paradis*; iii) *Des douze jeusnes que tous chretiens doibvent jeusner devant leur mort*; iv) *Pourquoi l'en doibt plus tost jeusner le vendredi que les aultres jours en septmaine*; v) *Traite de confession*; vi) *Cy parle de nostre creance tres appertement selon Dieu*.

#### **Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 1.

Hughes: 4.<sup>85</sup>

Barstow: 22.

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<sup>80</sup> Charron, P. and Gil, M., *op.cit.*, 100.

<sup>81</sup> This is not totally certain. Straub, R.E.F., *op.cit.*, 105-7.

<sup>82</sup> All authorities argue that Charles the Bold's crest is also present, but this is not the case.

<sup>83</sup> The title is misleading, as it was appended to Grosseteste's tract in the twentieth century by S.H. Thomson. Thomson, S.H., *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*. Grosseteste is the only English author besides the Venerable Bede to appear in Margaret's collection.

<sup>84</sup> This is another text in dialogue form. It has been described as the "premier traité que présent la doctrine Chrétienne selon un plan systématique". Lefèvre, Y., "Elucidarium, Lucidaire". In R. Bossuat et al, *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises*, 404. C.f. Lefèvre, Y., *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*.

<sup>85</sup> Hughes attributed the manuscript to Charles the Bold.

**Literature:**

*Galesloot*, 261-4.

Delaisé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 162.

Gheyn, J. van, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, III, 409-11.

*Illuminating*, 162.

Pinchart, A.J., *Miniaturistes, enlumineurs & calligraphes*, 32-3.

Rouzet, A., "Recueil ascétique". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 99-100.

*Weightman*, 206.

**11) Name:** *Li livres dou trésor*.

**Current location:** Saint Quentin, Bibliothèque Municipale.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 109.

**Date:** 1475-6.<sup>86</sup>

**Scribe:** Jehan du Quesne.<sup>87</sup>

**Place:** Lille.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** ?

**Number of Miniatures:** 1.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.<sup>88</sup>

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** Signed at the end.

**Author(s):** Brunetto Latini (c. 1220-1294).<sup>89</sup>

**Texts included:** *Li livres dou trésor*, book one. The manuscript does not include the other two books. This section includes passages on theology, history, geography, and natural history. With her large animal collection, she obviously subscribed to Latini's notion that "Singes est une beste ki volentiers contrefait çou k'ele voit faire as homes". For her world-view, it is of interest to note that Latini's geography, his *mapamonde*, was supplemented by the information contained in the *Fleurs des Histoires*, which she acquired from the library of Philip the Good.<sup>90</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: 12.

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<sup>86</sup> The scribe was active in the 1470s. Since the manuscript originated in Lille, it is less likely to post-date 1476, when the town lay in a war zone for three years. Margaret of York became more closely involved in the government of the Burgundian Lands from 1475 and we may assume that it was from that period that she felt the need for reference materials more strongly, compelling her to order her own copy of the *Li livres dou trésor*.

<sup>87</sup> Who was also known as Jehan du Chesne. He worked for Charles the Bold as scribe and, as he claimed, as translator. He had written the text personally, which he also did for the copy he made for Louis, *heer van Gruuthuse*, B.N. Ms. fr. 191. C.f. Bradley, J.W., *A Dictionary of Miniaturists*, I, 291-3. For Gruuthuse's copy, c.f. Martens, M.P.J. et al, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse, passim*. Du Chesne's employment by Margaret is an example of post-1477 continuity in the arts.

<sup>88</sup> Her arms are on the clasp. This book is still in its original binding, the only one of Margaret of York's books where that is the case.

<sup>89</sup> Latini wrote the work whilst in exile in France. C.f. Carmody, F.J., *Li livres dou trésor de Brunetto Latini*, introduction.

<sup>90</sup> Q.v. under number 19 on this list.

**Literature:**

Carmody, F.J., *Li livres dou trésor de Brunetto Latini*, LIV.

Legaré, A.M., "Le livre du Trésor". In *Dames met klasse*, 244.

**12) Name:** *Vita Christi* and *La vengeance de la mort Jésus-Christ*.

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. Royal 16. G. III.

**Date:** 1479.<sup>91</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert.<sup>92</sup>

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Master of the Flemish Boethius.<sup>93</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 9.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes (?).<sup>94</sup>

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Ludolph of Saxony (ca. 1300-1378).<sup>95</sup>

**Texts included:** *Vita Christi*,<sup>96</sup> and *La vengeance de la mort Jésus-Christ*.

**Notes:** One partly shares the reservations of Paviot about Margaret's ownership of this manuscript.<sup>97</sup> However, as Aubert worked for no one else but Margaret of York during this period, it would be difficult to offer an alternative candidate, even though Aubert is depicted on f. 8<sup>v</sup> presenting the copy to a man. Was this inserted at a later date, possibly in 1480, and was this manuscript another of Margaret's presents for Edward IV?

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: -

**Literature:**

Backhouse, J., "Founders of the Royal Library". In D. Williams (ed), *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, p. 26.

Charron, P. and Gil, M., "Les enlumineurs", 100.

Straub, R.E.F., *David Aubert*, 71-2.

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<sup>91</sup> The date given by David Aubert.

<sup>92</sup> Jehan Aubert translated the *Vita Christi* which is contained in this manuscript. He was the *Maitre de la chambre des comptes*, first at Dijon and than at Lille, and David's father. Doutrepoint, G., *op.cit.*, 219. This manuscript was David Aubert's last work.

<sup>93</sup> Kren, T., and McKendrick, S., *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 289.

<sup>94</sup> According to Straub, R.E.F., *op.cit.*, 71. I failed to detect a crest in this manuscript.

<sup>95</sup> He was a Carthusian monk who wrote the original Latin *Vita Christi*, on which Jehan Aubert based his translation.

<sup>96</sup> This has been called the most important ascetic work of the late Middle Ages. Hendrickx, F. (ed), *op.cit.*, 178. It was very popular in the Low Countries, with a printed version coming off the press of Gheraert Leeu in 1487. *Ibid.*, 175-87. Margaret already possessed a *Vita Christi*, but this was written by Jean Mansel, q.v. number 19 on this list.

<sup>97</sup> Paviot, J., "David Aubert et la cour de Bourgogne". In D. Quérueu (ed), *Les manuscrits de David Aubert*, 14.

**13) Name:** *Apocalypse* and *La Vie de Saint Edmonde le Martyr*.

**Current location:** New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

**Inventory Number:** M. 484.

**Date:** ca. 1475.

**Scribe:** David Aubert.<sup>98</sup>

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Master of Mary of Burgundy, or his workshop.<sup>99</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 78.<sup>100</sup>

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** St John the Evangelist (1<sup>st</sup> Century). *La Vie de Saint Edmonde le Martyr* is derived from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.

**Texts included:** The *Apocalypse*,<sup>101</sup> and *La Vie de Saint Edmonde le Martyr*.<sup>102</sup>

**Notes:** This manuscript, with its seemingly simple themes, is actually quite a complex one. With the *Tondal* and *Guy de Thurno*, it forms part of a narrative of the end of time, and the timeless afterlife. The end of time – which, for the duchess, with her experiences of the manifold crises of the dynasty, must often have seemed near – is the main theme. Its suddenness is clearly revealed in the miniature on the last folio but one: the second coming of Christ is not far away.<sup>103</sup> She shared this preoccupation with her husband, for Charles the Bold also possessed an opulent *Apocalypse*.<sup>104</sup> Whether this manuscript furnishes evidence for Margaret's reactions to such material is problematic. Lewis's assertion that the miniatures were "designed to engender intensely personal self-reflexive meditative experience" has to be off-set by the large scale of the volume.<sup>105</sup> One also has to bear in mind the depiction in the Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 365

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<sup>98</sup> William Voelkle, the former librarian of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, informed Straub that the attribution was made because of the similarity of the hand to known works by Aubert. Straub, R.E.F., *op.cit.*, 122.

<sup>99</sup> Pächt, 62.

<sup>100</sup> Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *op.cit.*, 163, called this Ms the most important production from this workshop. It bears further testimony to Margaret of York's role as a patron of the arts.

<sup>101</sup> Roger Wieck, in a private correspondence, suggested that this manuscript "is a kind of sister to the two codices at the Getty. [numbers 6 and 7] Sisters in that they are all the same size, same lay-out, same scribe, and the same themes (visions)".

<sup>102</sup> This is one of only a hand-full of *vitae* in Margaret's collection, and the only one she ordered personally. She knew the story from her mother, Cicely Neville, who had it read out. Armstrong, C.A.J., "The Piety of Cicely, Duchess of York". In D. Woodruff (ed), *For Hillaire Belloc*, 141-2. St Edmund was also the royal martyr of East Anglia, further adding to his appeal to Margaret. It is of interest to note that, in England, most copies of the *Legenda Aurea* were actually in French. McFarlane, K.B., *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, 236.

<sup>103</sup> f. 119. C.f. Lewis, S., "The Apocalypse of Margaret of York". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal*, 85.

<sup>104</sup> The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 68. C.f. Richardson, E.P., *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century*, 391-2.

<sup>105</sup> Lewis, S., *op.cit.*, 85.

[number 8 on this list], where Margaret is portrayed at prayer *with* the ladies of her court, *watched* by a gentleman.<sup>106</sup> This hardly gives the impression of a private devotional atmosphere. Combined with the sheer beauty of the miniatures, this gives credence to Gurevich's assertion that, "looking at ... artistic versions of the Last Judgement, one cannot avoid the impression that the belief of medieval people in the reality of hell did not preclude their obtaining an aesthetic satisfaction from ... contemplating their depiction".<sup>107</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 19.

Hughes: 2.

Barstow: 19.

**Literature:**

*Illuminated Manuscripts From The Pierpont Morgan Library*, Catalogue of an Exhibition, 28.

Charron, P. and Gil, M., "Les enlumineurs", 100.

Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 163.

*Illuminating*, 158-9.

Morey, C.R., *The Pierpont Morgan Library*, 49.

*Pächt*, 62-3.

Waagen, G.F., *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, 113-4. This describes the manuscript when it was still in a collection in Oxford.

*Weightman*, 206.

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<sup>106</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 365, f. 115<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Gurevich, A., *Medieval Popular Culture*, 107-8.

**14) Name:** Breviary.

**Current location:** Cambridge, St. John's College Library.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. H.13.

**Date:** 1472 (?).<sup>108</sup>

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** Latin.

**Illuminator(s):** ?

**Number of Miniatures:** six in this manuscript, with four more in the British Library.<sup>109</sup>

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.<sup>110</sup>

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Device and initials C and M.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** n.a.

**Remarks:** The calendar is in the Use of Sarum, with a concession to Burgundy in the form of an elaborate illumination of St Andrew.<sup>111</sup>

**Notes:** This richly illuminated manuscript is the only surviving service book left from Margaret of York's collection, with the exception of the inaccessible manuscript in the Swiss art foundation [Number 21 on this list]. There is a very noticeable illumination of St Elizabeth with the infant St John the Baptist in a four poster bed in this manuscript.<sup>112</sup>

An unusual theme, it may reflect Margaret's fading hopes for a child of her own.

Finally, the fact that the breviary is in the Use of Sarum is remarkable, for there is not a trace of any English priest in Margaret's vicinity once she left England. She obviously felt the need for familiar ritual.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> We know that Margaret of York possessed several service books in the Use of Rome, some of them inherited from her Burgundian family. It would, therefore, seem that she wished to have one according to the Use that she had been accustomed to after she married in 1468. Charles was still alive when this Ms was made, and the inclusion of the illumination depicting the birth of St John the Baptist – f. 151<sup>v</sup> – indicating her hope for a child, would suggest a date a few years after the wedding, when her barrenness was becoming apparent. Around the middle of 1472 would be a reasonable date, when Charles and Margaret saw much less of one another than in the earlier years of the marriage.

<sup>109</sup> B.L. Cotton Ms. Vesp. A.i, f. 160<sup>v</sup>; Ms. Galba A.XVIII (Miniature of King David at Prayer); Cotton Ms. Tit. C.XV. f. 1 (Fragment of arms of Margaret of York); and Cotton Ms. Tib. A.II. were all part of this manuscript. They were added by Sir Robert Cotton to other manuscripts in his collection. C.f. Brown, M.P., "Sir Robert Cotton, Collector and Connoisseur?". In M.P. Brown and S. McKendrick, *Illuminating the Book*, 287-9. The manuscript has also been ascribed to Mary of Burgundy, but this has no foundation. Smeyers, M., "Laatgotische miniatuurkunst in Vlaanderen". In M. Smeyers and J. van der Stock (eds), *Vlaamse miniaturen voor vorsten en burgers*, 29.

<sup>110</sup> On B.L. Cotton Ms. Vesp. A.i, f. 160<sup>v</sup>, and Cotton Ms. Tit. C.XV. f. 1, a fragment only.

<sup>111</sup> f. 103<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> f. 151<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> C.f. Frere, W.H., *The Sarum Gradual*.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 7.<sup>114</sup>

Hughes: 8.

Barstow: 20.

**Literature:**

*Marguerite d'York et son temps*, 31.

Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 162.

*Illuminating*, 149.

James, M.R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge*, 214 and following.

Lieftinck, G., "De Meester van Maria van Bourgondië en Roosclooster bij Brussel".  
*Pächt*, 64.

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<sup>114</sup> Dogaer numbered the British Library folios as 15 on his list.

**15) Name:** *A Guide to the Pilgrims Churches of Rome.*<sup>115</sup>

**Current location:** New Haven, Yale University Library.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 639.

**Date:** Early to mid 1460s.<sup>116</sup>

**Date of Acquisition:** ca. 1474-5.

**Scribe:** ?, in *lettre bâtarde*.

**Place:** The Low Countries.<sup>117</sup>

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Ascribed to the circle of the Master of Edward IV.

**Number of Miniatures:** 7.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.<sup>118</sup>

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Unknown.

**Texts included:** *A Guide to the Pilgrims Churches of Rome.*<sup>119</sup>

**Notes:** Cahn concluded that Margaret almost inevitably would have come into contact with criticism of pilgrimage.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, it would have been odd if she had not, seen her intimate contacts with a fairly substantial circle of humanists.<sup>121</sup> However, as Part Two has shown, this hardly diminished her willingness to participate in pilgrimages, and this manuscript is further proof of her continued interest.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: 17.

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<sup>115</sup> A French version of a *Liber Indulgentiarum*. This and the Malibu manuscripts are the only ones I have not had to chance to examine in person. As such, what follows is highly dependent on Cahn, W., "Margaret of York's Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 89-98.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 91, where he points to the internal evidence in the manuscript.

<sup>117</sup> Cahn mentions the possibility of Brugge. Ibid, 93.

<sup>118</sup> It is unclear when this manuscript came into Margaret's possession, but the fact that her arms feature on the first folio is suggestive that she bought a finished product.

<sup>119</sup> The *Liber Indulgentiarum* first appeared in the late fourteenth century. Champ, J., *The English Pilgrim to Rome*, 42.

<sup>120</sup> Cahn, W., *op.cit.*, 94.

<sup>121</sup> C.f. Part Three, pp. 318-9 and passim.

**Literature:**

Cahn, W., "Margaret of York's Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 89-98. *Weightman*, 239, n. 87.

## Books in Margaret's library which have been lost in the recent past.<sup>122</sup>

**16) Name:** *Book of Hours*.

**Current location:** Lost. Formerly at Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale.

**Inventory Number:** Formerly Ms. 1255 (Salis 104).

**Date:** ca. 1488.

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** ?

**Language:** French and Latin.

**Illuminator(s):** ?

**Number of Miniatures:** 54.<sup>123</sup>

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Device.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** n/a.

**Text:** The hours of the day.

**Notes:** Unlike the breviary in Cambridge [number 14 on this list], this Book of Hours was in the Use of Rome. Nothing remains of the manuscript, which, as the *Conservateur* of the *fonds iconographique* at the Bibliothèque-Médiathèque Pontiffroy, at Metz, Mr. Wagner, assured me, was indeed destroyed during the Second World War (September 1944). Unfortunately, no photographs were taken of the miniatures. The year in which this lavishly decorated manuscript was ordered is not without significance. In 1488, Margaret of York was temporarily propelled back into a leadership role in Burgundy, during the imprisonment of Maximilian in Brugge.<sup>124</sup> What is also important is that the manuscript testifies to Margaret's continued role as patron of the arts after her husband's death.

### Previous numbering:

Dogaer: 18.

Hughes: 6.

Barstow: 14.

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<sup>122</sup> It is difficult to make any precise statement on who commissioned these manuscripts, particularly as most of them have a very scant record. They were, nevertheless, in Margaret of York's collection at one time.

<sup>123</sup> This was one of the finest manuscripts of Margaret's collection, with a number of miniatures to rival the *Apocalypse* from the Pierpont Morgan Library.

<sup>124</sup> A.M., Stadsrekeningen, S 1, n. 163, f. 155 (1488-1489).

**Literature:**

- Catalogue Général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements, vol. XLVIII: Rouen et Amiens (2es supplements), Université de Lille et Nancy, Metz, Paris, 1933, p. 421.*
- Durrieu, P., "Livre d'Heures de Marguerite d'York à Metz", *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, (1919), 182.

**17) Name:** *La vie de Sainte Catherine.*

**Current location:** Current location unknown.<sup>125</sup>

**Inventory Number:** ?

**Date:** 1450s.<sup>126</sup>

**Scribe:** Jean Miélot.

**Place:** Lille (?).

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** The one photograph of this manuscript shows a miniature from the Circle of Simon Marmion.

**Number of Miniatures:** 13.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Her Ownership:** Initials C and M.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Jean Miélot.

**Texts included:** *La vie de Sainte Catherine*, a translation from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.<sup>127</sup>

**Notes:** A rare individual saint's life in the collection. The devotion to St Catherine was widespread,<sup>128</sup> with copies of the *vita* found in the collections of amongst others Louis, heer of Gruuthuse,<sup>129</sup> and of Philip the Good. In addition, Cicely Neville also had a copy, based on the *Legenda Aurea*.<sup>130</sup> In the palace *Ten Walle* at Gent, Margaret had a *bassée*, on which stood an alabaster statue of St Catherine.<sup>131</sup> This manuscript gives some credence to the story that Margaret was depicted on Hans Memling's *Triptych of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist* in the Sint-Janshospitaal in Brugge.<sup>132</sup> Traditionally, it was believed that St Barbara was Margaret of York, a demure woman in green, reading a book, seated next to the enthroned Virgin and Child. Mary of Burgundy was believed to have been the model for St Catherine.<sup>133</sup> Such is the charm of the

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<sup>125</sup> As with all the manuscripts from the Waziers collection, the manuscript disappeared during the First World War. I would like to thank the staff of the special collections at Edinburgh University Library for their help in tracking down information on the Waziers collection.

<sup>126</sup> The date suggested by Barstow of circa 1475 is problematic. Jean Miélot's latest possible work dates to 1471. C.f. Bossuat, R. et al, *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises*, 820. This manuscript may, of course, be a copy by someone else, but that will require verification. Until that happens, we must assume that it came into being prior to 1471. As Philip the Good also had a copy of the same work by the same author (B.N. Ms. fr. 6449), it is very well possible that Margaret of York got her version from the ducal library.

<sup>127</sup> Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *op.cit.*, 125, showed that Miélot's copy for Philip the Good was in fact a translation. Assuming with some confidence that Margaret of York's copy was similar to this, or even the same, a translation only makes sense when it took the Latin *Legenda Aurea* as its source.

<sup>128</sup> For an excellent background to the devotion, c.f. Nevanlinna, S. and Taavitsainen, E. (eds), *St Katherine of Alexandria*.

<sup>129</sup> B.N. Ms. Fr. 1048. C.f. Lemaire, C., "Lijst van Handschriften". In M.P.J. Martens et al, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, 199.

<sup>130</sup> Nichols, J.G. and Bruce, J. (eds), "Wills from Doctor's Commons", *Camden Society*, LXXXIII, (1863), 2.

<sup>131</sup> Laporte, D. et al, *Het prinselijk hof Ten Walle*, 173.

<sup>132</sup> Brugge, Sint-Janshospitaal, Memlingmuseum, inv.0.sj.175.1.

<sup>133</sup> Rubbrecht, O., *L'origine du type familial de la maison de Habsbourg*, 28-9;

painting that one would like to follow Lotte Hellinga, and declare oneself “entirely willing to be convinced”.<sup>134</sup> Margaret’s intense interest in apocalyptic materials, to which her manuscript collection amply attests, increases the sense that her depiction on a triptych of this nature is entirely within character. However, that most eminent of Memling specialists, Dirk Vos, has dismissed the story as a “romantic fabrication”, and there are no traces of Margaret’s involvement with the staff of the Brugge hospital, who were the donors of the piece.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: 18.

**Literature:**

No separate monograph exists on this manuscript. Its only known illumination is depicted in Schryver, A. de, “The Louthe Master and the Marmion Case”. In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 176-7, and n. 35.

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Rubrecht, O., “Trois portraits de la Maison de Bourgogne par Memlinc”, *Annales de la Société d'Émulation pour l'Étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre*, LX, (1910).

<sup>134</sup> Hellinga, L., “Caxton and the Bibliophiles”, *Communications Congrès International de Bibliophile*, XI, (1979), 20.

**18) Name:** *Contemplation pour attirer la personne.*  
**Current location:** Lost. Formerly Saint Petersburg, Imperial Library.  
**Inventory Number:** Formerly Ms. fr. 0.v1.2.  
**Date:** ?.  
**Scribe:** Vasque de Lucene (?).<sup>135</sup>  
**Place:** ?  
**Language:** French.  
**Illuminator(s):** None.<sup>136</sup>  
**Number of Miniatures:** none.  
**Crest of Margaret of York:** ?  
**Other Marks of Ownership:** ?  
**Inscription:** "A tres hault, tres puisante et tres excellente Princesse, Mme. Marguerite d'Angleterre, duchesse de Bourgogne".<sup>137</sup>  
**Signature:** ?  
**Author(s):** St Augustine, St. Bernard of Clairvaux O.Cist.  
**Texts included:** 1) St Augustine, *Manuale*;<sup>138</sup> 2) St. Bernard of Clairvaux O.Cist., *Traite de l'amour de Dieu*; 3) *Meditationes de Saint Bernard*.  
**Notes:** The manuscript was destroyed in Poland in 1944.<sup>139</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -  
Hughes: 1.  
Barstow: 29.

**Literature:**

Laborde, A. de, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peinture de l'ancienne bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint-Pétersbourg*, II, 102.

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<sup>135</sup> He translated the *Meditationes de Saint Bernard*, but it is not quite clear if he was the scribe for the book. Gallet-Guerne, D., *Vasque de Lucène*, 20. He served in Margaret's household in the 1470s.

<sup>136</sup> *Barstow*, 263, n. 19.

<sup>137</sup> f. 267<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> It is not at all clear whether this was indeed by St Bernard.

<sup>139</sup> Gallet-Guerne, D., *op.cit*, 20.

**Books received by Margaret of York as gifts, or books acquired from other collections for her library.**

**19) Name:** *La Fleurs des Histoires*.<sup>140</sup>

**Current location:** Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 9233.

**Date:** pre-1467.<sup>141</sup>

**Date of acquisition:** either in 1477-9, 1482, or 1488.<sup>142</sup>

**Scribe:** Unknown. In *gothic bâtarde*.

**Place:** Hesdin?<sup>143</sup>

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Loyset Liédet.<sup>144</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 3.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Her Ownership:** No.

**Former Owner:** Philip the Good.<sup>145</sup>

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** margarite dangletaire.

**Author(s):** Jean Mansel (1400/1-1473).<sup>146</sup>

**Texts included:** This is the famous fifteenth-century 'world' history, commencing with Constantine the Great and continuing until Edward III of England's campaign in Brittany.<sup>147</sup> Preceding the history is a geography of the known world, ranging from the nearby to the exotic. It, furthermore, contains notes on the languages of the regions and their produce and towns. The description of the pilgrimage churches in Rome recalls her *A Guide to the Pilgrims Churches of Rome* [number 15 on this list].

**Notes:** This manuscript is of interest as it reveals something of the world view of the duchess. It should be recalled that her mother-in-law's family was the driving force behind the voyages along the African coastline,<sup>148</sup> and that Columbus discovered the Americas during Margaret's life. Isabella of Portugal had encouraged Flemish settlers to

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<sup>140</sup> The Ms only contains volume IV.

<sup>141</sup> Mentioned in the inventory of Philip the Good's library of 1467.

<sup>142</sup> I have argued before that this was used as an aid to help Margaret in the execution of effective government. It is, therefore, likely that she acquired this manuscript from the Burgundian library in the years when she was deeply involved in the government of the Low Countries. C.f. Schnitker, H., "Een bibliotheek onstsloten", *HKKOM*, CVI, (2002), 268-9.

<sup>143</sup> With the illumination workshop based at Hesdin, it would not be unreasonable to place the scriptorium there too, although this is, of course, not necessary.

<sup>144</sup> Delaissé suggested that it may have come from the workshop of either Liédet or Mansel. Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *op.cit.*, 73.

<sup>145</sup> There is no evidence for Weightman's suggestion that this copy was different from that of Philip the Good. *Weightman*, 206, n. 62.

<sup>146</sup> He was the *receveur* of Philip the Good at Hesdin.

<sup>147</sup> C.f. Poerck, G. de, *Introduction à La Fleurs des Histoires de Jean Mansel*.

<sup>148</sup> C.f. Russel, P., *Prince Henry 'the Navigator'*.

colonise the Azores,<sup>149</sup> and received a present of elephant tusks and an elephant foot from her brother, Henry ‘the Navigator’.<sup>150</sup> These were probably in the castle at La-Motte-au-Bois, and were subsequently inherited by Margaret of York. This manuscript also tells the story of the Burgundian family: it was inherited by Margaret of Austria, together with four others.<sup>151</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 3.

Hughes: 25.

Barstow: 16.

**Additional Literature:**

Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 76.

Dogaer, G. and Debae, M., *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon*, 119.

Doutrepont, G., *La Littérature Française*, 426-7.

Gheyn, J. van, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, III, 19-20.

Rouzet, A., “Jean Mansel. La Fleur des Histoires, vol. IV”. In P. Cockshaw *et al*, *Charles le Téméraire*, 96.

Winkler, F., *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*, 41-42.

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 104-5.

<sup>150</sup> Cà da Mosto, A. da, *Le navigazioni atlantiche del veneziano Alvise da Mosto*, 106-7.

<sup>151</sup> Debae, M., *De librije van Margareta van Oostenrijk*, 30-4.

**20) Name:** *Le Miroir d'humilité*.<sup>152</sup>

**Current location:** Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 240.

**Date:** 1462.<sup>153</sup>

**Date of acquisition:** post 1478.<sup>154</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert.<sup>155</sup>

**Place:** Brugge.

**Illuminator(s):** Guillaume (Willem) Vrelant and his workshop.

**Number of Miniatures:** 10.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Her Ownership:** No.

**Former Owner:** Philip the Good.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** Margarete d'Engleterre.

**Author(s):** Jean Gerson, Thomas à Kempis, St Bonaventure (1221-1274), Jacobus van Gruytrode, O.Cart. (?-1473/5).

**Texts included:** An incomplete version of Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation de Jesus Christ*; Jacobus de Gruytrode's *Speculum saecularium et huius mundi amatorum*, part four of his *Specula omnis status humanae vitae*, in French, in the 1451 translation by Jean Miélot;<sup>156</sup> Jean Gerson, *Sermons sur la Passion* and *Ung petit traitie a moralite toute la Passion de Jesus Christ*; St Bonaventure, *La noblesse de la creation de l'ame humaine*.

**Notes:** The occurrence of the *Imitation de Jesus Christ* again underlines the fact that Margaret possessed multiple versions of the same texts. The inclusion of Jacobus de Gruytrode's *Speculum* is particularly interesting. He was the prior of the Liège charterhouse, and well-known in the Carthusian Order in the Low Countries. The *Chronique de la Chartreuse de la Chapelle à Hérinnes-lez-Enghien* reported his death in 1473. We know that Margaret of York was in contact with the charterhouse that year, as she paid for the medical treatment of one of the monks, Joannes Boye.<sup>157</sup> With Hérinnes firmly established as the source for the duchess's Carthusian literature, we may

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<sup>152</sup> The manuscript is also known under the accumulative title of *Devotional Treatises*. This is not a complete copy, with the numbering starting at f. 211<sup>r</sup>. It was long thought that the first part was Ms. Vitr. 25. 2, in the National Library of Madrid. That particular copy was, however, made for Philip de Croÿ. The confusion possibly arose from the fact that it was also written in 1462. Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *op.cit.*, 127; Straub, R.E.F., *op.cit.*, 50 and 139; Barstow, K.A., "The Library of Margaret of York and Some Related Books". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 263, n. 7. Charron, P. and Gil, M., *op.cit.*, 91-3, suggested that the break-up of the manuscript occurred after it left the collection of Baudouin de Lannoy.

<sup>153</sup> According to David Aubert.

<sup>154</sup> The Carthusian content of the manuscript suggests that Margaret learned about the text through the order. The most likely candidate as a conduit is again the charterhouse at Hérinnes, where Jacobus de Gruytrode's *Speculum* was present from 1478. Hendrickx, F. (ed), *op.cit.*, 220-2.

<sup>155</sup> f. 272, "le miroir d'humilité grossé par David Aubert, en la ville de Bruges".

<sup>156</sup> Lieberman argued convincingly that the first part of this manuscript was a *Vita Christi* by Jean Mansel. Lieberman, M., "Autour de l'iconographie gersonienne", *Romania*, XCI, (1970). This may explain the reason for Margaret wanting this manuscript, as she also removed K.B.B. Ms. 9233, *La Fleurs des Histoires*, by the same author, from Philip the Good's collection.

<sup>157</sup> Beeltsens, A. and Ammonius, J., *op.cit.*, 73 and 198.

speculate that this is also how she discovered Gruytrode's works. His *Speculum* was particularly popular, though, and appeared in print as early as 1483.<sup>158</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 21.

Hughes: 14.<sup>159</sup>

Barstow: 15.

**Additional Literature:**

*Catalogue Général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France.*

*Départements*, XXV, 295-6.

*Marguerite d'York et son temps*, 31.

*Galesloot*, 64-5.

Delaisé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 127.

Straub, R.E.F., *David Aubert*, 89-90.

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<sup>158</sup> Hendrickx, F. (ed), *op.cit.*, 226-8.

<sup>159</sup> *Le Miroir d'humilité* refers to the first two texts by Bonaventure and Gruytrode, and are not, as Hughes would have it, by Jean Gerson.

**21) Name:** *Book of Hours*, or *horarium*.<sup>160</sup>

**Current location:** Switzerland, unknown location.<sup>161</sup>

**Inventory Number:** ?<sup>162</sup>

**Date:** The 1450s.

**Date of acquisition:** possibly 1468.

**Scribe:** ?<sup>163</sup>

**Place:** Possibly in Brugge, but more likely in France.

**Language:** Latin, with French rubrication, and one French prayer.

**Illuminator(s):** Willem Vrelant and his circle, except for the inserted f. 231, with Margaret of York's arms, which is by Lieven van Lathem.

**Number of Miniatures:** 34.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.<sup>164</sup>

**Other Marks of Ownership:** The initial M.<sup>165</sup>

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** n.a.

**Texts:** The hours of the day.

**Remarks:** The Hours are mainly in the Use of Rome with the calendar in the Use of Paris. St Geneviève, the Patron Saint of Paris, is rubricated in gold.

**Notes:** It is clear that Margaret of York was not the original recipient of the manuscript, although when it entered her library every effort was made to erase the marks from the previous owner. The leaf that was added has been executed carefully to resemble the original, both in script and in illumination. In addition, the crest of the original owner on the 7<sup>th</sup> illumination has been painted over. Barstow suggested that the previous owner may have been Isabella of Bourbon, Charles the Bold's second wife. All the internal evidence points to a French owner, with a distinct emphasis on French Saints. The

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<sup>160</sup> Christie's sold the manuscript in 1965 under the title *Hours of the Virgin with Calendar*. Christie's, *Northwick Park Collection – Valuable Printed Books, on Wednesday and Thursday, May 26 and May 27, 1965*, 38-43 and frontispiece. I would like to thank Lynda McLeod, the librarian of the Christie's archives, for her efforts to trace this manuscript and to put me in touch with its current owners.

<sup>161</sup> The Swiss art foundation which currently owns the manuscript was singularly unresponsive to my request to examine it. My information is, therefore, derived from the Christie's sales catalogue of 1965.

<sup>162</sup> There has been a great deal of confusion around this manuscript. Two of the three previous cataloguers of Margaret's library listed it as having been sold by Christie's, without giving a further location. Barstow has it in 'a private collection'. Both Farquhar and Bousmanne placed it in the collection of R.A. Lee. Farquhar, J.D., *Creation and Imitation*, 88-96 and 141-4; Bousmanne, B., *Guillaume Wielant of Willem Vrelant*, 8. A note added to the 1965 Christie's sales catalogue in the National Library of Scotland gave Lee as the purchaser, and it remained in his collection until at least 1997. Christie's, *Northwick Park Collection*, addenda of June 7<sup>th</sup>, p. 2: Price List, May 26<sup>th</sup> 1965. Lot 194, sold to Lee for £28,000. It was the most expensive item at the sale.

<sup>163</sup> He was certainly French.

<sup>164</sup> According to the Christie's catalogue, Margaret of York's arms appear on the 34<sup>th</sup> miniature, depicting Susanna at the Fountain, whilst that of Charles the Bold is on the 7<sup>th</sup> miniature. Christie's, *Northwick Park Collection*, frontispiece and 42. The attribution of the arms of Charles the Bold was a mistake. They are Burgundy impaling England, which device Charles never used. Instead both crests are identical and belong to Margaret of York. C.f. Cockshaw, P., *op.cit.*, 63, n. 17.

<sup>165</sup> f. 231, which was inserted at a later date.

Christie's catalogue dated the manuscript to somewhere in the mid-1450s, which makes Barstow's suggestion a likely one, as Charles married Isabella in October 1454.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 17.

Hughes: 5.<sup>166</sup>

Barstow: 13.

**Additional Literature:**

None.

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<sup>166</sup> Hughes, unlike Barstow, ascribed the manuscript to Margaret of York, without mentioning her predecessor Isabella of Bourbon.

**22) Name:** *Les chroniques des comtes de Flandres.*

**Current location:** Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 659.

**Date:** 1477.

**Date of acquisition:** 1477.<sup>167</sup>

**Scribe:** David Aubert or his atelier.<sup>168</sup>

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Ascribed to the Maximilian Master, the Master of the First Prayer Book of Mary of Burgundy, and to the Master of Mary of Burgundy.<sup>169</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 20.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Motto.

**Inscription:** Given by Mary of Burgundy shortly after "le trespass de feu monseigneur le duc Charles", to Margaret of York.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** ?

**Texts included:** *Les chroniques des comtes de Flandres.*

**Notes:** Histories of the counts of Flanders were widespread during the fifteenth century. All the important collections of the period possessed a copy, including the dukes of Burgundy, and Louis, *heer* of Gruuthuse.<sup>170</sup> Margaret's manuscript ended with the death of count Louis of Male, and was, therefore, somewhat outdated.<sup>171</sup> Nevertheless, it would have provided invaluable historical background at a time when *Madame la Grande* was desperately trying to prevent the collapse of the Burgundian dream. The knowledge of how earlier counts had succeeded, or failed, to keep control over the cities of Flanders would have been very useful.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 11.

Hughes: 24.

Barstow: 11.

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<sup>167</sup> This manuscript was originally ordered by Mary as a present for her father. It was not finished when Charles was killed in January 1477, and when Aubert completed the copy, shortly after her inauguration as duchess of Brabant, Mary gave it to her step-mother.

<sup>168</sup> Straub, R.E.F., *op.cit.*, 117.

<sup>169</sup> Charron, P. and Gil, M., *op.cit.*, 95 and 100.

<sup>170</sup> Doutrepoint, G., *op.cit.*, 408-9, for copies in the libraries of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless; Dogaer, J., and Debae, M. (eds), *op.cit.*, 122-3, showed that Charles the Bold had two copies, one in Dutch. The latter manuscript did not end with the death of count Louis of Male, as was traditional, but with that of Philip the Good. For Louis, *heer* of Gruuthuse's copy, c.f. Martens, M.P.J. et al, *op.cit.*, 199.

<sup>171</sup> Charles the Bold's Dutch copy has already been noted. Compare also Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 435, *Chronique de Flandres*, which is highly personalised, and includes an equestrian portrait of the duke, and an illumination showing Charles with a woman, possibly Margaret. C.f. Webber, P.E. and Prins, J.C., *Medieval Netherlandic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*.

**Additional Literature:**

Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 161 and plate 60.

Dorez, L., *Les manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall*, 89-91.

Hassall, W.O. (ed), *The Holkham Library: Illuminations*, 14.

*Illuminating*, 305-6.

*Pächt*, 63-4.

Roscoe, W., Madden, F., and Ricci, S. de, "A Handlist of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall", *Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, VII, (1932), VII.

Smeyers, M. and Stock, J. van der, *Vlaamse miniaturen*, 148.

*Weightman*, 205 and 237, n. 60.

## Manuscripts presented to Margaret of York, now lost.

**23) Name:** *La vie de Saint Gommaire*.<sup>172</sup>

**Current location:** Lost.

**Inventory Number:** -

**Date:** ca. 1475.<sup>173</sup>

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** ?

**Language:** Probably French, but perhaps in Latin.

**Illuminator(s):** ?

**Number of Miniatures:** ?

**Crest of Margaret of York:** ?

**Other Marks of Ownership:** ?

**Inscription:** ?

**Signature:** ?

**Author(s):** ?

**Texts included:** *La vie de Saint Gommaire*.<sup>174</sup>

**Notes:** We do not have any information on this book, at least not as to its appearance, whether it was lavishly illuminated, whether it carried an inscription or dedication, or who wrote it and where.

### Previous numbering:

Dogaer: -

Hughes: 3.

Barstow: 9.

### Literature:

*Galesloot*, 244-5.

*Weightman*, 194-5.

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<sup>172</sup> We do not know whether this was the title.

<sup>173</sup> That year, Margaret came to Lier on pilgrimage to St Gumarus, "met groote devotie". A.S.L., *Algemene Bronnen*, n. 450, *Kroniek van de stad Lier 725-1615*, f. 29. She came first in the spring of 1475 and returned to inspect the Saint's relics in September. It was on that occasion that the canons at Lier, undoubtedly pleased with the additional interest which Margaret's presence would generate, decided to give her the manuscript. It was presented to her by Jan Vos, the dean of the choir. *Ibid*, f. 31<sup>r</sup> and 33<sup>v</sup>. C.f. Schnitker, H., "Margaretha van York en Cecily Neville", *HKKOM*, CV, (2001).

<sup>174</sup> It may well have been based on *Miracula Sancti Gummari sub anno 1475* once at Corsendock.

**24) Three Breviaries.**

No description survives for the three breviaries which had belonged to Louise de la Laye, widow of Guillaume Hugonet, the chancellor of Burgundy, who was executed in Gent in 1477. Margaret either received or bought this copy from Louise at some point after Guillaume's death.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: 9.

Barstow: 10 and 24.

**Literature:**

*Galesloot*, 265-6.

Morgan, N., "Texts of Devotion and Religious Instruction Associated with Margaret of York". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Vision of Tondal*, 64.

## **Books donated by Margaret of York.**

### **A) Gifts to religious institutes.**

(Note: these were not necessarily part of Margaret of York's library and were not always commissioned by her.)

**25) Name:** *Vie de Saint Colette*.

**Current location:** Monasterium Bethlehem, Klarissen-Koletienen, Gent.<sup>175</sup>

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 8.

**Date:** Between 1473 and 1476.<sup>176</sup>

**Date of donation:** q.v. date.

**Recipients:** Monasterium Bethlehem, Klarissen-Koletienen, Gent.

**Reason for donation:** Margaret of York's relationship with the Poor Clares was intimate. She had patronised the convent at Gent, as was the tradition amongst the dukes and duchesses of Burgundy, and this donation may be regarded as another such act of patronage. It would be unwise to read too much into the gift, as her association with the Poor Clares was far from exceptional amongst the religious orders, and she donated books to several religious institutes.

**Scribe:** Master Jehan Boniface.<sup>177</sup>

**Place:** Gent (?).<sup>178</sup>

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Master of Margaret of York; Master of Edward IV, and Master of Vasco de Lucena.

**Number of Miniatures:** 30.

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<sup>175</sup> I would like to extend my very sincere gratitude to the sisters of the Arme Klaren-Koletienen of the Bethlehem convent in Gent. Not only did they allow me to inspect their valuable manuscript, which has the finest preserved miniatures I have come across, but they also let me into their strictly enclosed space; a rare privilege indeed. Their own insights into the religious world of women were extremely valuable in coming to some of the conclusions in this work.

<sup>176</sup> Although the manuscript contains the crests and initials of both Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, it was only the duchess who wrote an inscription in the back of the book. This is slightly odd: if the manuscript was a donation by both duke and duchess, one would expect both to have written in it. See in this respect the inscription in *Les faits d'Alexandre le Grand* [number V on this list]. The lack of a dedication by Charles could suggest a date shortly after his death, a proposition strengthened by Margaret of York's contacts with the convent, which can also be dated to after her husband's death. C.f. *Kroniek Gent*. However, his inclusion on the illumination on f. 40<sup>v</sup>, kneeling in prayer next to the duchess and behind St Colette, complicates the matter. This does suggest that he was still alive, at least when the manuscript was being compiled. A reason for the lack of an inscription by Charles could be his almost perpetual absence from Burgundy after 1473. This can, therefore, be used as the earliest date of the manuscript, with 1476 as the *terminus post quem*. One is inclined to favour an earlier date, however. Charles's mother had had a particularly strong devotion to Colette, indeed had known her personally. It is, therefore, likely that he wished to show his continued support for her Gent foundation soon after Isabella's death late in 1471. C.f. Derolez, A., "A Renaissance Manuscript in the Hands of Margaret of York". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 101.

<sup>177</sup> A priest, otherwise unknown. Bartier, J., *op.cit.*, 122-23; Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *op.cit.*, 154-55.

<sup>178</sup> This was Margaret's main residence at the time, although the manuscript could have been made anywhere.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks connecting the Ms to Margaret of York:** Device.

**Dedication:** "Votre loyale fyllle margarete dangleterre prygez pour elle & pour son salut".<sup>179</sup>

**Author(s):** Pierre de Vaux (d. after 1448).<sup>180</sup>

**Texts included:** La vie de Colette Boëllet. A contemporary *Vita* of Colette Boylet of Corbie.<sup>181</sup>

**Notes:** Margaret of York's close association with the monastery has been amply explored in Part One. Various women of her affinity entered the house, and, with Henri de Glymes, she ensured that St Colette's remains were given a prominent grave.<sup>182</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 10.

Hughes: 21.

Barstow: 27.

**Additional Literature:**

*Marguerite d'York et son temps*, 33.

Bergmans, P., "Marguerite d'York et les pauvres Claires de Gand". In P. Bergmans, *Mélanges iconographiques, bibliographiques et historiques*, 255-68.

*Weightman*, 71, 200 and 217.

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<sup>179</sup> In the duchess's own hand, which is slightly unpractised.

<sup>180</sup> De Vaux was Colette's confessor, and came from Reims.

<sup>181</sup> For a modern edition of the text, based on Pierre de Vaux, c.f. Gier, G. de, *Sinte Colette van Corbie. De bronnen*.

<sup>182</sup> *Kroniek Gent*, 91-105.

**26) Name:** Gradual.

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. Arundel 71, f. 9.

**Date:** ?

**Date of donation:** The 1480s.<sup>183</sup>

**Recipients:** The Convent of the Observant Franciscans, Greenwich.

**Reason for donation:** Margaret of York's close friendship with the Observant Franciscans at Greenwich has long been known. It was even erroneously thought that she founded this house.<sup>184</sup> The gift may be seen as a token of encouragement to the new house by one who was a strong patron of their reform movement in the Low Countries. The house was also a family foundation, and she may have wished to enhance its prestige by the donation of what – going by the remaining folio – must have been a particularly sumptuous manuscript.

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** The Low Countries.

**Language:** Latin (?).

**Illuminator(s):** ?

**Number of Miniatures:** 1.<sup>185</sup>

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Yes, but not contemporary.<sup>186</sup>

**Author(s):** ?

**Texts included:** The folio contains music for Easter.

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<sup>183</sup> Almost all sources follow the seventeenth-century scribe in attributing it to Margaret of York, which is beyond doubt. They also follow him in viewing it as part of a larger manuscript, donated by her to the Observant Franciscans at Greenwich. *Weightman*, 206; *Pächt*, 69. This was rejected as early as 1941 by Ker, who refused to include it amongst the books of the house. Ker, N.R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 51. He maintained his view in his second, revised edition of 1964, 93. Ker's books are, of course, the main and most trustworthy works on book collections in medieval Britain. Those who view the folio as part of a gift to the Greenwich Franciscans by Margaret usually place the donation at the time of her visit to England in 1480, when she spent much time at Greenwich. The chronology excludes this possibility. Edward did not get papal permission for his venture until January 1481, and the foundation ceremony was not held until July 1482. Little, A.G., "Introduction of the Grey Friars into England", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, X and XI, (1921-23), 458-9; Moorman, J.R.H., *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, 208. The new friars may, of course, have brought the book with them, for they came from the Low Countries, led by Bernard van Lochen, the former visitor of Ireland and founder of the first Observant Franciscan house in Scandinavia. There is no evidence, however, that Van Lochen had any contacts with Margaret. Little, A.G., *op.cit.*, 461. The other two Low Countries friars, Vincent and Arnold van Oostende, are not attested in Margaret's vicinity either, at least not until the former became provincial in the Low Countries. Ooms, H. and Houbaert, P.A., *Lijst van de provinciale oversten der Minderbroeders in België*, 51.

<sup>184</sup> Ross, C., *Edward IV*, 273-4; Hutton, E., *The Franciscans in England*, 230; *Pächt*, 69.

<sup>185</sup> King David praying before the Trinity.

<sup>186</sup> A later, seventeenth-century (?), inscription on the verso side of the folio reads: "This was a book called a graile given unto the graie observant friers of Greenwich by Margaret duchesse of Bourgoigne sister unto K: Edward 4. the booke was made beyond the seae".

**Notes:** If there is no direct evidence for the donation of the manuscript by Margaret of York, there is still the problem of the tradition, based upon the inscription on the folio, and on the presence of her crest.

There is, furthermore, evidence that Margaret of York provided the Franciscans at Greenwich with at least one more book. In 1493, a copy of the *Ancrenne Riwle* appeared from the Caxton press, to which were attached translations of three texts in Margaret's copy of *La somme de perfection* [number 3].<sup>187</sup> These are *Des branches du pommier*; Albert of Cologne's *Neufs articles*, and the *Six maistres de tribulation*. The translation was from a French copy, and Margaret's is the only known one, all others being in Middle Dutch.<sup>188</sup> In combination with the *Ancrenne Riwle* they also appeared in a manuscript belonging to the Observant Franciscans at Greenwich.<sup>189</sup> Did Caxton see Margaret's manuscript whilst in the Low Countries, or did he use the copy of the friars? At any rate, it would seem the latter received yet another book from the duchess, now lost. On balance it seems, therefore, probable that the duchess did give this manuscript to the Observants at Greenwich. This may have occurred between 1482 and 1485, for after the latter date the friars would have been more circumspect in accepting her gifts. The fact that between these dates Greenwich received new friars from the house at Mechelen, with which Margaret of York had excellent relations, suggests that they carried this, and possibly other, books with them.<sup>190</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 14.  
Hughes: 10.  
Barstow: 25.

**Additional Literature:**

*Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. New Series, I, 21.  
Doutrepoint, G., *Inventaire de la Librairie de Philippe le Bon*, 135.  
Liefstinck, G., "De Meester van Maria van Bourgondië", 6-7.  
*Pächt*, 69.

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<sup>187</sup> Fisher, J.H. (ed), "Continental Associations for the Ancrenne Riwle, *PMLAM*, V, (1949), 1180-9.

<sup>188</sup> Fisher, J.H. (ed), "The Tretyse of Loue", *EETS*, CCXXV, (1951), xxxi; for the Middle Dutch tradition, c.f. *Het esbatement van den appelboom*, W. Waterschoot (ed), 14.

<sup>189</sup> Bennett, J.A.W., *Middle English Literature*, 275-6.

<sup>190</sup> Little, A.G., *op.cit*, 461.

**27) Name:** *Prayer book.*

**Current location:** Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek.<sup>191</sup>

**Inventory Number:** Hs. 205.

**Date:** Last few years of the fifteenth century.<sup>192</sup>

**Date of donation:** Last few years of the fifteenth century.

**Recipient:** Klooster Marienroon, Dendermonde.<sup>193</sup>

**Reason for donation:** The Brigittine double convent was located in Margaret's dower town of Dendermonde, and the duchess was its main benefactress. Her relationship with the religious institutes in her dowerlands is well attested, and she frequently donated either books or other materials.<sup>194</sup> As this donation was made towards the last years of her life, perhaps it would not be too fanciful to see it as a wish to safeguard the nuns' and brothers' prayers.<sup>195</sup> In addition, her cousin Anne, daughter of Edward IV, was prioress of Syon.

**Scribe:** Three different hands.

**Place:** ?

**Language:** Dutch and Latin.

**Illuminator(s):** An association with the illuminators of the *Hastings Hours* in Madrid has been suggested.

**Number of Miniatures:** 26.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** St John Chrysostom, Mechtild von Hackeborn and others.

**Texts included:** The first Dutch translation of the *Stabat Mater*, as well as a paraphrase of the *Salve Regina* give this manuscript a very Marian flavour, which, in the light of the Marian orientation of the Order, is to be expected. Other texts include works by St John Chrysostom, Mechtild von Hackeborn, an Hours for the Holy Cross, and fifteen prayers to St Birgitta. It also contains a fully developed Rosary.

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<sup>191</sup> It was bound in three separate volumes in the late eighteenth century.

<sup>192</sup> Reynaert, J., "Het Middelnederlandse gebedenboek van de Birgittinessen te Dendermonde", *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Soevereine Hoofdkamer van Retorica <<De Fontaine>> te Gent*, II, 35.

<sup>193</sup> The association of this manuscript with the Brigittine convent at Dendermonde is based on the prevailing Brigittine element of its calendar and by the inclusion of many of the Saints of the Dendermonde region. Vreese, W. de and Gailliard, E., "Dietse kalenders", *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, XXVII, (1913), pp. 25-6.

<sup>194</sup> Reynaert, J. *op.cit.*, 36-7. He emphasises the relative poverty of the convent, ruling out the existence of an extensive scriptorium, and the fact that Margaret of York was known as its "precipua elemosinaria", as well as the expense of the manuscript. Claudine Lemaire argued for the existence of a scriptorium, citing other manuscripts at the Gent Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 604 *Bullarium Birgittanum* (1499), as well as a third manuscript from the convent, K.B.B. Ms. 1451-53, *Revelationes* (1490), as evidence for an active scriptorium at the end of the fifteenth century. The economic restraints that Reynaert noticed were not known at the time of Lemaire's writing, and there was, furthermore, a printing press at the convent, producing cheap copies of these texts, excluding the need to produce expensive illuminated manuscripts. C. Lemaire, "Sainte Brigitte. *Revelationes*". In H. Liebaers (ed), *Le cinquième de l'imprimerie dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 46-7.

<sup>195</sup> Harris, M.T., "Preface". In M.T. Harris et al, *Birgitta of Sweden*, 1-12.

**Notes:** The content of the manuscript reinforces Reynaert's argument that Margaret of York was the donor of this manuscript.<sup>196</sup> It includes works by some of the saints with whom she has been most closely associated. Perhaps more suggestively than that, is the fact that the manuscript also contains a number of texts and cults which were favourites in the household of Cicely Neville. The Holy Cross and the works by Mechtild von Hackeborn can be cited in this respect.<sup>197</sup> There was already a strong tradition of patronage towards the Brigittines in the English royal family.<sup>198</sup>

Both of Margaret's female role-models were deeply interested in the Brigittine Order. Cicely ensured that her granddaughter was named after St Brigit when she stood as godmother to her, and left a copy of the saint's *Revelations* to her granddaughter, Anne, at that time prioress of Syon.<sup>199</sup> Isabella of Portugal was remembered with fondness in Dendermonde. She had been instrumental in founding the convent, and one of the very first public appearances of Margaret of York after her wedding was at the second laying of the foundation stone, with Isabella.<sup>200</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: -

**Additional Literature:**

None.

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<sup>196</sup> Even the visual content, e.g. the Apocalypse miniature in volume II, f. 1<sup>v</sup>, which is particularly reminiscent of those in Margaret's own manuscripts.

<sup>197</sup> Nichols, J.G. and Bruce, J. (eds), *op.cit.*, 2-3.

<sup>198</sup> Beckett, N., "St. Bridget, Henry V and Syon Abbey". In J. Hogg (ed), *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order*, II, 127; Allmond, C.T., *Henry V*, 274-5, 238 and 276.

<sup>199</sup> Nichols, J.G. and Bruce, J. (eds), *op.cit.*, 2.

<sup>200</sup> Vlamincq, A. de, "Nécrologie du double monastère de Sainte-Brigitte à Termonde", *GOKD*, IX, (1901), 11; Vlamincq, A. de, *De stad en heerlijkheid van Dendermonde*, IV, 329; Moreau, É. de, S.J., *Histoire de l'Église en Belgique*, IV, 114.

**28)** Several choir books which Margaret donated to the church of St Ursmer at Binche.<sup>201</sup>

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: 27a.

**Additional Literature:**

*Galesloot*, 243.

Schnitker, H., "Margaretha van York en Cecily Neville: politiek en heiligenverering in de Nederlanden en East Anglia", *HKKOM*, CV, (2001).

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<sup>201</sup> *Lobbes*, 472-3, described the gift, part of a wider donation including a reliquary of the Holy Cross. Q.v. Part Two, p. 185.

## **Books donated by Margaret of York.**

### **B) Gifts to friends, family or political allies:**

(Note: these were not necessarily part of Margaret of York's library and were not always commissioned by her.)

**29) Name:** *Les faits d'Alexandre le Grand.*

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Inventory Number:** Royal Ms. 15 D IV.

**Date:** 1468.<sup>202</sup>

**Date of donation:** 1477.

**Recipient:** Sir John Donne (ca. 1430s-1503).<sup>203</sup>

**Reason for gift:** Sir John Donne's connections with the house of York were long-standing. Donne came from a Welsh family which possessed the magnificent castle at Kidwelly, and which had long been associated with the English royal family, except during the uprising of Owen Glyndwr. Sir John was born in Picardy, whilst his father was fighting in the retinue of Margaret of York's father, Richard, duke of York. He rose through the ranks, and, by the time of Margaret's wedding, had become close enough to the new royal family to accompany her to the Low Countries. His association with Burgundy was to continue, for in 1470 he accompanied the deposed king to Brugge, where he shared his exile. Likewise, he shared his return, and his efforts during the battle of Tewkesbury of 1471 secured him a knighthood. He accompanied Edward IV to Calais for the meeting with Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1475, at which date he and his brother-in-law, William, lord Hastings, were in command at Calais.

His marriage to Elizabeth Hastings brought Sir John closer to the royal family. It also increased his indirect influence. Lord Hastings's power in the 1470s may be measured by his military muscle, which, according to Lander, ran into 3,000 men.<sup>204</sup> Hastings also has a direct bearing upon Margaret of York's and Mary of Burgundy's gift of this manuscript to Donne. During the crisis of 1477, both brothers-in-law were well-placed to help Margaret and Mary. Donne was Edward IV's ambassador during the troubles. In this capacity he fought for Margaret's rights during an embassy to Louis XI in France in February.<sup>205</sup> Next, we find him in the Low Countries in May, negotiating with Emperor Frederick III's embassy, which had come to arrange Mary of Burgundy's wedding to Maximilian.<sup>206</sup>

Donne's relationship with Hastings provides every reason for the donation of this manuscript. It could, furthermore, explain the enigmatic message which Margaret wrote in the manuscript. We have already encountered the freelancing of lord Hastings and

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<sup>202</sup> It was written during the destruction of Dinant, mentioned on f. 11<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>203</sup> For Sir John Donne c.f. McFarlane, K.B., *Hans Memling*, 1-15; Vos, D. de, *Hans Memling. Het volledige oeuvre*, 157 and 180-3; and for a full analysis, Backhouse, J., "Sir John Donne's Flemish Manuscripts". In P.R. Monks and D.D.R. Owen (eds), *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation. Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*.

<sup>204</sup> Lander, J.R., *Government and Community*, 45.

<sup>205</sup> Scofield, C., *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, II, 177-8.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, 182.

Donne in Calais in 1477.<sup>207</sup> This was welcome support for the two beleaguered duchesses of Burgundy. Donne's role in this has frequently been overlooked. He was the only member of the 'inner circle' of Yorkist England to have direct contact with Margaret and Mary in 1477, and, therefore, the ideal conduit between Margaret, Mary, and Hastings. The inscriptions "For yet not har that ys on of yo<sup>r</sup> true friends" by Margaret, and "Prenez moi a jamés pour votre bonne amie" by Mary, become pregnant with meaning when placed against these events.<sup>208</sup>

**Scribe:** Vasque de Lucene.<sup>209</sup>

**Place:** La Motte-au-Bois.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Loyset Liédet (?).<sup>210</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 49.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Dedication:** "For yet not har that ys on of yo<sup>r</sup> true friends", and "Prenez moi a jamés pour votre bonne amie".

**Inscription:** Vasque de Lucene dedicated the manuscript to Charles the Bold "Treshault, trepuissant et tresexcellent prince et mon tresredoubte seigneur".

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Quintus Curtius Rufus (Reign of the emperor Claudius, 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.)

**Texts included:** *Les faits d'Alexandre le Grand*.

**Notes:** Weightman thought the recipient to be Edward IV, which is unlikely as it does not appear in royal inventories until after his death.<sup>211</sup> Others, like Sutton, Visser-Fuchs and Backhouse, do not doubt that Donne was the recipient, despite the absence of his arms, which were erased by Henry VIII, or possibly by his brother, Arthur.<sup>212</sup> The person who commissioned the manuscript has proven almost as elusive as the ultimate recipient. Hughes and Weightman both argued that Vasco de Lucene completed the work for Margaret of York, but, as the inscription makes clear, it is dedicated to Charles the Bold, and was written between 1462 and 1468.<sup>213</sup> Lemaire and Doutrepoint have proven that the manuscript was written at Isabella of Portugal's castle in la Motte-au-Bois, later to become part of the dower of Margaret of York, wherein the confusion probably lies.<sup>214</sup> It may have been Isabella who commissioned the manuscript to be translated for Charles, and he was certainly the recipient. The inscription is unambiguous here, as is the illumination in another copy showing De Lucene offering the text to the duke.<sup>215</sup> Upon Charles's death in 1477, the manuscript clearly came into

<sup>207</sup> Part One, p. 1050

<sup>208</sup> f. 219<sup>r</sup>. Ironically, Donne was also in the pay of Louis XI of France.

<sup>209</sup> Who states that he translated the text from Latin; f. 11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>210</sup> He executed the miniatures for another of Charles's copies, B.N. Ms. fr. 22.547.

<sup>211</sup> *Weightman*, 209; Carley, J.P., *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*.

<sup>212</sup> Sutton, A.F. and Visser-Fuchs, L., *Richard III's Books*, 39; Backhouse, J., "Founders of the Royal Library". In D. Williams (ed), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 31.

<sup>213</sup> *Weightman*, 209; *Hughes*, VII.

<sup>214</sup> Lemaire, C., *Isabelle de Portugal*, 53; Doutrepoint, G., *op.cit.*, 178.

<sup>215</sup> B.N. Ms. fr. 22.547, f. 5.

the possession of either Mary or Margaret, who considered it would be an appropriately lavish gift.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 16.

Hughes: 26.<sup>216</sup>

Barstow: 24.

**Additional Literature:**

Blondeau, C., "Faits et gestes d'Alexandre le Grand". In *Dames met klasse*, 243-4.

Doutrepon, G., *La Littérature Française*, 178-9.

*Hommel*, 328.

Pinchart, A.J., *Miniaturistes, enlumineurs & calligraphes*, 24-8.

Sommé, M., *Isabelle de Portugal*, 458-9.

Warner, G.F. and Gilson, J.P., *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, II, 173.

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<sup>216</sup> The manuscript was not finished in 1478 at Margaret of York's castle of la Motte-au-Bois, but at the same castle in 1468, when Isabella of Portugal was living there. Gallet-Guerne, D., *op.cit*, XIV.

**30) Name:** *In Trogi Pompei historias libri xlv.*

**Current location:** Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. c.III.22, f. 1-98.<sup>217</sup>

**Date:** ca. 1465-70.

**Date of donation:** 1493 or 1494.<sup>218</sup>

**Recipient:** Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>219</sup>

**Reason for gift:** There is little need for much explanation: the centrality of Maximilian I von Habsburg to *Madame la Grande*, from 1477 until her death in 1503, is amply explored in Part One.

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** Ferrara.

**Language:** Latin.

**Illuminator(s):** ?

**Number of Miniatures:** There are no miniatures as such, but the borders are richly illustrated, and contain crests, portraits etc.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** The Habsburg Arms.

**Dedication:** "Voter lealle mere Margarete".<sup>220</sup>

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Marcus Junianus Justinus (Either second or third century A.D.)<sup>221</sup>

**Texts included:** *In Trogi Pompei historias libri xlv.*<sup>222</sup>

**Notes:** The reasons for Margaret buying a manuscript from Ferrara are not immediately obvious. The court there was known for its bibliophile tendencies, with both marquis Niccolo III (1383-1441), and duke Ercole (1431-1505) d'Este, having extensive libraries.<sup>223</sup> There were contacts between the Este lands and the Low Countries. The Burgundian tapestry-makers found a substantial export market at the Este court, which, in turn, was a major patron of some of the leading composers from Burgundy, such as

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<sup>217</sup> The manuscript contains the same text twice, with the second version having no connection with Margaret of York at all.

<sup>218</sup> The first date is the occasion of Maximilian's election as emperor in 1493. The suitability of the gift to an emperor is obvious, but the question as to why Margaret opted for an Italian manuscript is not answered by this date. More likely is 1494, the year in which Maximilian married Bianca Sforza. The Italian connection of the wedding would have made the rich manuscript an appropriate gift, and explains the Italian provenance.

<sup>219</sup> Derolez's argument that the manuscript was given to Maximilian when he was Holy Roman Emperor, based on the double-headed eagle on his crest in the book, is surely correct. Derolez, A., "A Renaissance Manuscript in the Hands of Margaret of York". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 101.

<sup>220</sup> Margaret's affection speaks from this inscription in her own hand, an inscription which is mirrored by the way Maximilian signed his letters to Margaret.

<sup>221</sup> Smith, W. (ed), *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, II, 680-2.

<sup>222</sup> There is no modern language edition of volume forty-four. For a survey, c.f. Yardley, J.C. and Heckel, W. (eds), *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus. Books 11-12*, 23; Seel, O. (ed), *Pompeius Trogus Fragmenta*.

<sup>223</sup> See the admirable study by Tuohy, T., *Herculean Ferrara*, 7-9. Nicolo had 2,79 books, 57 in French, and Ercole 512, of which 48 were in French. Both libraries were still considerably smaller than that of the Burgundian dukes.

Jacob Obrecht and Josquin des Prez.<sup>224</sup> The contacts between the Este and the Burgundian dynasty played at a more personal level, too: Anthony, the Great Bastard, had visited Ferrara in 1476, and, undoubtedly, this great bibliophile noticed the ducal collection there. It must have been Anthony who briefed Margaret in the Netherlands.<sup>225</sup> One is struck by this cultural interaction: clearly oblivious to the counterpoint between Huizinga and Burkhardt, contemporaries in Burgundy and Italy admired each others cultural achievements, regardless of any autumnal Middle Ages, or Renaissance sunshine.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: 26.

**Additional Literature:**

None.

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<sup>224</sup> Tuohy, T., *op.cit.*, 223; Lockwood, L., *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505. The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*; Strohm, R., *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 136. Strohm noted, in particular, the role played by Jean Cordier as a go-between between the courts of Ferrara, the Habsburgs, and Brugge.

<sup>225</sup> Tuohy, T. *op.cit.*, 333. He also noted that Beatrice d'Este lent her coach to Bianca Sforza on the occasion of her marriage to Maximilian in Milan. *Ibid*, 269.

**31) Name:** *Romuleon*.

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. Royal 19 E V.

**Date:** ca. 1463 and 1480.<sup>226</sup>

**Date of donation:** 1480.<sup>227</sup>

**Recipient:** Edward IV.

**Reason for gift:** Probably given as part of the Burgundian attempt to loosen Edward's addiction to Louis XI's money, and rekindle the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, as described in Part One.

**Scribe:** Jean Miélot.<sup>228</sup>

**Place:** Lille.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Attributed to the Master of the White Inscriptions.<sup>229</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 10.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Arms and badges of Edward IV and his two sons.

**Dedication:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Roberto della Porta (Fourteenth century).<sup>230</sup>

**Texts included:** *Romuleon*.<sup>231</sup>

**Notes:** Both Wim Blockmans and Weightman have seen this manuscript as a present from Margaret to her brother.<sup>232</sup> The miniature on f. 418 supports this thesis. It shows a woman, presumably Margaret of York, presenting Hadrian to the Emperor Trajan. Hadrian is widely acknowledged to represent Edward. Such is the internal evidence of this manuscript, that there is no reason to doubt this idea. However, one is left to wonder how Edward regarded the present. The recipient of an ample pension from Louis XI, here he was presented with a second-hand manuscript taken out of the library of Philip the Good, with a new miniature inserted. This, too, was open to interpretation. Was Edward flattered to be seen as Hadrian, or did he rather resent being portrayed kneeling before an emperor? The analogy with Maximilian's father was easily made, and England prided itself on its status as a sovereign kingdom.

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<sup>226</sup> 1463 according to the scribe and translator. f. 418, a miniature, was added in 1480.

<sup>227</sup> During Margaret of York's diplomatic visit. See also *Vita Christi* and *La vengeance de la mort Jésus-Christ* [number 12 on this list], which may also have been presented at this time.

<sup>228</sup> Miélot was a scribe of Philip the Good, and canon in Lille.

<sup>229</sup> Kren, T., and McKendrick, S., *op.cit.*, 289.

<sup>230</sup> The text was written before 1377, in Latin, in Bologna.

<sup>231</sup> This consists of a history of the Roman Empire from Aeneas to the division of the Empire in 306 A.D., in ten books.

<sup>232</sup> *Weightman*, 138; Blockmans, W., "The Devotion of a Lonely Duchess". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, 22.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: 26.

**Books donated by Margaret of York.**  
**C) Gifts previously in her own library:**

**32) Name:** *Le Miroir d'humilité.*

**Current location:** Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes.

**Inventory Number:** Ms 240.

**Date:** 1462.

**Date of donation:** post 1493 (?).<sup>233</sup>

**Recipient:** Baudouin de Lannoy, *seigneur* de Molembaix et Solre-le-Château (ca. 1436-1501)<sup>234</sup>

**Reason for gift:** De Lannoy was closely associated with Margaret's step-grandson Philip the Fair, whose steward he was. Prior to this, he had fulfilled the same role at the court of Mary of Burgundy. From 1485 he was the Stadholder of French-Flanders, in which capacity he was responsible for the security of one of Margaret's dowerlands, that of Cassel. It is, therefore, obvious that the relationship between Margaret of York and the *seigneur* of Molembaix was a close one, both politically, and on a familial level. The two had also co-operated in the, failed, reform of the *Blijdenberg* priory in Mechelen.

**Scribe:** David Aubert.

**Place:** Brugge and Brussels.

**Illuminator(s):** Guillaume (Willem) Vrelant and his workshop.

**Number of Miniatures:** 10.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Her Ownership:** No.

**Former Owner:** Philip the Good.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** Margarete d'Engleterre.

**Dedication:** No.

**Author(s):** Jean Gerson, Thomas à Kempis, St Bonaventure (1221-1274), Jacobus van Gruytrode, O.Cart. (?-1473/5).

**Texts included:** See above, number 20 on this list.

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<sup>233</sup> When this gift occurred is problematic, but a year post 1493 can be postulated. De Lannoy commissioned a copy of this manuscript, in which he is described as second chamberlain to Maximilian I and to Philip the Fair. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 5205-06. C.f. Charron, P., and Gil, M, "Les enlumineurs", 92-3. Lannoy is mentioned in the latter capacity only from 1493. It is improbable that he had lavished expenses on a copy if he was already in the possession of the real thing.

<sup>234</sup> Cools, H., *Mannen met macht*, 248.

**33) Name:** *La dyalogue de la ducesse de bourgogne a Ihesu Crist.*

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Inventory Number:** Add. Ms. 7970.

**Date:** ca. 1470.

**Recipient:** Johanna van der Clyte, dame of Halewyn and then of Wassenaar (1440-1512).<sup>235</sup>

**Reason for gift:** As seen in Part One, Johanna van der Clyte was one of the most important members of Margaret's affinity. The heiress of the large lordship of Komen in southern Flanders, she married twice, first Jan II, *heer* of Halewyn (d. 1473), and, subsequently, in 1482, one of the leading nobleman in the county of Holland, Jan I, *heer* of Wassenaar. This later marriage was important in increasing the pro-Habsburg element in that county, whilst Johanna's own lordship in southern Flanders made her a neighbour of Margaret's dowerlands around Cassel. Johanna van Halewyn could be called Margaret's closest female confidante.

**Date of gift:** ca. 1500.<sup>236</sup>

**Scribe:** Nicholas Finet.

**Place:** Brussels.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** The Master of Girard of Roussillon.

**Number of Miniatures:** 1.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Initials C and M; marguerites.

**Inscription:** Finet states that he wrote the text "a la requeste de ... princesse Marguerite d'Yorck".

**Signature:** margarete.

**Author(s):** Nicholas Finet.

**Texts included:** See above, number 4 on this list.

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<sup>235</sup> Cools, H., *op.cit.*, 110, 227 and 354, n. 78.

<sup>236</sup> Margaret recorded the gift at the end of the book in her own hand; f. 140<sup>v</sup>.

**34) Name:** *Vita Christi* and *La vengeance de la mort Jésus-Christ*.

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Number:** Ms. Royal 16. G. III.

**Date:** 1479.

**Date of donation:** 1480.

**Recipient:** King Edward IV.<sup>237</sup>

**Reason for gift:** Margaret's visit to England in 1480 has been explored in Part One. The donation of this manuscript to her brother must be seen as a diplomatic gesture. The king was at the height of his collecting passion.

**Scribe:** David Aubert.

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Alexander Bening.

**Number of Miniatures:**

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Yes.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Ludolph of Saxony (ca. 1300-1378). He was a Carthusian monk who wrote the original Latin *Vita Christi* on which Jehan Aubert based his translation.

**Texts included:** See above, number 12 on this list.

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<sup>237</sup> This would explain the presence of an illumination showing the scribe donating the manuscript to a man on f. 8<sup>v</sup>. Dogaer's assertion that this manuscript was not intended for Margaret of York has been disproved. *Dogaer*, 105, n. 34. Backhouse, J., *op. cit.*, 26. She argues convincingly that Margaret would have presented the manuscript to the king at this date. Its presence in the royal collection has to be accounted for.

**Confraternity Books which feature Margaret of York's signature, name or portrait.**

**35) Name:** *Registre de la guild de Sainte Anne à Gand.*

**Current location:** Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection.<sup>238</sup>

**Inventory Number:** inv. RCIN 1047371,

**Date:** 1477.

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** Gent.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Unknown workshop in Gent.

**Number of Miniatures:** 2.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other marks of Margaret of York's association:** A full-scale miniature of Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy appears on f. 2<sup>v</sup>, where they kneel before a statue of St. Anne.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** Margaret of York's name on f. 3, as a member of the confraternity.

**Notes:** Weightman suggested that the membership of both women dated to 1473, without providing a source.<sup>239</sup> Paul Trio, on the other hand, states that the first list on which Margaret and Mary appear dates from 1476-7.<sup>240</sup> 1477 is unlikely, as Mary is referred to as the countess of Charolais, which she ceased to be on Charles's death in January 1477. One is inclined to support Trio's idea, however, as it would have made political sense to join this 'guild of the well-heeled of Gent' in a period when the city was increasingly volatile. It is highly unlikely that the manuscript actually belonged to Margaret of York. Its overall quality is less than what one would normally expect for the duchess, and there would have been little point for anyone other than the guild itself to have a list of the members. The folio with the miniature could be displayed to impress the high status of these guild members on members and non-members alike.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: 23.

Barstow: 28.

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<sup>238</sup> I would like to thank Emma Stewart, of the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, for her help.

<sup>239</sup> *Weightman*, 207.

<sup>240</sup> Trio, P., *Volksreligie als spiegel van een stedelijke samenleving*, 214-5.

**Additional Literature:**

Challis, K., "Register van het Gentse Gilde van de Heilige Anna". In *Dames met klasse*, 76-7.

Delaisé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 197-8

*Illuminating*, 150-2.

*Weightman*, 119.

**36) Name:** *Liber authenticus sacratissimae utrisque sexus christi fidelium confraternitatis septem dolorum beata maria virginis nuncupatae.*<sup>241</sup>

**Current location:** Brussels, Archief van de stad.

**Inventory Number:** no. 3413.

**Date:** 15<sup>th</sup> (?) to 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>242</sup>

**Scribe:** ?

**Place:** Brussels.

**Language:** Latin and Dutch.

**Illuminator(s):** None.

**Number of Miniatures:** 0.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** Added on f. 55.

**Other marks of Margaret of York's association:** Her name was added to the list of members on f. 51<sup>r</sup>, together with that of her long deceased husband.

**Signature:** No.

**Notes:** This is the guild book of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows in Brussels. Margaret of York's close association with the birth of this guild has been remarked upon in Part Three. One is also struck by the large number of members from Margaret's affinity, who joined this 'club'.<sup>243</sup> Clearly, as with the Guild of St Anne in Gent, this was a guild one should be a member of.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: -

**Additional Literature:**

Degroote, G., *Blijde Inkomst*.

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<sup>241</sup> I owe a great debt of gratitude to Susie Speakman Sutch for her generous help with this most peculiar of manuscripts. She has subjected it to a thorough analysis, which she generously provided me with, and on which I lean heavily.

<sup>242</sup> The last important member to be enrolled was Charles of Lorraine, governor-general of the Austrian Netherlands, 1741-1780, the first members were Maximilian I and Bianca Sforza. The list of the ordinary members of the confraternity commences either in 1499, with its founding, or 1507. New leaves were inserted at the start of new years.

<sup>243</sup> Including Henri de Glymes, f. 57<sup>r</sup>, Jan III de Glymes and his wife, Adrienne de Brimeu, f. 88<sup>r</sup>, Henri van Wittem, f. 92<sup>r</sup>, Olivier de la Marche, f. 114<sup>r</sup>, Antoine de Lalaing and Isabella of Culemborg, f. 93<sup>r</sup>, and Guillaume Poupet, f. 92<sup>v</sup>.

### Notes on both Guild Manuscripts:

The two manuscripts, although not part of Margaret of York's library, show the extent to which the duchess became associated with religious organisations in the Low Countries. To this, we may add some additional evidence. Galesloot mentions a donation of 24 *livres* to the Confraternity of St George in Gent in 1487.<sup>244</sup> Paul Trio traced Margaret and Mary as members of the Confraternity of St Barbara, which they joined in 1471, and in which they were joined by Maximilian in 1479.<sup>245</sup> To these more can undoubtedly be added, given the time to explore the archives.<sup>246</sup> This does seem to contradict Wim Blockmans's notion that Margaret's membership of the Guild of St Anne offers support for his thesis of the 'lonely duchess'.<sup>247</sup> Clearly, there is no specific religious preference for which guild Margaret joined: Sts George, Barbara and Anne hardly constitute a trend. Instead, one is inclined to follow both Andrew Brown and Paul Trio in their interpretation of this type of membership: these were associations of the 'grand chic', part of the interaction between the Burgundian dynasty and the towns of the Low Countries.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Galesloot, 237.

<sup>245</sup> Trio, P., *op.cit.*, 220.

<sup>246</sup> Although Andrew Brown did not discover Margaret amongst the members of the Confraternity of the Holy Blood in Brugge. A. Brown, private communication. Her absence there is odd, especially as Charles did join, as did Maximilian and Mary.

<sup>247</sup> Blockmans, W.P., "The Devotion of a Lonely Duchess", 39.

<sup>248</sup> Trio, P., *op.cit.*, 228; Brown, A., "Bruges and the Burgundian 'Theatre State'", *History*, LXXXIV, (1999). For the function of confraternities, c.f. Rubin, M., "Corpus Christi Fraternities and Late Medieval Piety", *Studies in Church History*, XXIII, (1986).

**Books previously attributed to the Library of Margaret of York, but rejected here.**

**37) Name:** *Le Liure de Félicité de vie*.

**Current location:** London, British Library.

**Inventory Number:** Ms.Arundel 71.

**Date:** Between 1464 and 1476.

**Scribe:** Charles Soillot.<sup>249</sup>

**Place:** At the Burgundian court.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Master of Hiéron.<sup>250</sup>

**Number of Miniatures:** 3.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** Dedicated to Charles the Bold by the author.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Charles Soillot (1434-1493).

**Texts included:** *Le Liure de Félicité de vie*.<sup>251</sup>

**Reasons for exclusion:** Arundel 71 has been ascribed to Margaret of York by various authorities.<sup>252</sup> Content-wise the *Liure* fits perfectly into her collection, but there is not a scrap of internal evidence in the manuscript even to suggest an association with the duchess. Indeed, as Lotte Hellings noted, the manuscript was made for Charles as count of Charolais, long before he ever met Margaret of York.<sup>253</sup> In editions made by Soillot for patrons other than Charles the Bold, he altered the inscription and included a miniature of presentation.<sup>254</sup> That is not the case in Arundel 71. The only element in the manuscript that points towards Margaret of York has nothing to do with Soillot's text, namely f. 9, which, as seen, is part of a gradual [number I26 on this list]. It is perhaps this folio that has caused the confusion.

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<sup>249</sup> Charles the Bold's secretary, who also did the translation. Charles the Bold was his godfather. He was secretary to Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I and *Greffier* of the Order of the Golden Fleece between 1491 and 1493. Koller, F., *Au service de la Toison d'Or*, 71-5. He also fulfilled several ecclesiastical functions. Calmette, J., *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, 203.

<sup>250</sup> McKendrick, S., *op.cit.*, 33.

<sup>251</sup> The text was first presented to Charles the Bold in 1464, and contains a dialogue between Dame Church, Dame Nobility, and Dame Labour, who are engaged in an allegorical debate on happiness. All this occurs in Soillot's dream. Ultimately the court of knowledge in front of which the debate takes place decides that none of the participants merits happiness. That can be achieved only by the eternal contemplation of God and the Virgin Mary. It was a popular text in the fifteenth-century Low Countries.

<sup>252</sup> Cockshaw, P. and Rouzet, A., "Charles Soillot. Le Débat de Félicité". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 76; Polain, M.-L., "Le Débat de félicité par Charles Soillot", *De Gulden Passer*, IV, (1926); Dogaer, J. and Debae, M. (eds), *op.cit.*, 92; Dogaer, 104.

<sup>253</sup> Hellings, L., "Caxton and the Bibliophiles", 21, n. 13.

<sup>254</sup> Cockshaw, P. and Rouzet, A., *op.cit.*, 76.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: 13.

Hughes: 22.

Barstow: -

**38) Name:** *Book of Hours of Catherine of Aragon.*  
**Current location:** 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.  
**Inventory Number:** Ms. 76 F 7.  
**Date:** ca. 1460.<sup>255</sup>  
**Scribe:** ?.  
**Place:** Certainly in Flanders, possibly Brugge.  
**Language:** Latin.  
**Illuminator(s):** Ascribed to Willem Vrelant.<sup>256</sup>  
**Number of Miniatures:** 32.  
**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.  
**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.  
**Inscription:** No.  
**Signature:** No.  
**Author(s):** n/a.

**Texts:** The hours of the day. The Use of the calendar is not given in the catalogue of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, but it is definitely in the Use of Sarum, with some alterations.

**Reasons for exclusion:** Foncke, and before her Smit, thought they could detect internal evidence in the manuscript that pointed to the ownership of Margaret of York. Both saw the mixture of English, Burgundian, and Low Countries saints as being indicative that the owner *had* to be English and living in the Low Countries.<sup>257</sup> However, there are major impediments to accepting this argument. The Hours are in the Use of Sarum, and all the saints that Foncke listed as evidence for an Anglo-Burgundian recipient are those one would expect on such a calendar.<sup>258</sup> The occurrence of many continental saints, particularly from northern France and southern Flanders, is to be expected: the Use of Sarum had Norman origins.<sup>259</sup>

There is one unexpected saint, St Bavo of Gent. However, his inclusion would more likely point to a recipient in the house of Lancaster, as their progenitor, John of Gaunt, was born at the abbey in Gent of which Bavo was the titular saint. This does not exclude the possibility that Margaret of York was the manuscript's recipient. There is enough evidence to argue that the Use of Sarum was important to her, and the Cambridge breviary is proof that she used the rite in the Low Countries. Two more pieces of evidence argue against Foncke's thesis. In the first place, there is the absence of any marks of ownership in the manuscript. Foncke argued that this was also the case with many of Margaret's other books, yet all her service books *are* marked in some way. There is also a problem with the date. Although Foncke postulates a date in the very late 1460s, there is no reason to suggest that the catalogue of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek is

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<sup>255</sup> This is the date given by the catalogue of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

<sup>256</sup> Marrow, J.H., "John the Baptist, Lantern for the Lord", *Oud-Holland*, LXXXV, (1970), 188-93. It is not listed by Bousmanne, B. Bousmanne, *op.cit.*, but Delaissé, on the other hand, thought he could detect an influence by Vrelant. Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *op.cit.*, 109.

<sup>257</sup> Foncke, M., "Een getijdenboek van Margaretha van York?", *Millennium*, XI, (1997); Smit, J.W.L., *Getijdenboek van Koningin Catherine*, 6; Foncke, M., "Een getijdenboek van Margaretha van York?", *Millennium*, XI, (1997), 117-8.

<sup>258</sup> Frere, W.H., *op.cit.*, XXVIII-XXIX.

<sup>259</sup> *Liturgisch Woordenboek*, II, 1968 ed., S.v. "Sarum".

wrong in placing it in the early 1460s. This would certainly exclude Margaret of York as a candidate owner. There is little need to try and find a continental owner of the manuscript. From Gent and Brugge, there was a thriving trade in illuminated manuscripts, mostly service books, to England.<sup>260</sup> As a result, the scriptoria and ateliers of the towns produced rather large quantities of Books of Hours, which were then shipped to England. By the 1490s, the production had, however, become rather standardised, and for anyone wishing to purchase a manuscript with distinction they would have had to buy an older version, unless it formed part of an inheritance. This, in the light of the inclusion of St Bavo and the earlier remarks about a recipient from the house of Lancaster, could very well have been the case with Catherine of Aragon.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: -

**Additional Literature:**

Foncke, M., "Een getijdenboek van Margaretha van York?", *Millennium*, XI, (1997).

Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *De Gouden Eeuw*, 109.

Smit, J.W.L., *Getijdenboek van Koningin Catherina*.

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<sup>260</sup> For this and what follows, c.f. Hame, C.F.R. de, "Reflexions on Trade in Books of Hours at Ghent and Bruges", *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing*, 30-1; College, E., "South Netherlands books of hours made for England", *Scriptorium*, XXXII, (1978).

**39) Name:** *L'instruction d'un Jeune Prince*.

**Current location:** Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 5104

**Date:** 1470.<sup>261</sup>

**Scribe:** Hennecart?

**Place:** Brussels.

**Language:** French.

**Illuminator(s):** Jean Hennecart.

**Number of Miniatures:** 3.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** All marks show this manuscript to have been part of the library of Charles the Bold.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Gillebert de Lannoy.<sup>262</sup>

**Reasons for exclusion:** Weightman believed that this manuscript came into Margaret's library,<sup>263</sup> misquoting Dogaer, who states categorically that he did not believe that the initials C and M appeared in the Paris manuscript as a result of Margaret of York acquiring it at a later date.<sup>264</sup> There is no evidence that the initials were indeed painted after the rest of the manuscript, and there is unanimity about the fact that it belonged firmly in Charles's library.<sup>265</sup> Winkler gave the date as between 1465 and 1468, which would have made Weightman's argument more coherent.<sup>266</sup> As it stands, with the date firmly pegged at 1470, there is no reason why this manuscript should be counted as part of Margaret of York's library.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: -

**Additional Literature:**

Rouzet, A., "Guillebert de Lannoy. Le Livre de l'instruction d'un jeune prince". In P. Cockshaw et al, *Charles le Téméraire*, 177.

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<sup>261</sup> Delaissé, L.M.J. (ed), *op.cit*, 155. He noted the document, dated 1470, which gave the name and remuneration for the illuminator.

<sup>262</sup> The attribution of the text to Chastellain is no longer accepted.

<sup>263</sup> *Weightman*, 237, n. 60.

<sup>264</sup> *Dogaer*, 105.

<sup>265</sup> Bartier, J., *op.cit*, 28; Chipps Smith, J., "Margaret of York and the Burgundian Portrait Tradition". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal*, 55, and n. 34.

<sup>266</sup> Winkler, F., *op.cit*, 69.

## A new book for the library of Margaret of York?

The manuscript which follows is very tentatively put forward as perhaps having been in the possession of Margaret of York. As it was a music manuscript, it would have been used in the chapel.

**40) Name:** *A Collection of Music by Flemish and English Composers.*

**Current location:** Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.

**Inventory Number:** Ms. 5557.<sup>267</sup>

**Date:** Between the early 1460s and 1480.<sup>268</sup>

**Scribe:** Several hands, possibly as many as nine.<sup>269</sup>

**Place:** Brussels, Brugge, or Gent. (?)

**Language:** French, Latin and English.

**Illuminator(s):** ?

**Number of Miniatures:** 5.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** Perhaps the reddish rose (discoloured?) is an indication of an association with an English owner, although Curtis doubted this.<sup>270</sup> When seen in relation to the other miniatures, however, such an association becomes more likely. The presence of a *fusil* and a white rose in the capital 'k' of the *Kyrie* in the second mass, for example, is most suggestive;<sup>271</sup> the noble lady with the *hennin*, accompanied by a dog, the symbol of marital fidelity, even more so.<sup>272</sup>

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Composers:** Burgundians: Gilles Binchois (ca. 1400-1460); Guillaume Dufay (1397-1474); Johannes Ockegem (ca. 1410-1497); Antoine Busnois (ca. 1430-1492); Johannes Regis (?-1496); Cornelius Heyns (fl. 1447-1465) and one anonymous. English: Walter Frye (d. ca. 1474); John Plummer (c.1410-c.1484); Richard Cockx (fl. 1448-1491).<sup>273</sup>

<sup>267</sup> This is the only manuscript on this list to be made entirely of paper. It came from Troyes in France. For a full treatment of this manuscript, see Wegman, R., *Choirbook of the Burgundian Chapel*. It has also been recorded. Edward Wickham and The Clerk's Group, *Brussels 5557*, Signum, SIGCD 015, London, 2000.

<sup>268</sup> For the immensely complicated history of this manuscript, which consists of paper and can, therefore, be dated with more precision than most undated manuscripts of vellum, c.f. Curtis, G.R.K., *The English Masses of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5557*, I, 11-16.

<sup>269</sup> Kenney, S.W., "Origins and Chronology of the Brussels Manuscript 5557 in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique", *Revue Belge de musicologie*, VI, (1952), 87.

<sup>270</sup> f. 110<sup>v</sup>. Curtis, G.R.K., *op.cit.*, 20.

<sup>271</sup> f. 10<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>272</sup> f. 30<sup>v</sup>. For an exploration of the symbolism, c.f. Wegman, R., "New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557", *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, XXXVI, (1986), 8-11.

<sup>273</sup> Cockx possibly spent some time in the church of Our Lady in Antwerp as cantor somewhere between 1448 and 1491. Striels, G. de, "De zangkapel van de kathedraal van Antwerpen", *Musica Sacra*, XLI, (1934).

**Music included:** Eleven settings of the Mass Ordinary; two of the Magnificat; seven Motets, and one *Sequentiae*.<sup>274</sup> For five English masses and most of Busnois's motets this is the sole source.<sup>275</sup>

**Notes:** This is a highly complex manuscript, which grew in size over a period of at least two decades. It was well used, witness the rather badly damaged lower part of the folios, which suggests that it stood for long and frequent periods on a lectern in a chapel. That it was intended to be used is also clear: Curtis put it most succinctly when he stated that it was "very unpretentious indeed".<sup>276</sup> Kenney noted that the notation is particularly clear and free from mistakes, supporting the notion that this was a manuscript to be used rather than displayed.<sup>277</sup> The three fascicles were brought together in the early 1460s, in 1468, and around 1480 respectively.<sup>278</sup> I have no quarrel with the last two dates, but would suggest that paper bought around 1464-5 may well have been used as late as 1468, the date of the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York.

The argument that paper was too expensive to lie around all that time does not wash in relation to either the Burgundian court – where the manuscript may have originated – or with that of Jean de Bourgogne, bishop of Cambrai, the other candidate. Jean's candidature is particularly strong. The manuscript includes a prominently placed depiction of the arms of Burgundy, indicating bastardy.<sup>279</sup> Although Jean was not particularly interested in Cambrai, his musical taste was well-developed, and Cambrai did have a famous musical tradition.<sup>280</sup> In addition, Busnois worked for the bishop, composing his *Missa Ave regina celorum* for the dedication of the new cathedral at Cambrai, the only time Jean actually went to visit the town.<sup>281</sup> The presence of music relating to the 'wedding of the century' need not cause too much surprise either. Rob Wegman's assertion that the manuscript belonged to the Burgundian chapel is attractive, but has one problem:<sup>282</sup> it does not appear in the inventories of the Burgundian library of 1467 and 1487,<sup>283</sup> and that of Charles the Bold's collection of 1477 is incomplete.<sup>284</sup> We know that Margaret of York bought Jean's residence in Mechelen, and, if the manuscript

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<sup>274</sup> Curtis, G.R.K., *op.cit.*, 2.

<sup>275</sup> Of his twelve motets, seven are in this manuscript. Higgins doubts these were commissioned by Charles the Bold, which, if my argument holds that the manuscript's origins should be sought in Cambrai, or with the bishop of Cambrai, is indeed what is to be expected. P.M. Higgins, *Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy*, 96.

<sup>276</sup> Curtis, G.R.K., *op.cit.*, 41.

<sup>277</sup> Kenney, S.W. *op.cit.*, 77.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>279</sup> f. 2<sup>v</sup>. It is clear that the crest shows a bastard of John the Fearless, and not of Philip the Good. For an alternative interpretation, c.f. Wegman, R., "New Data", 7-8.

<sup>280</sup> Curtis, L., "Een koorboek van de kathedraal van Cambrai. Midden 15<sup>de</sup> eeuw", *Musica Antiqua*, XI, (1994). C.f. Bowers, R., "Aristocratic and Popular Piety in the Patronage of Music in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands", *Studies in Church History*, XXVIII, (1992), 199.

<sup>281</sup> It was composed around 1472, and copied in the famous Cambrai Choirbook in 1473. Curtis, G.R.K., *op.cit.*, 32-3. It is also present in the last fascicle of this manuscript, which would argue for a completion of the volume before 1480; Jean died in 1479.

<sup>282</sup> Wegman, R., *Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel*.

<sup>283</sup> Curtis, G.R.K., *op.cit.*, 40-1.

<sup>284</sup> Peignot, G., *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne au XVe siècle*, 85-100.

indeed contains the music of her wedding, would have been keen to preserve, and, indeed, use the volume.

### Commentary:

This manuscript contains the only music one can directly associate with Margaret's court. It contains the music that was, in all likelihood, played during the wedding festivities in Brugge in 1468, if not especially composed for it.<sup>285</sup> More importantly, it is also the only source for more than half of the motets by Antoine Busnois. Busnois is the only Burgundian composer that we can definitely place at Margaret's court, if not directly in her service. In 1476, he was at Margaret's court, where he was paid by Charles the Bold's *maître d'hôtel*.<sup>286</sup> He was still with her in Mechelen in the next year.<sup>287</sup> Margaret must have recalled the wonderful *Bien viegne la douce bergiere* – that playful allusion to her motto – and the chanson *Faictes-vous l'asne ma maistresse*, which he composed for her marriage, and probably even sang that day:<sup>288</sup> like Olivier de la Marche, here was a cultural voice of Burgundy finding shelter under the roof of *Madame la Grande*.<sup>289</sup> She rewarded his loyalty with a prebend in Voorne,<sup>290</sup> and may have been instrumental in providing him with another in the St Salvator church in Brugge.<sup>291</sup> It should be recalled that these were also the birthplaces of the devotion to Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows.

Of course, this close association with the composer does not mean that Margaret of York definitely owned this manuscript. Yet it does enhance the chance. Its absence from the inventories of the ducal library is also very significant: the Burgundian crests, which Rob Wegman wishes to attribute to dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, look rather forlorn in this light. However, if one can accept that it refers to Jean de Bourgogne, Margaret's ownership of the manuscript looks a good deal more plausible, and explains its absence in the inventory lists. One may also recall Edward IV's love of music, exemplified by the Old Hall Manuscript.<sup>292</sup> One of the composers included, William Typp, had been precentor at Fotheringhay college, with its own strong musical

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<sup>285</sup> Andrew Kirkman and the Binchois Consort, *A Marriage of England and Burgundy*, Hyperion Records, CDA67129, London, 2000. The fact that Charles the Bold, like many contemporaries, admired English music can be seen from the presence of the English composer, Robert Morton, in his chapel from 1465 onwards. Kenney, S.W., *op.cit.*, 94-5. For the continental admiration for English music during the second half of the fifteenth century, c.f. Letts, M. (ed and transl.), *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 46, 48, 54 and 58. The musical establishment at the English court was also more substantial than in Burgundy. Bowers, R., *op.cit.*, 201.

<sup>286</sup> A.D.N. B 3440.119280; c.f. Higgins, P.M., *op.cit.*, 94.

<sup>287</sup> A.D.N. B 3377, 113558, f. 10. Margaret ordered "draps et de laine ... pour les gens et officiers de madame la douaigiere", and Busnois is named amongst them.

<sup>288</sup> A.D.N. B 2068, f. 160, "à A. de Busne, dit Busnois, chanter etc seze livres". This for services rendered on the last day of June, 1468.

<sup>289</sup> Higgins, P.M., *op.cit.*, 78.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 119-21; Jongkees, A.G., *Staat en Kerk in Holland en Zeeland onder de Bourgondische Hergtogen*, 285.

<sup>291</sup> Strohm, R., *op.cit.*, 202.

<sup>292</sup> For this and what follows, c.f. Harrison, F.L., *Music in Medieval Britain*, 26-7, and 176.

tradition. This may also be a pointer to the origins of Margaret of York's interest in music.

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: -

Barstow: -

**Additional Literature:**

Note: This manuscript has been the subject of more than one thesis, none of which has made it into print. They each approach the manuscript from different angles, and, as a result, we know more about it than about most medieval manuscripts.

Curtis, G.R.K., *The English Masses of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5557*, Manchester, 1979.

Higgins, P.M., *Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy*, Princeton, 1987.

Kenney, S.W., "Origins and Chronology of the Brussels Manuscript 5557 in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique", *Revue Belge de musicologie*, VI, (1952), 75-101.

Wegman, R., *Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 5557*, Peer, 1989.

Wegman, R.C., "New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557", *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, XXXVI (1986), 5-21.

## Early Incunabula in Margaret of York's Collection:

**41) Name:** *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (Frontispiece).<sup>293</sup>

**Current location:** London, Royal College of Physicians; San Marino, Huntington Library.<sup>294</sup>

**Inventory Number:** SR 1d D139-11; Rare Books 62222.

**Date:** 1464.<sup>295</sup>

**Printed:** ca. 1473.

**Printer:** William Caxton.

**Place:** Cologne or Brugge.<sup>296</sup>

**Language:** English.<sup>297</sup>

**Illuminator(s):** n/a.

**Number of Woodcuts:** At least one.

**Crest of Margaret of York:** No.

**Other Marks of Ownership:** No.

**Inscription:** No.

**Signature:** No.

**Author(s):** Raoul Lefèvre (fl. 1460).<sup>298</sup>

**Texts:** Based on the *L'Historia Trojana*, by Guido delle Colonne.<sup>299</sup>

**Note.** William Caxton, England's first printer, was closely associated with Margaret of York. As the governor of the English Nation since 1463, he frequented her court, and was possibly even in her service.<sup>300</sup> There can be no doubt as to her involvement in the completion of the very first printed work in English.<sup>301</sup> Caxton mentions Margaret's role, her command to complete his work, and her more direct involvement. She found "defaute in myn Englyssh" and "commanded me to amende".<sup>302</sup> In the light of this role, it is appropriate that the frontispiece portrays Caxton presenting his patroness with a copy of the work. Although there are no surviving incunabula with a mark of Margaret's ownership, the woodcut must speak for itself. It also recalls the depiction of David Aubert handing over his copy of *De la consolation de philosophie* [number 5 on this list].

<sup>293</sup> f. 352. I am grateful to the librarians at the Royal College of Physicians for their assistance.

<sup>294</sup> The latter is not the only surviving copy. Hellinga, L., *Caxton in Focus*, 30.

<sup>295</sup> For Philip the Good.

<sup>296</sup> In Cologne, according to his successor, Wynkyn de Worde, but in Brugge, according to just about everyone else. Colin, G., "William Caxton". In H. Liebaers (ed), *Le cinquième de l'imprimerie dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 168. C.f. Birch, J.G., "William Caxton's Stay in Cologne", *The Library*, IV, (1923-4); Hellinga, L., *Caxton in Focus*, 31.

<sup>297</sup> This is the only English book that can be ascribed to Margaret of York with some certainty. Whether she had more, is a question that only invites speculation.

<sup>298</sup> He was a chaplain to Philip the Good.

<sup>299</sup> Colin, G., *op.cit.*, 170.

<sup>300</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 1887 ed., S.v. "Caxton, William".

<sup>301</sup> Some have questioned this, but it was amply proven some time ago. Painter, G.D., *William Caxton*, 45-6.

<sup>302</sup> Crotch, W.J.B., "The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton", *EETS*, CLXXVI, (1928).

**Previous numbering:**

Dogaer: -

Hughes: \*<sup>303</sup>

Barstow: 30

**Additional Literature:**

Hellinga, L., *Caxton in Focus. The Beginning of Printing in England.*

Hellinga, L., "Caxton and the Bibliophiles", *Communications Congrès International de Bibliophile*, XI, (1979).

Kekewich, M., "Edward IV, William Caxton and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England", *Modern Language Review*, LXVI, (1971).

Ricci, S. de, *A census of Caxtons*, n. 3-15.

Schnitker, H., "The Recuyll of the Historyes of Troye". In *Dames met Klasse*, 242-3.

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<sup>303</sup> Hughes does not give a number for this, but mentions the text; *Hughes*, 54.

42). Lotte Hellinga suggested that besides the *Recuyell*, Margaret could well have possessed other Caxton imprints. His *Méditationes sur la psaumes pénitenciaux*, a *Cordiale*, and the *Sarum Hours*, all of which were printed in Brugge, are put forward as prime candidates.<sup>304</sup> None are unlikely, but there is one problem: evidence. Nevertheless, one is reluctant to dismiss the idea: the books would have fitted Margaret's collection, and she could easily have afforded them. If the *Recuyell* is acceptable as having formed part of Margaret's library, then there is no reason to suggest she did not purchase other early printed books.

Yet this opens up a real conundrum. On the previous pages, the duchess's commitment to her dower towns has been fully explored. In one of these, in Oudenaarde, there was actually a printing press.<sup>305</sup> In 1479 or 1480, Arend de Keysere began his career as book printer and seller there.<sup>306</sup> Granted that De Keysere was "très mal connue", there is absolutely nothing to link him to Margaret of York. When one examines his repertoire, this is all the more noticeable, particularly as it is very similar to that of Caxton. In 1480, he printed Hermannus de Petra's *Sermones quinquaginta super orationem dominicam*, in a run of approximately three to four hundred. One of these even found its way to the Poor Clares in Brussels.<sup>307</sup> Its theme should have appealed to the dowager: her links with the Dominicans are amply attested. Yet this was a Latin imprint, and there is a complete absence of any Latin books amongst her collection.

De Keysere's second effort, however, the *Cordiale quattuor novissorum*, was, notwithstanding its Latin title, in French. Other efforts by the translator may be found amongst Margaret's manuscripts, for he was none other than Jean Miélot. Unless she already possessed Caxton's earlier imprint, why did Margaret not patronise this printer in her own dower town? Or did she? Printed incunabula are notoriously fragile, with paper being less robust than the vellum of her manuscripts. In addition, they were more easily replaced. The 400 copies of Dominican sermons were more readily available than a work by David Aubert, filled with miniatures which took forever to produce. These facts pose some real problems, and the above cautions against making any assumptions as to the number of incunabula in the duchess's collection, however tempting this may be. Until evidence to the contrary emerges, the *Recuyell* must stand as the only printed work that was, almost incontrovertibly, in her possession.

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<sup>304</sup> Hellinga, L., *Caxton in Focus*, 95.

<sup>305</sup> Meersch, D.J. vander, *Audenaerdsche drukpers 1479-1820*.

<sup>306</sup> For this and what follows, c.f. Machiels, J., "Arend de Keysere". In H. Liebaers (ed), *Le cinquième de l'imprimerie dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 346-50.

<sup>307</sup> K.B.B. Inc. B 1391.

## Maps

## The Dower Lands of Margaret of York



### Key:

- 1: Mechelen and the land of Mechelen
- 2: Binche
- 3: Brielle, Voorne, and Goedereede
- 4: Oudenaarde
- 5: Dendermonde
- 6: Le Quesnoy, until 1495.
- 7: Kassel
- 8: The Castles of La Motte-au-Bois and Nieppe
- 9: Rupelmonde, from 1495.

Note: The dower lands of Chaussin and Perrière in the duchy of Burgundy were never controlled by Margaret of York. She was compensated for their loss in 1482, and received 20,000 *écus d'or* from France.

Below is a table with the nominal total income from the various dower lands. Note that both the Burgundian lands are not given, but that both Rupelmonde and Le Quesnoy are included.

Revenue (in Pounds of 40 *Vlaamsche Groten*)

Mechelen	4,903 £	8 s	7 d
Dendermonde	1,729 £	17 s	5 d
Oudenaarde	678 £	23 s	13 d
Binche	1,086 £	19 s	11 d
Le Quesnoy	1,619 £	2 s	8 d
Brielle and Voorne	9,598 £	0 s	11 d
Rupelmonde	1,288 £	4 s	6 d

Source: Robins, P., "Le veuvage et le douaire de Marguerite d'York dans le contexte politique de 1477 à 1503", *HKKOM*, XCV, (1991), 137.

## The Religious World of Margaret of York



### Key:

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1: Our Lady of Halle                   | 9: Holy Cross, Rue             |
| 2: Our Lady of Vilvoorde               | 10: St Adriaan, Geraardsbergen |
| 3: Our Lady of 's-Gravenzande          | 11: St Trudo, Sint-Truiden     |
| 4: Our Lady of Aardenburg              | 12: St Servaas, Maastricht     |
| 5: Our Lady of Aachen                  | 13: St Colette, Gent           |
| 6: Our Lady of Boulogne                | 14: St Rombout, Mechelen       |
| 7: St Thomas Becket, Canterbury        | 15: St Gummarus, Lier          |
| 8: Relics St Thomas Becket, Saint-Omer | 16: St Ursmer, Binche          |

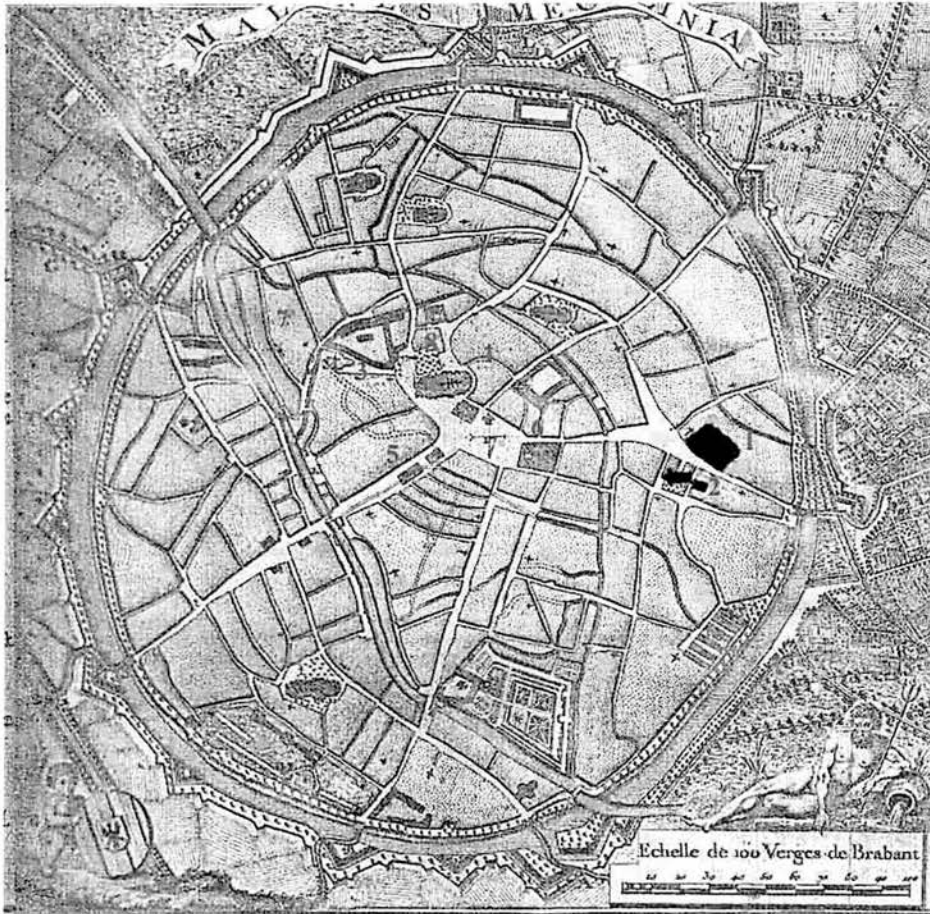
**Religious Institutes Associated With Margaret of York**



**Key:**

- 1: The Abbey of Egmond**
- 2: The Convent of Rijnsburg**
- 3: Brielle, Brigittines**
- 3: Abbenbroek, Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows**
- 4: Dordrecht, Observant Dominicans**
- 5: Zwolle, Alanus de Rupe; Thomas à Kempis**
- 6: Rijmerswaal, Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows**
- 7: *Blijdenberg* Priory, near Mechelen**
- 8: Mechelen, *Zwarte Zusters*, Observant Franciscans,  
Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows**
- 9: Dendermonde, *Zwarte Zusters*, Brigittines**
- 10: Gent, Poor Clares, Observant Dominicans, Confraternity of St Anna,  
Confraternity of St George, Confraternity of St Barbara, Rosary  
Confraternity**
- 11: Brugge, Observant Dominicans, Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows**
- 12: Ter Duinen Abbey**
- 13: Oudenaarde, *Zwarte Zusters***
- 14: Brussels, Observant Dominicans, Scheut Charterhouse, Confraternity of  
Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows**
- 15: Leuven, Charterhouse, Observant Dominicans, Theology department of the  
University of Leuven**
- 16: Zoutleeuw, Austustinian priory**
- 17: St Remigius-Leis, near Hannut, *Bethlehem Klooster***
- 18: Liège, Observant Dominicans**
- 19: Namur, Observant Franciscans**
- 20: Binche, *Zwarte Zusters***
- 21: Mons, *Soeurs Grises***
- 22: Le Quesnoy, *Zwarte Zusters***
- 23: Cambrai, See of Henri de Glymes, Beguines, Poor Clares**
- 24: Lille, Observant Dominicans, birthplace *Congregatio Hollandica***
- 25: Hérinnes, Charterhouse**
- 26: Arras, See of a bishopric**
- 27: Douai, Rosary Confraternity**
- 28: Cologne, Rosary Confraternity**
- 29: Tournai, See of Ferry de Clugny**
- 30: Abbey of Lobbes**

## Margaret of York's Mechelen



### Key:

- 1: *Hof van Camerijk*, Palace of Margaret of York
- 2: House next to the St Peter's Church, bought by Margaret of York in 1497
- 3: Observant Franciscan Friary and church, where Margaret of York was buried in 1503
- 4: Collegiate church of St Rombout, with shrine of the saint
- 5: Location of the Parliament of Burgundy
- 6: Town Hall and Cloth Hall
- 7: Thabor Convent
- 8: St Rombout's Chapel, home of the Mechelen Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady



## **List of Abbreviations**

## Archives:

A.B.	Archives de la Ville de Binche.
A.D.N.	Lille, Archive du Departement du Nord.
A.G.R.	Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume.
A.L.	Leuven, Archief van de Stad.
A.M.	Mechelen, Archief van de Stad.
A.R.A.	's-Gravenhage, Algemeen Rijksarchief.
A.S.L.	Lier, Archief van de Stad
Arch.St.Salv.	Brugge, Archief van de Sint Salvator Kathedraal.
A.V.P.	Brielle, Streekarchief Voorne-Putten en Rozenburg.
A.V.P.K.	Antwerpen, Archief van de Vlaamse Provincie Kapucijnen.
B.R.H.C.	Bergen op Zoom, Regionaal Historisch Centrum.
K.H.A.	's-Gravenhage, Koninklijk Huisarchief.
N.A.E.	Namur, Archives de l'État.
W.O.A.	Wien, Österreichischen Staatsarchiv.

## Libraries:

B.L.	London, British Library.
B.N.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale.
K.B.D.H.	Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
K.B.B.	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I.
O.N.B.	Wien, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.
V.B.M.	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipal.

## Publications:

<i>A.Cart</i>	<i>Analecta Carthusiana.</i>
<i>AdB</i>	<i>Annales de Bourgogne.</i>
<i>ACAM</i>	<i>Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons.</i>
<i>AFH</i>	<i>Archivum Franciscanum historicum.</i>
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum.</i>
<i>AGN</i>	Blok, D.P. et al, <i>Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i> , 15 vols, Haarlem, 1977-1983.
<i>AJ</i>	The Archaeological Journal.
<i>Arrivall</i>	Bruce, J. (ed), "Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recoverye of His Kingdomes from Henry VI AD MCCCLXXI", <i>Camden Series</i> , London, 1838.
Azevedo	Azevedo ij Bernal, G.D. de, <i>Korte Chronijcke Van Mechelen, Deel I tot het jaar 1529</i> , Leuven, 1747.

- Barstow* Barstow, K.A., "The Library of Margaret of York and Some Related Books". In T. Kren (ed), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Vision of Tondal*, Malibu, 1992.
- BEC* *Biliothèque de l'École de Chartes.*
- BARSLB* *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique.*
- BCRH* *Bulletins de la Commission Royale d'Histoire.*
- BMGN* *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden.*
- Book of Saints* Monks of Saint Augustine's Abbey Ramsgate, *The Book of Saints*, London, 1989.
- BVGO* *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde.*
- CCR 1461-68* Bird, W.H.B. and Ledward, K.H., *Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Edward IV, Vol. I, A.D. 1461-1468*, London, 1949.
- CEEB* *Publications du Centre Européen d'études Bourguignonnes.*
- Chastellain* Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed), *Georges Chastellain. Oeuvre*, 8 vols, Bruxelles, 1863-6.
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- CPR 1452-61* Ledward, K.H. (ed), *Calendar of Patent Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VI, A.D. 1452-1461.*
- CPR 1461-67* Fowler, R.C. and Isaacson, R.F. (eds), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward IV A.D. 1461-1467*, London, 1897.
- CPR 1467-77* Fowler, R.C. and Isaacson, R.F. (eds), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward IV. Henry VI, A.D. 1467-1477*, London, 1900.
- CPR 1476-1485* Fowler, R.C. and Isaacson, R.F. (eds), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III A.D. 1476-1485*, London, 1901.
- Crowland* Pronay, N. and Cox, J. (eds), *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486*, London, 1986.
- Dagboek* Fris, V. (ed), *Dagboek van Gent van 1447 tot 1470 met een vervolg van 1477 tot 1515*, 2 vols, Gent, 1901-1904.

- Dames met klasse* Eichberger, D. et al, *Dames met klasse. Margareta van York en Margareta van Oostenrijk*, Leuven, 2005.
- Despars* Despars, N., *Cronijcke van den lande ende graefscepe van Vlaenderen (450-1472)*, 4 vols, Brugge, 1840-1842.
- Dogaer* Dogaer, G., "Margareta van York, Bibliofiele". In A. Monballiey, G. Dogaer & R. De Smedt (eds), *Studia Mechliniensia. Bijdragen aangeboden aan Dr. Henry Joosen ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag, HKKOM*, vol. LXXIX, (1975).
- EETS* *Early English Text Society.*
- Excellente cronike* Vosterman, W. (ed), *Dits die excellente cronike van Vlaenderen*, Antwerpen, 1515.
- FN&Q* *Fenland Notes & Queries. A Quarterly Antiquarian Journal for the Fenland in the Counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, Northampton, Norfolk and Suffolk.*
- Foedera* Rymer, T., *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, Et cujuscunque Gengris Acta Publicica, inter Reges Angliae et Alios quosnis Imperatores etc*, 20 vols, London, 1704-1735.
- Froissart* Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed), *Oeuvres de Froissart, Chroniques*, vol. III, Bruxelles, 1868.
- Galesloot* Galesloot, L., "Marguerite d'York, Duchesse Douirière de Bourgogne (1468-1503)", *Annales de la Société d'Émulation pour l'Étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre*, Vol. XXX (1879).
- GOKD* *Gedenkschriften Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Dendermonde.*
- Haynin* Haynin, J., *Les Mémoires de Messire Jean, Seigneur de Haynin et de Louvignies, chevalier 1465-1477*, 2 vols, Mons, 1842.
- HGOKO* *Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Oudenaarde, van zijn Kastelnij en van den lande tusschen Maercke en Ronne.*
- HKKOM* *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Mechelen.*
- HMGOG* *(Ver)Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent.*
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- HRT* *Holland. Regionaal-historisch tijdschrift.*

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- JEH* *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*.  
*Joyeuse Entrée* Lacroix, A., *Relation en prose et en vers, de la Joyeuse Entrée à Mons, en 1470, de Marguerite d'Yorck d'Angleterre et de Marie de Bourgogne*, Mons, 1842.
- JRH* *The Journal of Religious History*.
- KHGU* *Kroniek Gent* *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht*.  
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- Lobbes* Waulde, M.G., "La Chronique de Lobbes". In n.a., *La Vie de S<sup>t</sup>. Ursmer, et de sept autres S.S. avec la chronique de Lobbes, recueillie par M. Gilles Waulde*, Binche, 1628.
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- M.B.* *Monasticon Belge*.
- Milanese Calendar* Hinds, A.B. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers and manuscripts existing in the archives and collections of Milan: I 1385-1618*, London, 1912.
- MKVA* *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten van België*.



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- WHR* *Welsh History Review*.
- Wielant* Wielant, Ph., “Recueil des antiquités de Flandre”, Smet, J.J. de, (ed), *Recueil des chroniques de Flandres*, vol. IV, Brussels, 1938.
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n. 307-8. (Privilege charter for the English merchants)  
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1490-1, f. 86<sup>v</sup>. (Subsidy for the Poor Clares in Gent)  
Resolutien Breedde Raad:  
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Binche, Archives de la Ville:  
CdC 103. (Letters of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I.)

Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, Archives de Prieuré:  
*Chronique.*

Brielle, Streekarchief Voorne-Putten en Rozenburg:  
Archief stad Brielle 1280-1572:  
inv.nr. 195. (Payment for the burning of tar barrels at the death of Margaret of York)  
inv.nr. 1404, f. 35. (Restoration of the Tennis Court)  
inv.nr. 1404, f. 126. (Payment of 142 *pond Vlaamsch* to Jan Michielszoon)  
Stadsrekeningen:  
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Inv.nr. 81, f. 44<sup>v</sup>. (Foundation of the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary)

Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume:

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Chambre des Comptes:

n. 8853-8900. (Deed of ennoblement of Henri de Hamericourt)

n. 17150. (Annuity for Johanna de Glymes)

La cour féodale de Brabant:

n. 344, f. 169. (Josse de Lalaing taking the oath of fealty on behalf of Margaret of York)

n. 14623, anno 1481, f. 11. (Restorations to the castle of Male)

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CC/FA 5. f. 61<sup>v</sup>. (Supplies delivered to the party of Margaret of York *en route* to Margate for her wedding)

CC/FA 6. f. 7<sup>v</sup>. (Supplies for the Burgundian embassy in 1480)

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Stadsrekeningen:

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n. 450, f. 41<sup>r</sup>. (Mary of Burgundy's *Blijde Inkomst* in Lier, 1477)

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B.458, 17.919. (Fragment of the Will of Margaret of York)

B.40, f. 149. (Expenses paid to Henri de Hamericourt)

B 852 f. 45<sup>v</sup>, 47<sup>v</sup> and 51<sup>v</sup>. (Payments for alterations in Margaret's palace in Binche)

B 3440.119280. (Payment to Antoine Busnois)

B 3377, 113558, f. 10. (List of "draps et de laine" for the household of Margaret of York and others, including the chapel, in Mechelen)

B 2068, f. 160 (payment to Antoine Busnois)

B2068, f. 382-5. (Loan repayment to Thomas Portinari for wedding clothes)

Trésor des Chartes:

B429 and B430. (Confirmations of the donation of Margaret of York's dower lands)

B 1610 f. 162<sup>v</sup> and f. 163<sup>r</sup>. (Transaction of property between Margaret of York and the Chancellor Hugonet)

B3376, n. 113546. (Household Ordinances for Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, 1468)

Compte de l'Argenterie:

1468, f. 159 ff. (Payments to Margaret of York's English retinue in 1468)

London, British Library:

Add.MS 6113, f. 106-7. (Visit by Louis, *heer* of Gruuthuse, to England)

Add.Ms. 38510, f. 114. (Charles the Bold accepts England as Gift from Isabella of Portugal)

Add.Ms. 48031 A, f. 187b. (Appointment of George Hawton as Margaret of York's attorney in England)

London, Public Record Office :

Warrants for Issues E 404 74/1/35 and 74/1/69. (Expense for equipping Margaret of York for her journey to Burgundy, 1468)

Mechelen, Archief van de Stad:

Stadsrekeningen:

- S 1, 162. (1469-70), f. 156-7 and 172 (entry of Margaret of York)  
S 1, n. 162, (1486-87), f. 164<sup>v</sup>. (Contribution to the Lambert Simnel expedition)  
S 1, n. 162, (1486-87), f. 151. (Payment to Lambert Simnel)  
S 1, n. 162, (1486-87), f. 173. (Payment to an English herald)  
S 1, n. 163, (1488-89), f. 155. (Summons to the Estates General to assemble)  
S 1, n. 171, (1493-94), f. 160<sup>v</sup>. (Present of wine to Philip the Fair and entourage).  
S 1, n. 113 (1502-03), f. 113. (Payment to Margaret of York for services rendered)  
S 1, n. 113 (1502-03), f. 184. (Payments for the Peisprocessie)  
Q. Couvent du Thabor:  
n. I, f. 5. (Correspondance between Pieter Verhoeven and Jan van Coudenbergh)

Charter 321-22, (Charter of Edward IV)

Privilegiën der Stad, boek III, f. 101. (Sale of Margaret's palace in Mechelen)

Schepenboeken, S.1 Reg. N. 96, f. 142. (Margaret of York purchases houses adjacent to the *hof van Kamerrijk*)

Van Menegherande dinghen:

- 1479-1480, f. 160. (Payment to Henrick Smed for twenty-nine tar barrels)  
1479-1480, f. 162. (Indulgence granted to Mechelen for the exhibition of the relics of St Rombout at the request of Margaret of York)  
1480-1481, f. 128. (expenses for building at Margaret of York's palace)  
1481-1482, f. 150. (expenses for building at Margaret of York's palace).  
1479-1480, f. 155-162. (Payment to the town secretary for copying a papal bull)

Vaerden:

- 1479-1480, f. 155-162. (Payment to the English soldiers in Binche)  
1480-1481, f. 141-144. (Courier to the English soldiers in Binche)

Brieven:

- Inv., 291, III, letter by Margaret of York to the Pope  
Inv., 291, III, letter by Margaret of York to the town magistrate.  
CCCLXXX, letter by Maximilian to Filip Keerman.  
CCCCXXXV, letter by Margaret of York to the town magistrate.

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## Webology

Unfortunately many internet sources are by their very nature rather instable. Only those which have been available for some considerable time have been added here.

[www.angelfire.com/ar/artereeligioso/soledad.html](http://www.angelfire.com/ar/artereeligioso/soledad.html), a site providing information on the painting of Our Lady of Sorrows in Caracas.

[www.californiamissions.com/cahistory/soledad.html](http://www.californiamissions.com/cahistory/soledad.html), dedicated to the earliest Catholic missions to California.

[www.literatuurgeschiedenis.nl/teksten.asp?ID=11](http://www.literatuurgeschiedenis.nl/teksten.asp?ID=11), a site with information on Tondal in Middle Dutch.

[www.uia.ac.be/u/pavp/genea/eerste7.g.html](http://www.uia.ac.be/u/pavp/genea/eerste7.g.html). This site contains a rather detailed history of the Donche family, and has some good information on Jacob Donche.

[www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lammata/data/York](http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lammata/data/York), Margaretha van .The entry by Wim Blockmans on Margaret of York in the *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*.

[www.users.skynet.be/sb176943/AndriesVandenAbeele.AVDA303.htm](http://www.users.skynet.be/sb176943/AndriesVandenAbeele.AVDA303.htm). This site contains an abstract of the arguments surrounding the possible bastard daughter of Louis, lord Gruuthuse.

[www.duffel.be](http://www.duffel.be), for Margaret and the *warande* of Kasteel Ter Elst.

[www.goetelen.be/turnhout.htm](http://www.goetelen.be/turnhout.htm), for Margaret and the *warande* in Turnhout.

[www.Fontaine-Leveque.be](http://www.Fontaine-Leveque.be), for the rights of the citizens of Fontaine-Leveque to appeal to the aldermen of Liège.

[www.kastelenteam.nl/030/oostvoorne.htm](http://www.kastelenteam.nl/030/oostvoorne.htm), with details of the architectural development of the keep in Oostvoorne.

[www.pef.org.uk/Bethlehem](http://www.pef.org.uk/Bethlehem), an article by Abela, J. O.F.M. on the Christian Sanctuaries in the Holy Land.

[home/wanadoo.nl/rob/hubert/](http://home/wanadoo.nl/rob/hubert/) Genealogical website for the Brederode family.