Acknowledging the "Lady of the House:" Memory, Authority and Self-Representation in the Patronage of Margaret of Austria

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Abstract

Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) ruled the Burgundian Netherlands for over twenty years and was an integral member of the joint Houses of Burgundy and Habsburg. She was also one of the most prolific patrons and collectors of her time. This dissertation examines Margaret's patronage in relation to her contemporary environment with the aim of extending and deepening our understanding of her commissions within the dynamics and discourses of the culture of the early sixteenth century.

Margaret of Austria was a highly conscientious patron and the art and architecture she commissioned intimately reflected her life. Chapter one introduces the historical facts of Margaret's life as well as issues affecting her patronage. Chapter two considers the monastery of Brou in Savoy as Margaret's architectural autobiography. Drawing on documentation and the building itself, it examines Margaret's involvement in Brou's creation. Chapter three looks at several of Margaret's other commissions such as her residence, the Palace of Savoy in Mechelen and the Convent of the Annunciate in Bruges. This chapter considers the potential goals of these projects, as ambitious as founding a capital city, embellishing her authority as a ruler, or attaining sainthood. Chapter four turns to Margaret's self-portraits, that is, images she commissioned of herself. Created in several mediums for a variety of audiences (including herself), Margaret's self-portraits portray her as everything from a widow to a goddess to a saint. Each image was designed for a specific audience and demonstrates Margaret's understanding of the function of images in negotiating a place in the contemporary world and history. Chapter five presents Margaret's view of herself as one of the rulers of a New World Empire with her pioneering collection of artefacts from the Americas. The conclusion considers the unique image of Margaret of Austria that emerges from her commissions.

Sommaire

Marguerite d'Autriche (1480-1530) a régné sur les Pays-Bas bourguignons pendant plus de vingt ans, et était membre des maisons unies de Bourgogne et de Habsbourg. Elle a également été un des collectionneurs et mécènes les plus actifs de son époque. La présente thèse examine le mécénat de Marguerite dans le contexte où elle évoluait, avec pour but d'étendre et d'approfondir notre compréhension des œuvres u'elle a commandé et leur place dans la dynamique et la rhétorique de la culture du début du XVIième siècle.

Marguerite d'Autriche fut une mécène très consciencieuse et ses commandites artistiques et architecturales reflètent fidèlement sa vie. Le premier chapitre nous présente la vie de Marguerite ainsi que les facteurs affectant son mécénat. Le second chapitre traite du monastère de Brou en Savoie, qui représente l'autobiographie architecturale de Marguerite. À partir de documents d'époque du bâtiment lui-même, ce chapitre examine la participation de Marguerite à la création de Brou. Le troisième chapitre étudie plusieurs autres bâtiments commandés par Marguerite, y compris sa résidence, le palais de Savoie à Malines et le couvent des sœurs de l'Annonciation à Bruges. Ce chapitre essaie de dégager les buts poursuivis dans la construction de ces bâtiments – des buts ambitieux tels la construction d'une capitale, le raffermissement de son autorité en tant que dirigeante ou l'accession à la sainteté. Le quatrième chapitre traite des portraits d'elle-même commandés par Marguerite. Crées dans plusieurs médias pour une variété de publics (y compris Marguerite elle-même), ces portraits de Marguerite la présentent sous des jours très différents: veuve, déesse ou sainte. Chaque portrait était destiné à un auditoire particulier, et démontre la compréhension qu'avait Marguerite de la fonction des images pour se tailler une place dans le monde où elle évoluait et dans l'histoire. Le cinquième chapitre présente la conception qu'avait Marguerite d'elle-même comme étant à la tête d'un empire incluant le Nouveau Monde, avec sa collection, avant-gardiste pour l'époque, d'objets provenant des Amériques. La conclusion étudie le personnage unique de Marguerite d'Autriche tel que révélé à travers les œuvres qu'elle a commandées.

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Introduction:

Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) has been called "the true 'great man' of the [Habsburg] family and ... the veritable founder of the Imperial House of Austria."[1] A dramatic claim made by a romantic nineteenth century historian, but nevertheless, an assertion solidly based in historical fact. As the daughter of Emperor Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, Margaret had been Queen, Infanta, Duchess and finally, at the age of twenty-six, governor of the Burgundian Netherlands. She would act as the confidant and advisor to two Emperors and emerge as an international diplomat, acquiring a reputation among her contemporaries as a capable and shrewd politician.

Margaret of Austria was also one of the most prolific patrons and collectors of her time. In a span of just over twenty-five years, she created two major monastic complexes, a palace, a Grand Council Hall, as well as a variety of smaller works designed to leave her mark. She amassed an unparalleled collection of paintings, tapestries, decorative and religious objects and artefacts from non-European cultures. All this, while governing the Burgundian Netherlands, raising her nephew and nieces to rule Europe, and helping to establish the Habsburg Empire. Michelet's romanticized words are perhaps not so exaggerated.

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the patronage of Margaret of Austria within her contemporary environment. That is, to extend and deepen our understanding of her political, social and cultural context and the reciprocal relationship between Margaret's commissions and the dynamics and discourses of the culture of the early sixteenth century. Not only did Margaret function within this culture, she also responded to it and helped shape it. Acknowledging this intrinsic relationship will allow greater insight into the purpose and function of her commissions and collections.

As noted above, earlier historians have tended to romanticize Margaret's actions in the light of their own time. This dissertation attempts to avoid the problems of past scholarship by taking as its starting point a reconsideration of history, Margaret's place in it and her experience of it. Rather than taking any one theoretical model and attempting to support it with the historical facts, this study places emphasis on the facts themselves. A

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[1] "*...le vrai 'grand homme' de la famille [Habsbourg], et ... le véritable fondateur de la Maison d'Autriche.*" Jules Michelet, Histoire de France, t.VII, La Renaissance (Paris, 1890), 335.

range of scholars' theories will of course be considered, but the core of the study revolves around what is known of Margaret's life and times, which will be taken as a springboard for historical supposition and, I hope, insights. In this way I hope to avoid falling into the clichés of the past.

Margaret was an integral member of the joint Houses of Burgundy and Habsburg and her approach to rule and patronage reflected her place within the dynastic House (Fig. 1). The Habsburg understanding of the "House" was more than that of the familial household, but also as a metaphor for society. Each member had a position and if all carry out their responsibilities and duties the house functions well, to the benefit of all. Margaret understood her duties as an Imperial daughter: to advance the family through marriage and loyal support in all matters. However, as an adult, she also strove to expand and re-define her role within the House, refusing to re-marry and striving for authority in her own name. Her commissions reflect the dual and, occasionally, contradictory concerns of her personal goals and those of her familial House.

In the larger picture, the range of Margaret's patronage and collecting interests reflects the cultural transformations of the early sixteenth century. In scholarship, the era has been called both the end of the middle ages and the beginning of the Renaissance. However, such transformations were neither sudden nor total. Recent scholarship has begun to consider ideas of rupture and discontinuity in the sixteenth century.[2] The critique of older narrative models of social change based on linear progress has consequences for the historical analysis of cultural figures such as Margaret, for she would have viewed herself as neither at the beginning nor an end to a cultural or stylistic era. She lived in her own time, which she in turn was affected by and affected.

This is a period of religious reformation, peasant and burgher revolt, developing Empire, the emergence of humanism and the discovery of the New World. Margaret was intimately involved in all of these events and her commissions express her understanding of how the macrocosm functioned and asserted her own place in a microcosmic image of the world (Fig. 2).[3]

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[2] See Dagmar Eichberger & Charles Zika, eds. Dürer and his Culture (Cambridge and London, 1998), 2-3.
[3] The idea of a patron's expression of place through collecting is discussed by Eichberger & Zika, 5.

All of Margaret's commissions can be seen as part of a presentation of her desired image to her contemporaries and to history. The patron was viewed as the creator of the work (more so than the artist/architect) and knew that the object's audience would associate the project with herself.[4] As the initial impetus of a project the patron was involved, in varying degrees, in the creative process, deciding the form and content of the work. Margaret was a highly conscientious patron and the art and architecture she commissioned was intimately involved in her life. Each object or building came into being in particular circumstances and changed and grew or diminished as Margaret's life did. Their design reflects the context of her life as well as facilitating desired changes in that context.[5] Margaret placed great importance on being remembered and acknowledged for her deeds. It is impossible to separate her personal actions from her political. She was always an Imperial daughter of Burgundy and Austria and although a commission might express a personal preference or emotion, it was always intertwined in a political agenda.

The patron has been the subject of much recent scholarship, leading to a closer examination of the uses and social impact of art and architecture.[6] The goals of patronage were manifold. A commission could be intended to provide a display of wealth and

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[4] The patron was viewed as the essential source of a project and it was his or her reputation that would be commemorated, even though each project was the result of a creative forum, taking shape in the interaction between the patron's ideas, intentions and directions and the design, skills and complementary vision of her masters. The idea of a "creative forum" is discussed by: Stephen Murray, Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: the Power of Change in Gothic (Cambridge & New York, 1996), 15. The artist, artisan or master mason was appreciated for their practical worth in bringing the project to fruition and as such were well paid and sought out by patrons. But it was the patron, not the artist who was credited. The patron/master mason relationship is discussed by C. Radding and W. Clark, Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning : Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic (New Haven, 1992), 34-36.

[5] The intimate link between patron and object (in particular architecture) is discussed by Patricia Waddy, Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan (New York, 1990).

[6] The Italian Renaissance had attracted the majority of attention. See, for example, Rona Goffen, Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice (New Haven & London 1986); Bram Kempers, Painting , Power and Patronage:The Rise of the Professional artist in the Italian Renaissance (London, 1992); Richard Goldwaithe, Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy (Baltimore, 1993); Mary Hollingsworth, Patronage in Renaissance Italy from 1400 to the early sixteenth century (London, 1994); Alison Cole, Virtue and Magnifience: Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts (New York, 1995); Evelyn Welch, Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan (New Haven, 1995); Catherine King, Renaissance Women Patrons, Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300-1550 (Manchester, 1995). Other regions have also been approached. For example, on England, see Howgarth; On France see, Janet Cox-Rearick, The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures (Antwerp, 1995); on the Low Countires, Jean C. Wilson, Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages, Studies in Society and Visual Culture (Pennsylvannia, 1998).

magnificence[7] or it could be meant to reflect the real or assumed Christian virtue of the patron.[8] It could be used to promote or to memorialise oneself or one's family.[9] It could be used to reinforce and legitimate power.[10] The idea of artistic beauty could also be significant, although this too is a part of meaning, playing a part in the image the patron wished to convey. A skilled and sophisticated patron could manipulate projects to participate in the complicated process of making statements, claims and persuading; in other words, in the creation of meaning in the work. The main question for the art historian is to assess how much weight should be given to visual artefacts in understanding how people understood themselves and the times in which they lived.[11]

The wishes of the patron and their execution by the artist are the first step in the creation of meaning. The second essential part of the dynamic is the relationship between the work and its audience. The reality represented by cultural objects may or may not be accepted or recognized by a viewer, leading to a further negotiation of meaning, a true test of the execution of patronly intentions.[12] Therefore Margaret's relationship with both her artists/architects and her audience are essential to this study.

This dissertation began as a study of the monastery of Brou. A remarkable building, well preserved and documented, it provides insight into the process and personalities involved in its creation. This led to further questions of what else Margaret created. The more I looked, the more information I found on projects in every possible medium and style. Many have been overlooked as they have been destroyed, altered or poorly documented. But taken together they add up to an image of one of the most

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[7] Alison Cole notes that 15th-century rulers saw art and architecture in the context of a "magnificent display." Cole, 20. Other authors express similar opinions: Kempers, 1992; Lisa Jardine, Worldly Goods, A New History of the Renaissance (New York, 1996); Wilson, 1998.

[8] The connection between patronage and piety is explored in several articles in The Crannied Wall : Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe, ed. C.A. Monson (Ann Arbour, 1992). Cole also states that rulers patronised charitable or religious institutions often to give evidence of their own virtue.

[9] See King ; Hall McCash.

[10] On Renaissance Milan, see Welch, 4-30; On Renaissance England, see Howarth; and on Elizabth I, see C. Levin, Political Rhetoric, Power and Renaissance Women (Albany, 1995).

[11] Howarth, 1-10. The question of the impact of images on the historical imagination and its effects on the discipline of art history have been studied by Francis Haskell. He has pointed out the need of social, political and historical contextual knowledge without which perception is lessened and the importance of the acknowledgement of our own biased position as viewer. See F. Haskell, History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past (New Haven, 1993), 1-7.

[12] Ideas of the "power of images" and their relationship with the viewer are explored in the work of (among others): Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence : a History of the Image before the Era of Art, trans. Edmund

prolific patrons of her day. The fuller and more multifaceted image of Margaret provided by these other commissions could only lead to a better understanding of the aims of patronage for an early sixteenth-century female ruler, and thus a better understanding of Brou and its place in Margaret's world.

The following chapters will consider Margaret's most significant commissions. Chapter one introduces Margaret in her personal and public life and examines the issues surrounding her rule and patronage. Chapter two considers her most complete work, the monastery of Brou in Savoy. Both the structure and documentation relating to its design and construction are well preserved and provide an intimate glimpse of the joint evolution of Margaret's worldview and architectural intentions. Margaret was intensely involved in the design of Brou and the result is a highly individual structure intended to represent Margaret's life in stone. Chapter three looks at several of Margaret's other secular and religious commissions, such as her residence, the Palace of Savoy in Mechelen and the Convent of the Annunciates in Bruges. This chapter considers the potential goals of these projects, as ambitious as founding a capital city, embellishing her authority as a ruler, or attaining sainthood. Chapter four will turn to Margaret's self-portraits, that is, images she commissioned of herself. Created in several media for a variety of audiences (including herself), Margaret's self-portraits portray her as everything from a widow to a goddess to a saint. Each image was designed for a specific audience and demonstrates Margaret's understanding of the function of images in negotiating a place in the contemporary world and history. Chapter five presents Margaret's view of herself as one of the rulers of a New World Empire with her collection of artefacts from the Americas. One of the very earliest collections in Europe, it was displayed not only to promote her family's (and her own) dominion, but also in wonder of such new found land. The conclusion will consider the total image of Margaret that emerges from her commissions.

Sources and Past Scholarship[13]

There are many surviving documents relating to Margaret of Austria. Much was transcribed and published in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, everything from

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Jephcott (Chicago, 1994); and David Freedburg, The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Power of Response (Chicago and London, 1989).

[13] The following is a brief overview of the most relevant scholarship. Each chapter will provide a full listing of relevant publications on each topic.

her personal correspondence[14] to her itinerary[15] to palace inventories.[16] Documents relating to the history of contemporary figures associated with Margaret are also a useful source.[17] All of these documents have proven invaluable as in many cases the original work or structure she commissioned has been destroyed or altered over time. Even when an object is extant, caution must be exercised as the present day appearance of a building or work can give rise to many historical imaginings that have informed (often erroneously) the study of art history.[18] A building could have been renovated beyond the recognition of a sixteenth-century viewer or a monument or artwork may have lost its contextual setting. The following study gives serious consideration to histories, letters, plans and other archival sources to extract information on the work's appearance, function and reception in its era.

Margaret of Austria has often excited the imagination of her biographers, leading to several romanticized histories.[19] Other early scholars have incorporated biography with a discussion of her patronage. The ground for research was set by Quinsonas' three-

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[14] A. Le Glay, Correspondance de l'empereur Maximilien I et de Marguerite d'Autriche[...], 2 vol. (Paris,1839); Ghislaine de Boom, Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche et de ses ambassadeurs à la cour de France concerant l'execution du traité de Cambrai (1529-30) (Brussels, 1935) (henceforth referred to as: de Boom); for a complete list of published correspondence see Markus Hörsch, Architektur unter Margarethe von Österreich, Regentin des Niederlande (1507-1530): Eine bau- und architekturgeschichtliche Studie zum Grabkloster St. Nicolas de Tolentino in Brou bei Bourg-en-Bresse (Brussels, 1994), 207 (henchforth referred to as: Hörsch).

[15] Max Bruchet & E. Lancien, L'Itinéraire de Marguerite d'Autriche. Gouvernante des pays-Bas (Lille, 1934).

[16] H. Michelant, "Inventaire des vaisselles, joyaux, tapisseries, peintures, manuscripts, etc. de Marguerite d'Autriche, régente et gouvernante des Pays-Bas, dressé en son palais de Malines, le 9 juillet 1523," [Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cinq Cents de Colbert 128], Académie Royale des Sciences des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire, ser. 3, XII (Brussels, 1871), 5-78, 83-136; H. Zimmerman, "Inventoire des parties de meubles estans es cabinetz de Madame en sa ville de Malines" [Vienna, Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Familienurkunden no. 1174], Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, III 2 (Vienna, 1885), XCIII-CXXIII; J. Finot, "Fragment d'un inventaire de tableaux et d'objects d'art," Inventaire sommaire des archives départmentales du Nord, antérieures à 1790, ser.B,VIII (Lille, 1895,), 208-12.

[17] This includes writings by those under her patronage, such as Agrippa or Jean Lemaire, diplomatic or artistic visitors, and contemporary chroniclers. For a list of relevant works, see Hörsch, 205-206.

[18] Francis Haskell has discussed the pitfalls of art history's attempts to interpret the past through images in Art and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past (New Haven, 1993).

[19] Christopher Hare, Margaret of Austria (London, 1907); Eleanor E. Tremayne, The First Governess of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria (London, 1908); Jane de Iongh, Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, trans. M.D. Herter Norton (London, 1954). Only recently has a more modern biography appeared which avoids earlier romanticism. See Ursula Tamussino, Margarete von Österreich, Diplomatin der Renaissance (Graz/Wien/Köln, 1995).

volume compilation of information on the history of Margaret.[20] However, the most consistently reliable works are those by Max Bruchet and Ghislaine de Boom.[21] Bruchet provides a solid biography and study of Brou, but his planned study of her entire oeuvre was unfinished at his death. De Boom, following on Bruchet's work, provides a useful overview to all aspects of her life: biography, court and intellectual life, her collections, library, and Brou.

Margaret's patronage has only been focused upon relatively recently.[22] Studies on Habsburg patronage have given her little attention, focusing almost entirely on the male family members.[23] Margaret of Austria has been viewed as a bit difficult to classify, for as a Burgundian Habsburg, ruling in the Netherlands with her famed church of Brou in Savoy, in a period considered somewhere between late medieval and Renaissance, she does not fit obviously into general geographic or stylistic categories. Many of her works have also been destroyed or "renovated" and thus have been considered only by local specialists. As late as 1986, Larry Silver indicated that there was a lack of investigation into Margaret of Austria's role as patron.[24] Ten years later, Thomas Tolley also commented on the need for further study.[25]

But Margaret's fascinating, if complicated, oeuvre has again begun to inspire new research. Most scholars have focused on specific media or a specific structure.

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[20] E. de Quinsonas, Matériaux pour servirir à l'histoire de Marguerite d'Autriche [...] 3 vol. (Paris,1860). Although encyclopaedic in its breadth and useful for its transcriptions of documents, Quinsonas' sources are not always clear and occasionally proven incorrect when checked against later accounts.

[21] Max Bruchet, Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie (Lille, 1927); Ghislaine De Boom, Marguerite d'Autriche et la Pré-Renaissance (Paris, 1935). Although generally reliable, several transcription errors have been noted in Bruchet by Marie-Françoise Poiret of the Musée de Brou (Bourg-en-Bresse) although nothing has been published relating to the needed corrections.

[22] There are two noteworthy exceptions. Walter Cahn who discussed Margaret's patronage at Brou, although focusing on her hired artists rather than the patron. Cahn, Masterpieces. The History of an Idea (Princeton, 1979), 43-64; H.R. Hitchcock very briefly discusses Margaret's patronage in the Netherlands. Hitchcock, Netherlandish Scrolled Gables (New York, 1978), 20-28.

[23]For example see: H.R. Trevor-Roper, Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at the Habsburg Courts, 1517-1633 (London, 1976); R.G. Asche & A.M. Birke, Princes, Patronage and the Nobility, The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age (Oxford, 1991); Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann, Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450-1800 (London, 1995).

[24] Larry Silver, "The State of Research in Northern European Art in the Renaissance Era," Art Bulletin 68 (1986): 32.

[25] Thomas Tolley, "States of Independence: Women Regents as Patrons of the Visual Arts in Renaissance France," Renaissance Studies 10, n.2, (June 1996): 237-258. Tolley suggests a comparative study of Margaret and her female contemporaries.

Unsurprisingly, considering the many original documents in existence relating to Brou,[26] it has received the most scholarly attention.[27] The most extensive recent study is that of Markus Hörsch, who provides a detailed recounting of the circumstances of Brou's creation and a comprehensive bibliography.[28] Both he and Marie-Françoise Poiret[29] have begun to explore the close relationship of Margaret with this, her most personal of projects.

Her library and portrait collections have also received recent attention. Marguerite Debae has examined her extensive library collection.[30] Debae's work draws strongly on surviving inventories of Margaret's residence, as does my study of her ethnographic collections in chapter five,[31] and the work of Dagmar Eichberger on her portrait collection.[32] Eichberger's studies have examined her collections in the Palace of Savoy, her devotional images and the Palace itself.[33] As Margaret's collections were

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[26] Hörsch provides a listing of documents, their date, subject & source/location. Hörsch, 187-204. Quinsonas, Bruchet and J. Baux provide transcriptions of many documents. Quinsonas; Bruchet, 1927; and J. Baux, Histoire de l'Eglise de Brou 2nd ed. (Lyon, 1862). There is also a late 17th/early 18th-century description of the accounts of the master of construction, Gleyrens, from 1523-32, as well as a description of the building before the 18thcentury restoration, by Père Raphaël de la Vierge Marie, prieur de Brou. *Description historique de la Belle Eglize et du couvent Royal de Brou tirée de leurs archives et des meilleurs historiens qui en ont ecrit par****, entre 1692 et 1696; et entre 1711 et 1715,* Société d'Emulation de l'Ain, Bourg-en-Bresse. Partially transcribed in Bruchet, 1927,441-47.

[27] Baux; J. Finot, "Louis van Boghem, architect de l'église de Brou," Réunion des Sociétés savantes des départements - Beaux-Arts 12 (1888): 187-234; M.F. Poiret, Le monastere de Brou, Le chef-d'oeuvre d'une fille d'empereur (Paris, 1994); Brou, les bâtisseurs du XVIe siècle, 1996-1998, resurrection d'une toiture exp.cat. (Bourg-en-Bress: Musée de Brou, 1996); D. MacDonald, Margaret of Austria and Brou: Hapsburg Political Patronage in Savoy, MA thesis, McGill University (April, 1997); Alexandra Carpino, "Margaret of Austria's Funerary Complex at Brou: Conjugal love, Political Ambition or Personal Glory?" in Women and Art in Early Modern Europe, Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs, ed. C. Lawrence (Pennsylvania, 1997), 37-52. For further works, see Chapter 2.

[28] Hörsch.

[29] M. F. Poiret, "Le Prieuré de Brou," Revue Français de l'Eléctricité, (1983): 64-69; M.F.Poiret & M.D. Nivière, Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse (Bourg-en-Bresse, 1990); Poiret, 1994; Poiret, The Royal Monastery of Brou (Paris, 2000).

[30] Marguerite Debae, La librairie de Marguerite d'Autriche: [exposition] (Brussels: Bibliothèque Albert I, 1987); La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523-1524 (Paris, 1995).

[31] A list of Margaret's ethnographic collections is found in Paul Vandenbroeck, "Amerindian Art and Ornamental Objects in Royal Collections: Brussels, Mechelen, Duurstede, 1520-1530," in America, Bride of the Sun, exh.cat., (Antwerp: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 99-119.

[32] D. Eichberger, "Margaret of Austria's Portrait Collection: Female Patronage in the Light of Dynastic Ambitions and Artistic Quality," Renaissance Studies LXXVII, n. 2, (June 1996): 258-279; D. Eichberger & L. Beaven, "Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria," Art Bulletin 10, n.2 (June 1995): 225-248.

[33] See "Devotional Objects in Book Format: Diptychs in the Art Collection of Margaret of Austria and her Family," in The Art of the Book: Its Place in Medieval Worship, eds. M. Manion & B. Muir (Exeter, 1998), 285-303. Forthcoming is: "A Noble Residence for a Female Regent. Margaret of Austria and the

dispersed after her death and her Palace vastly altered, these scholars' works have made significant contribution to a fuller understanding of Margaret as a patron and collector.

Early research into the Palace of Savoy itself revolved around the nineteenth-century restorations.[34] However, the accuracy of this work is very much in question today. The poorly documented restoration and lack of early images or accurate descriptions has made this research difficult and few recent scholars have approached the question of the Palace's original condition.[35] The most useful advances in the study of the Palace have been those dealing with its interior based on information from contemporary Palace documents.[36]

The Convent of the Annunciates of Bruges is another destroyed commission dependent upon a study of documents. Factual information on the convent was recorded in early studies but has received little attention since.[37] As to the plethora of Margaret's smaller commissions, information is found piecemeal in a variety of publications, which will be cited when under discussion in the following chapters.

Construction of the Palace of Savoy in Mechelen," in Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe, ed. Helen Hills (London, 2002).

[34] Quinsonas, vol. 2, 301-25; in the Mechelen City Archives, inventory B6378: Bloome, L. (?), Grondplan van het gebouw als rechtbank van eerste aanleg (begin XX); E. Picard, Palais de Justice de Malines: Ancien palais de Marguerite d'Autriche (Malines, 1886); F. Steurs, Het Keizerhof en het Hof van Margaretha van Oosterijk te Mechelen (Mechelen, 1897). Steurs became the principal source for later studies, although several errors have been noted (see Biekorf, n. 87, (1987): 389-92) and several of Steurs' conclusions have been disputed (see below).

[35] The only study that addresses this issue is by R. Meischke & F. van Tyghem who strongly question Steurs' interpretations, particularly in relation to the north facade. "Huizen en hoven gebouwd onder leiding van Anthonis I en Rombout II," in Keldermans. Een architectonisch netwerk in de Nederlanden, eds. H. Janse & J.H. van Mosselverd (Bergen op Zoom, 1987), 142-47. Other studies do not address the issue and discuss the Palace's present condition as generally accurate. See Bouwen door de eeuwenheen: Inventaris van het cultuurbezit in Belgie, Architectur/deel 9n. Stad Mechelen, Binnenstad (Ghent, 1984), 296-69; Hitchcock, 20-28.

[36] J. Grootaers, "Aspecten van het burgerlijk interieur te Mechelen ca. 1480-1530, Hof van Margareta, Hof van Cortenbach," in De Habsburgers en Mechelen exh.cat. (Mechelen: Stedelijk Museum Hof van Busleyden, 1987), 39-47. The original interior layout is considered in Eichberger & Beaven, and Eichberger (1996). A forthcoming study of the Palace itself by Eichberger may yield further information. See note 33.

[37] Information on Margaret and the Convent is found in: Quinsonas, vol. 2, 327-65; A.C. Schrevel, "Marguerite d'Autriche et le couvent des Annociades à Bruges," Annales de la société d'émuation de Bruges (1924): 108-25; E. van den Busche, "Fondation par Marguerite d'Autriche du couvent de l'ordre des Annonciades à Bruges," La Flandre. Revue des monuments d'histoire et d'antiquité XI (Bruges, 1880): 113-18; R.A. Parmentier, "Lijkplechtigheden van de aartshertogin Margaretha van Oostenrijk te Brugge," Annales de la société d'émulation de Bruges LXXVI (1933): 1-38; de Boom, 112-14; items donated to the convent after Margaret's death are noted in, Michelant, 13. The only recent discussion is by Hörsch who also provided a list of several original documents in the Bruges State Archives. Hörsch, 149-158. I was informed that the same author has written another article on the subject ("Les églises funéraires de Marguerite d'Autriche à Brou et à Bruges," in Architecture funéraire de la Renaissance, ed. J. Guillaume, Tours, 2000?) but have not been able to locate it.

The following study is an attempt to bring together the most interesting and well documented of Margaret's commissions to create a more complex picture of the Margaret of Austria as a patron and ruler in early sixteenth-century Europe.

Chapter One:
Margaret of Austria, "Lady of the House" [38]

I. The Life of Margaret of Austria: "Fortune infortune fort une"[39]

Margaret was born to Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482) and Maximilian of Habsburg (1459-1519) in Brussels on January 10, 1480. She was named for her step-grandmother, Margaret of York, who had been instrumental in organising Mary and Maximilian's marriage and saving Mary's Burgundian inheritance. Mary had been the sole heir of Charles the Bold and upon her father's death in January 1477 her succession to the Duchy of Burgundy was contested. With Salic law on his side, Louis XI of France laid claim to the entire Duchy and seized the territories of Artois, Macon, Picardy and the Duchy of Burgundy. Territories that Charles the Bold had taken by force (such as Liège and Guelders), declared their autonomy and the Netherlands's Estates General took this opportunity to pressure the young duchess to sign the "Great Privilege," a document which gave the Estates many rights and reversed many of the centralizing plans of her father.[40] Burgundy appeared on the verge of destruction.[41] However, Margaret of York and Mary hurried to conclude Mary's betrothal to Maximilian, hoping an alliance with the Empire would help save Burgundy. The marriage was celebrated in Ghent in August 1477 and Maximilian began to fight in Mary's name to re-consolidate the lands of Burgundy. Margaret was born during the struggle for Burgundy (along with two brothers, Philip (1478-1506) and Francis (born and died 1481) and it would inform most of her life.

Margaret's father was not popular in the Netherlands. As the son of the Roman Emperor Frederick III, Maximilian thought in Imperial terms, and often clashed with the independent-minded burghers of the Netherlands. He ignored many points of the "Grand Privilege," including levying heavy taxes to continue his territorial war with France. Nevertheless, Mary of Burgundy's will stipulated that Maximilian should rule if she

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[38] "*...non seulement comme simple regente ou gouvernante, ains comme dame de la maison.*" Maximilian I's statement on the authority invested in his daughter as Regent of the Netherlands in 1508. de Boom, 66.
[39] Margaret's motto adopted after the death of her last husband, which can be translated as "the changes of fortune make one stronger." Poiret, 1994, 12.
[40] The Estates General was the general ruling body of the Netherlands. Although officially under Ducal control, the Estates had exceptional power. It was comprised of delegates from several territories and cities and included noble, clerics and burghers (who formed the majority). Wim Blockmans & Walter Prevenier, The Promised Lands. The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530 (Philadelphia, 1999), 208-209.

should die prematurely. When Mary died suddenly in March 1482, Maximilian found himself refused as Regent for his own son by the Ghent-led, Estates of Flanders. Flanders wanted the expensive war with France over and forced Maximilian to agree to the terms of the Peace of Arras (December 23, 1482). Highly favourable to the French, the Peace acknowledged French control of Ducal Burgundy and Picardy. Furthermore, Mary and Maximilian's three-year old daughter, Margaret (Fig. 3) was to marry to the French dauphin Charles (1470-1498) bringing with her a dowry comprised of the Burgundian regions of Artois, Franche-Comté (including the Empire's suzerain rights), Mâcon, Auxerre, Salins, Bar and Noyer. This was the first of many effects of the Habsburg-Valois rivalry for power in Europe on Margaret's life.[42]

"Marguerite de Flandres"[43] was brought ceremoniously to Paris and the marriage was celebrated at Amboise on June 23, 1483. Louis XI died soon after and Margaret grew up as "*la petite reine*" of the French court of Anne de Beaujeu (1461-1522), sister and Regent to her brother, Charles VIII.[44] Margaret's historian, Jean Lemaire, would later write that in her youth she was always,"*...richement entretenue, fort bien accoustrée et notablement accompagniée de quatre-vignt-dix à cent nobles femmes.*"[45] Regent Anne also ensured that Margaret received a superlative education in preparation for her sovereign role.

The death of François II, Duke of Brittany in 1488 would change the course of Margaret's life. Francois II's sole heir was his eleven-year-old daughter, Anne of Brittany and Margaret's father Maximilian contracted to marry the young duchess in 1490. However, Anne de Beaujeu acted quickly to block the Habsburgs and sent her brother Charles into Brittany at the head of an army, where he married Anne of Brittany on

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[41] On this tumultuous period, see Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 193-205.

[42]Both powers maintained strong expansionist policies and their struggles over various states, i.e., Burgundy, Brittany, Savoy and Italy, often directly influenced Margaret's life. On the rivalry see: R. Bonney, The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660 (Oxford, 1991), 82-83, 97-99; and M.S. Anderson, The Origins of the Modern European State System, 1494-1618 (London and New York, 1998), 69-101.

[43] As she was referred to in French documents relating to the marriage. An appropriate name, considering it was Margaret of Flanders (1350-1405), daughter of Louis Male, Count of Flanders who had originally brought Flanders to a Valois prince, Philip le Hardi as her dowry in 1369.

[44] Louis XI had arranged for his eldest daughter, Anne, (whom he called "*la moins folle femme de France*") to act as regent for her brother upon his death. Capable and intelligent, she remained regent for more than ten years. On Anne see Tolley, 242-43; L. Hopkins, Women Who Would be King, Female Rulers of the Sixteenth Century (London, 1991), 30-31, 145-146; P. Pradel, Anne de France (Paris, 1986).

December 6, 1491. In one move, the French wrenched Brittany from Habsburg hands and dissolved the eight-year marriage of Margaret and Charles. Eleven-year-old Margaret was soon removed from the court in Amboise and instead of being returned to her family was kept at Melun for more than a year while negotiations took place over her dowry return. Finally the Treaty of Senlis returned part of her dowry (the Franche-Comté and Artois) and in May 1493, Margaret returned to Mechelen where she would live under the care of her step-grandmother, Margaret of York.[46]

Margaret's grandfather, Emperor Frederick III, died in August 1493 and Maximilian was now "Emperor Elect."[47] Accordingly, Margaret was now primarily referred to as "Marguerite d'Austrice," reflecting her elevated status as daughter of the Emperor and as Archduchess of Austria. Maximilian soon arranged a second marriage for his daughter and a first for his son. In Mechelen on November 1495, Margaret and her brother Philip were married by proxy to Juan and Juana of Castile and Aragon, children of Isabella I and Ferdinand II. As hostilities with France made the otherwise safer land voyage impossible, Juana arrived in the Netherlands early the next year on the same boat that would carry Margaret to Spain.

After a difficult voyage, Margaret was met with queenly splendour at Santander on March 6, 1497, and was installed in Burgos, the residence of the court. She began life as the future Queen of Spain and its New World Colonies.[48] However, Margaret's time in

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[45] Poiret, 14. Margaret's companions included Louise of Savoy, as well as Louise's brother (and Margaret's future husband) Philibert of Savoy.

[46] Margaret of York was a recurrent figure in young Margaret's life. Her namesake and godmother, Margaret of York had also been asked by Mary of Burgundy on her deathbed to care for her children. Yet political circumstances meant that Margaret of York would only bring up Philip (and he only from 1485 when he was released by the Estates General). However, each time Margaret of Austria returned to the Netherlands (1493-97 and 1499-1501) she lived with her step-grandmother. They were together at most state occasions and Margaret of York saw her step-granddaughter off for all her marriages. Margaret of Austria would inherit all of Margaret of York's library, pictures, servants and officials. Christine Weightman, Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503 (New York, 1989), 132, 195.

[47] The officially elected successor of the "Roman Emperor" held the title "King of the Romans" (Maximilian was elected in 1486). When the Emperor died, the successor became the "Emperor elect." To become "Holy Roman Emperor" the "Emperor Elect" had to be crowned by the Pope in Rome. Maximilian never managed to get to Rome to be crowned, but instead in February 1508, he had himself declared Roman Emperor in the cathedral of Trent. For the organisation of the office see J. Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire (New York, 1968), 356-61. For Maximilian, see G. Benecke, Maximilian I, An Analytical Biography (London, 1982); H. Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I, das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit, vols. 1-5 (Munich, 1971 - 1986).

[48] Columbus even named one of the ships for his third voyage Margarita, in honour of the crown princess. Tamussino, 65.

Spain was to be short, as her husband died the same year. The young, grieving widow gave birth to a stillborn daughter a few months later. She remained in Spain until the autumn of 1499, partially to recover from her experiences and partially, as Ferdinand preferred to keep her as a bargaining chip with Maximilian and Philip.[49] Finally she returned travelling over land through France, reflecting her family's improved relations with the new King Louis XII. Margaret arrived in the Netherlands in time to attend the baptism of her godchild and nephew, the future Charles V, in March 1500.

Margaret's brother and father chose her next marriage partner, Philibert le Beau, Duke of Savoy, with great political care.[50] In the previous generation, all three children of Louis of Savoy had married French royalty and Philibert was the son of one of these alliances. He had been raised at the French court, and had been on campaign with Charles VIII in Naples and Louis XII in Milan. The marriage would connect the House of Burgundy with a family traditionally allied with the French (pleasing to pro-French Philip) and, importantly, secure Savoy's strategic location as passageway to Italy for the Habsburgs.[51] This was significant to Maximilian and his continuous efforts to gain control of Italy and have himself crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope.[52] Margaret herself did not look kindly on the proposed match and refused to sign a document swearing she was not being forced into the marriage.[53]

Nevertheless, the marriage contract was signed in Brussels on September 26, 1501. Margaret's wedding entourage set out on October 27 and made several "Joyous Entries" throughout Hainaut, Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy and Franche-Comté, where Margaret was received warmly as the granddaughter of Charles the Bold. At Dole, Margaret met René, "le bâtard de Savoie," Philibert's half-brother. Together they proceeded to Salins where the marriage took place by proxy. On December 1 in

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[49] Troubles between Ferdinand, Philip and Maximilian related to the Spanish succession. Trying to gain an upper hand, Ferdinand's ambassadors blocked Maximilian's attempts to retrieve his daughter by making excuses of protocol and dangerous voyages. Maximilian, fearing Ferdinand would try to marry Margaret to the French King under terms favourable to Ferdinand, speedily arranged for her departure. Tremayne, xviii-xxiii.

[50] Other suggested partners included the Kings of Portugal, Scotland, and Hungary, the Duke of Milan, and the English crown prince Arthur. de Iongh, 110-111.

[51] Savoy bordered Bresse and Geneva to the north, Nice and Piedmont to the south and controlled the passage across the Alps.

[52] Bonney, 98-9.

[53] de Iongh, 111-112.

Romainmôtier, Margaret met Philibert. The meeting was described by chronicler, Jean Molinet,

> *...[Philibert] tout houssé, salua Madame ... et apres soupper, revint au quartie de Madame, ou danses furent faictes jusques a onze heure ... on prepara la chapelle pour dire messes et parachever les espousailles. ...La messe dicte, ils se coucherent ensemble jusque a douze heures au jour.*[54]

The couple continued on in triumphal procession to Geneva, Chambéry, and Bourg-en-Bresse and finally took up residence principally in Bresse, at Bourg and Pont d'Ain.

Philibert, known for his physical beauty and prowess at hunting and tournaments, had traditionally left affairs of state to his half-brother. No doubt this had been factored into the Habsburgs plans to control Savoy, for soon after her marriage Margaret, with her father's aid, brought charges of corruption against René and he soon fled into exile.[55] Margaret (Fig. 4) now ruled Savoy aided by a group of trusted ministers, many of who would continue in serve her for years to come.[56]

Unfortunately, Margaret's rule and happy marriage were short-lived as Philibert died suddenly on 10 September 1504. According to Margaret's historian, the grieving widow cut off her hair and swore to never marry again. She declared that her brother and father had married her off three times and each time she was the worse for it.[57] At twenty-four years of age she instead sought out authority in her own name. Margaret's marital agreement had guaranteed her an income from several territories upon Philibert's death. She went a step beyond this and demanded control of these regions, much to the chagrin of the new Duke, Charles III (1504-1536).[58] She travelled to Strasbourg to ask for her father's aide in convincing the Duke, for the Duchy of Savoy was under Imperial

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[54] Bruchet, 1927, 35.

[55] Maximilian revoked the letters of legitimacy he had earlier granted René and also exiled him from the lands of the Empire. Bruchet, 1927, 39.

[56] These included: Louis Barangier, who had gone with Margaret to Spain then Savoy; Laurent de Gorrevod, who had been Philibert's squire, became governor of Bresse in 1504, then followed Margaret to Mechelen, finally going to Spain to serve as Charles V's Grand master of the Imperial Residence; Gui de la Baume, was Philibert's chamberlain, then Margaret's "chevalier d'honneur," a position of great confidence at the head of her household, in Savoy and Mechelen; Mercurin de Gattinara, president of the Council of Bresse in 1504, he became head of the Regent's Privy Council, and finally, the Grand Chancellor of Castille; Jean de Marnix, became her General Treasurer and stayed with her until her death. Poiret, 1994, 22-25.

[57] Clearly a well known sentiment as it is reported in the letters of Louis XII and Cardinal d'Amboise: "...que par trois fois ils ont contracté d'elle, dont elle s'en est mal trouvée." de Boom, 61.

[58] R. Brondy, La Savoie de l'an mil à la Réforme (Rennes, 1984), 232.

suzerainty. Maximilian agreed and pressured the Duke to consent to the terms of the Treaty of Strasbourg (August 5, 1505), which gave Margaret control in most of her dower lands.[59] Her titles now included Archduchess of Austria and Burgundy, dowager duchess of Savoy, Countess of Romont, Baugey and Villars, and the lands of Bresse, Vaud and Faucigny.[60]

Margaret remained in Savoy and began work on her project of a mausoleum for Philibert at Brou. Margaret continued to refuse to marry again, despite her father and brother's best efforts.[61] The question of her marriage was temporarily put aside when on September 1506, Margaret's brother Philip died unexpectedly, leaving a six-year-old heir, Charles. Maximilian asked Margaret to act as guardian to her nieces and nephew and to rule the Netherlands as Regent. She accepted. After putting her personal affairs in order, Margaret travelled to Germany and spent nearly three months with her father's court, no doubt to discuss her future.[62] She would take up residence in Mechelen, but would maintain the power she had consolidated in Savoy.

Margaret's regency would define a new political role for Habsburg women. Although earlier Habsburg women occasionally held limited political roles, their primary duty had been to form marriages to strengthen the paternal family, produce heirs and ensure their husband's land support their family's goals.[63] Margaret would be the first female to hold authority in her own name, setting a precedent for later generations. In the later sixteenth century, as the Habsburgs realm grew too large for a single person to rule effectively, Charles V would develop the use of Regents into a political art form. Charles'

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[59] The dower was to be governed from Bourg-en-Bresse. Margaret could appoint the members of the Council of Bresse as well as the Bourg Finance council and the governor of Bresse was to report directly to her. The Duke of Savoy however retained judicial control. See Bruchet, 1927, 92-94. A transcription of the Treaty is found in Bruchet, 1927, 328-335.

[60] Bruchet, 1927, 57, n.1.

[61] Several husbands were suggested, the most serious being Henry VII of England. Philip le Beau began negotiations for a marriage between Henry and Margaret in late 1505. A portrait of Margaret made by Pieter van Coninxloo in October, 1505 was presented to Henry VII. A portrait of Henry by Michiel Sittow is noted in Margaret's collection and may have been part of these negotiations. See Eichberger, 1995, 236. A marriage contract was even signed by Philip on March 5, 1506. Even after Margaret assumed the Regency, Maximilian would continue to push for an English marriage, proposing she could maintain power in the Netherlands and be Queen of England, living for only one quarter of the year in England and the rest in Mechelen. For dates see Bruchet & Lancien, 17-19. For a full synopsis see, Bruchet, 1920.

[62] Margaret left Savoy for the Franche-Compté on October 19, 1506. She then headed east where she is noted in Ensisheim, Ulm, Rottenburg and "hunting in Urach" (Swabia), from January until late March 1507. Her itinerary is discussed in: Bruchet, 1927, 55; and in Bruchet & Lancien, 20.

ideal regent was loyal, politically capable and a close family relation. Although a male was optimal, if the regent was to be a woman, he preferred her to be "married, widowed or 'old enough to be widowed.'"[64] Charles' criterion clearly emerged from the qualities of his own Regent and aunt, Margaret, and it was her successful rule that would lead to a series of female regents in the Netherlands.[65]

Regency

The earlier Valois Dukes of Burgundy had difficulty in establishing a centralized authority in the independent-minded Netherlands.[66] Maximilian did as well. He was finally inaugurated as regent for his son, Philip the Fair, in 1485, but his policies to gain funds for his territorial wars (which included heavy taxation and debasing the currency) and his imperial attitude to the Estates General eventually led to rebellions.[67] Relations deteriorated until, in 1488, the town of Bruges took Maximilian prisoner. In 1489 he left Burgundy, leaving Duke Albert of Saxony as his representative.

Many years of strife finally came to an end when Maximilian's son, Philip the Handsome, came of age in 1493. He was accepted by the people as their "natural Prince," as he had been born and raised in the Netherlands and exercised a policy blatantly oriented towards his homeland in contrast to his father's Imperial ideas. Philip's death created the potential for a disastrous return to the earlier chaos. Philip's six-year-old son, Charles, needed a regent. As Charles' mother Juana was already showing signs of mental illness that would lead to her incarceration, the job fell to his grandfather Maximilian.[68] But Maximilian remained unpopular and had other concerns within his Empire. However, Margaret, as Charles' aunt and a direct descendant of the Valois Dukes, was a natural

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[63] Magdalena S. Sanchez, The Empress, The Queen and The Nun, Women and Power at the Court of Phillip III of Spain (Baltimore & London, 1998), 113-15.

[64] A. Wheatcroft, The Habsburgs, Embodying Empire (London, 1995),122- 125.

[65] Scholars cite Margaret as the primary example of good rule by a female Habsburg. She was followed in the Netherlands by Mary of Hungary, Charles's widowed sister, from 1530 to 1555; Phillip II's stepsister, Margaret of Parma from 1559-1567; Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia governed jointly with her husband from 1599-1621, and independantly until 1633. Sanchez, 5, 113; Wheatcroft, 124.

[66] Wim Blockmans provides a concise overview to the political situation in the Low Countries leading up to Margaret's rule, in J.Steyaert, ed. Late Gothic Sculpture: The Burgundian Netherlands (New York: Abrams, 1994), 37-50. For a full discussion see, Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999.

[67] A series of bad crops that led to inflation and hunger exacerbated this already bad situation. Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 201.

[68] On the circumstances of Juana's relinquishment of power see, Bethany Aram, "Juans the "Mad's" Signature: The Problem of Evoking Royal Authority, 1505-07," in The Sixteenth Century Journal, XXIX/2,

choice. She was known and liked by the people, had proven her ability to rule in Savoy and had experience of several European courts. If any question arose to the abilities of a woman to rule, they were quieted by the Habsburg's strong emphasis on the family. She was Maximilian's loyal and capable daughter and her rule was seen as advancing familial power, not her own. [69]

After making triumphal entries into the Netherlands's principal cities, the new Regent took up residence in Mechelen in July 1507. At first dependent on Maximilian's approval, Margaret convinced him to grant her full power as Governor-General by March 1508. Maximilian stated that her authority would be, "...not only like a simple regent or governor, but as the Lady of the House."[70] Margaret was the first woman to rule independently in the Houses of Burgundy and Habsburg. Although her status put her above most criticisms, being a woman and ruling in another's name, would add a further dimension to her approach to authority.

Although an Imperial daughter and now Regent, Margaret was aware that she held little land in her own name. Understanding the temporary nature of her role as Regent she took steps to assure her future security. She sent her closest councillor, Mercurino de Gattinara, to negotiate with her father for a piece of Burgundian land, to which, she pointed out, she had equal rights as her brother. Choosing her words carefully, she appealed to Maximilian's chivalrous sense, writing that she foresaw in her old age she would have not a "foot of land nor a house to retire to without danger from others."[71] She specifically wanted the rule of the Imperial fief, Franche-Comté (the Earldom of Burgundy), which was adjacent to her Savoyard dower lands. To support her request she noted that she would then be in a good position to keep all in "obedience and subjection" if the Swiss should rebel. Maximilian, at first reluctant, finally gave in to his daughter's persuasive requests and on February 17, 1509, granted her a number of lands and manors.

(1998): 331-58. Aram suggests that Juana's signature on the document giving up her right to rule was a forgery.

[69] Margaret had in fact already been considered as Regent in 1500-1501. Duke Philip, wanting to assert his wife's right to rule Castile after her mother Isabella's death, planned to go to Spain, leaving his children and the rule of the Netherlands in his sister's care. However, at this time Margaret was clearly more valuable as a marriage pawn. Tremayne, xxv-xxvi. For a discussion of female rule in the House of Habsburg see, Sanchez, 113-15.

[70] de Boom, 66. See above note 38.

[71] "*...que en notre viel eaige neussions ung pied de terre ny une maison pour nous retirer sans dangier daultry.*" de Iongh, 143.

In addition to her present list of titles, Margaret could now add Countess of Burgundy and Charolais, Lady of Salins (Jura), Chateau-Chinon (Nièvre), Noyers (Yonne) and La Parrière (Côte de'Or).[72] If considered in combination with her rule of the Burgundian "pays de par deça" (the Netherlands)[73] she had negotiated for herself the rule of much of the House of Burgundy.

Margaret shared a close relationship with her father in adulthood, corresponding with him over state and personal affairs, the two items often mixed together.[74] Together they raised Charles, who they hoped would be the next emperor. Maximilian discussed his Imperial plans with her often asking for her help, advice and/or approval.[75] They often quarrelled, as Margaret's view of the world was more like her paternal grandfather's than her father's, preferring diplomacy and moderation in contrast to Maximilian's bold, militaristic aims.[76] Yet they always agreed on the end goal of the aggrandisement of their family House.

She proved an excellent Regent, adept at handling the Estates General and maintaining a balance between the Imperial goals of her family with the independent ideas of the Netherlands. She was nevertheless constantly troubled by the need to procure funds from the reluctant Netherlanders for her father's wars and her own near constant battles with the rebellious Duke of Guelders, which at points led the Netherlands to the

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[72] Maximilian granted her these lands with the stipulation all were to be returned to the House of Habsburg upon her death. Bruchet, 1927, 57, n.1

[73] The traditional name for the northern territories of Burgundy, while the southern were referred to as the "pays de par delà."

[74] Their letters are mostly of politics but also show a familial intimacy. In one letter Maximilian thanks Margaret for the "good linen shirts" she has made for him "with her own hands, with which I am delighted..." Tremayne, 112. In another, he tells her of his idea of becoming Pope. As the present Pope 'cannot live long," he wishes to be nominated coadjutor of the Sovereign Pontiff, so to "be assured of having the Papacy and becoming a priest and afterwards made holy," i.e. a saint! He even teases that she will then have to worship him when he's dead and he will indeed be "very glorious"! He signs his letter "your good father, Maximilian, future pope." The Sept. 18, 1512 letter is found in Le Glay, vol. 2, 37-39.

[75] Maximilian often sought, and was given unsolicited, his daughter's opinion in everything from military goals to art commissions. For example, Maximilian sent Durer's "Triumphal Arch" to Margaret for her inspection and approval, stating that he had it made for "so that it might remain forever as a monument to *our* perpetual glory." Tremayne, 113. In a letter, Margaret urges her father to pursuit a policy against the French, pointing out how easy it would be to conquer them for "there is no boundary between our country and France, and you know the deep inveterate hatred the French bear us." Tremayne, 116.

[76] Frederick III had also shown a talent for diplomacy, patience and an ability to handle people, in contrast to Maximilian's brash and aggressive policies. The similarities between Frederick and Margaret were pointed out by Dr. Hans Böker.

brink of revolt.[77] Her own letters, in which she expressed a fear of her own people, show the anxiety of these periods.[78]

Still, Margaret proved adept at balancing (however precariously) the political equilibrium, emerging as a skilled diplomat. She was instrumental in many political and trade negotiations and had a particularly good relationship with England, an important asset for Netherlandish trade. Her first major agreement was the League of Cambrai of December 1508, in which, she negotiated terms of peace with France, a truce with Guelders, and a secret treaty allying the Empire, France, England and the Pope against Venice. Although alliances often changed over the years of her rule, Margaret's goal in negotiations remained the often-opposing aims of advancing the House of Habsburg and peace in her own lands. This she managed again with the 1513 Treaty of Mechelen, negotiated with Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey, allying the Empire, England, Spain and the Pope against France and guaranteeing Burgundy's neutrality.

Margaret also raised her nieces and nephew, preparing them for their roles in the House of Habsburg. Margaret had genuine affection for these children and they for her, referring to Margaret in correspondence as "ma bonne tante et ma bonne mère." However, despite her own experiences as a marriage pawn, she understood the need for the children to marry advantageously. She and Maximilian spent much time negotiating marriages with close to every house in Europe, potential partners changing with the Habsburg's changing alliances. For Charles, Margaret employed the best tutors (Adrian of Utrecht, William of Chièvres) to develop the qualities of rulership in a youth often described as lethargic and ill tempered.[79] Margaret however never forgot for whom it was she ruled, once showing young Charles to a group of soldiers leaving to fight in Guelderland, and exclaiming, "Gentlemen, see for whom you take up arms."[80]

Despite her skill and dedication as Regent, as Charles approached the age of majority, her adversaries acted to undermine Margaret's influence and augment their

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[77] She herself often (albeit reluctantly) organised military manoeuvres, even inspecting the troops leaving to fight Guelders in 1511, reporting to Maximilian that they were an "excellent artillery but with very little powder..." reflecting her dire lack of funds. de Iongh, 150-51.

[78] In one letter she writes that her troubles were so great that many times wished herself back in her mother's womb; "...et vouldroie maintes fois ester au ventre de ma mère." de Iongh, 162.

[79] de Iongh, 177-78.

[80] de Iongh, 179.

own. An unfortunate conflict with the powerful Order of the Golden Fleece[81] had made her many enemies, among them Charles's tutor, the pro-French, former Governor of the Netherlands, William de Croy, Lord of Chièvres. With the support of the Estates General, Chièvres had secretly negotiated with Maximilian to emancipate Charles from Margaret's regency.[82] In January 1515, Margaret was subsequently notified of her dismissal. Fifteen-year-old Charles did not intervene. He had grown to resent his aunt's authority (a feeling no doubt encouraged by Chièvres) and wanted to step out of the shadow of his too capable and assured aunt.[83]

The deposed and indignant Regent, nonetheless a skilled politician and diplomat, bided her time and participated in the six month long celebrations and "joyous entries" made to mark Charles' majority.[84] But her pique was strong, for when Maximilian wrote to ask her for advice (as he always had), she wrote tersely that she no longer mixed in such affairs and he should write to Chièvres.[85]

During this period Margaret's adversaries further attempted to keep her from power, spreading rumours of her regency's corruption. Margaret forcefully refuted these charges and came publicly before Charles' Council on August 20, 1515 and detailed every aspect of her rule.[86] Her reputation restored, she remained at court but without an official role in Charles' government.

Circumstances changed upon the death of Ferdinand II in 1516, making Charles King of Spain and all its territories, including the New World. Charles' Empire was expanding beyond the scope of a single ruler. Both Maximilian and Charles realised the ablest and staunchest supporter of the House of Habsburg in the Netherlands was

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[81] In an attempt to pacify Ferdinand II, Margaret arrested the leader of Castilian nationalists, Don Juan Manuel, who was also a member of the Golden Fleece. It was viewed as outrageous for a woman to violate the statutes of the Order and, on this excuse, Margaret's enemies attacked her authority. On the conflict, see de Iongh 191-94.

[82] Chièvres had lost his position as Governor to Margaret and his politics had often clashed with Margaret's own pro-Imperial Burgundy policies. Angered by the Treaty of Mechelen, he used his significant influence over Charles to turn him against his aunt. Margaret's authority was further damaged by a public conflict with the powerful Order of the Golden Fleece and Maximilian's additional betrayal of reneging on the Treaty of Mechelen with England (to the detriment of Netherlandish trade) without informing his daughter. On the issues surrounding Margaret's loss of power see, de Iongh, 187-197.

[83] Tamussino, 166-69.

[84] A miniature of the *Entrée du prince Charles à Bruges le 18 Avril 1515* shows Margaret far back in the procession in a black sedan chair. Although present, her role is clearly secondary. Poiret, 1994, 34.

[85] de Iongh, 197.

Margaret and, after earlier duplicity, Maximilian attempted to reconcile his grandson and daughter. Soon after Maximilian's arrival in the Netherlands in February 1517, Margaret received a seat on Charles' Council. As Charles spent more time in Spain, Margaret took on more duties until, in July 1518, Margaret was once again given the authority to act on his behalf.

Maximilian died in January 1519. Margaret was grieved by the loss of her dynamic, if unreliable father, but as she was now the elder stateswoman of the House of Habsburg, she focused all her efforts into her nephew's election as Roman Emperor. She employed both diplomatic and financial influence on the electors as well as blocking the efforts of Henry VIII and François I. Her remarkable efforts successful, Charles was elected Emperor on 28 June 1519.[87] Charles effusively thanked his aunt for the "grands, inestimables et louables services" she had rendered and one month later, officially named her the Governor General of the Netherlands for the second time. Charles, fully appreciating his aunt's formidable abilities, told his subjects that they should obey her as they would himself. As further acknowledgement, Charles gave Margaret the city and lands of Mechelen to add to her already long list of titles.[88]

Margaret's role in the Burgundian Netherlands was different from the one she had assumed twelve years earlier. She was again the "Lady of the House" (of Habsburg Burgundy), but this time for an Emperor, not a child, and Burgundy had shifted from being the prized lands of the Habsburgs to the Northern part of a greater Empire. Margaret would direct the policy of this northern land for the rest of her life. Her unrivalled knowledge of European politics and diplomacy and her first hand experience of many European courts would be used to shape and consolidate the new Empire. She had dealt with some of the greatest personalities of the period (Anne de Beaujeu, Louis XII, Isabella I and Ferdinand II, Henry VII and VIII, Wolsey, not to mention members of her own family) and was a respected, even feared, politician. Her historian Jean Lemaire

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[86] de Iongh, 199. Included was a list of her expenses from her private funds in support of her Regency. See Bruchet & Lancien, 370-71.

[87] He was crowned in Aachen in 1520 and in Bologna by the pope in 1530. Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 232.

[88] Given September 18, 1520. Bruchet, 1927, 57, n.1. de Iongh, 220.

wrote of her great eloquence as she received ambassadors with gracious speech, sending them away lost in admiration.[89]

Margaret advised Charles (as well as other family members) on all political and family matters through regular correspondence, just as she had done with her father. She was consulted on everything from papal relations, to English trade, to the war with the Turks (being led by her nephew Ferdinand and her niece's husband, Louis of Bohemia). She also dealt with strife in her own lands where plague, famine, the renewed war with Guelders and rising Protestantism brought the lands to the brink of rebellion.

Her most serious challenge was Charles' renewed war with France. On and off since 1521, the war had seen the capture of Francis I, his release and renewed war, forcing Margaret's lands into the conflict. Peace would finally be gained by Margaret's diplomatic skill. Louise of Savoy, Francis' mother and Margaret's former sister in law, made an overture of peace to Margaret. The two women decided to create in secret a potential agreement and only then present it to Charles and Francis. The preamble states the rational for their actions: in consideration of the bitter hostilities between the two (male) rulers, it would be much easier "for ladies...to make the first advances in such an undertaking."[90] Playing on the conventional views of each gender (man as warrior, woman as peacemaker), Margaret and Louise created a form to allow their (respective) nephew and son to enter negotiations honourably. Their proposal tentatively accepted, Margaret and Louise were to meet in Cambrai to officially work out the peace. This multi-layered agreement took three weeks of negotiations. Hundreds of nobles, bishops and others rushed to Cambrai to add their own concerns to the discussions, necessitating an above ground passageway between the residences of the two ladies, so as not to be thronged by the crowds.[91]

In true Margaret fashion, the treaty created a delicate but precise political balance. It arranged the marriage of her niece Eleanor to Francis I, a high ransom for the French princes held in Spain, control of southern Italy and Milan for Charles, as well as a side peace treaty with England. It also resulted in a definitive exchange of territories between France and Burgundy. The French relinquished suzerainty over Tournais, Artois and

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[89] J. Russell, Diplomats at Work, Three Renaissance Studies (Gloucestershire, 1992), 98.
[90] Tremayne, 253.
[91] de Iongh, 245-47.

Flanders and Margaret finally conceded the Duchy of Burgundy, which the French had held since 1477, was now part of France. The County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) and Charolais would remain in Habsburg hands. Margaret made the necessary sacrifice of a long lost Duchy to protect and consolidate the rest of the Empire. The treaty marked an end to the hopes of a reconsolidation of traditional Burgundy, but a new beginning for the Hapsburg Empire.

Margaret had gone to Cambrai despite a foot infection that prevented her from walking. At the age of fifty, she now decided to retire and turn over the government to Charles. She laid out plans to visit her near completed mausoleum in Brou and then retire to the Convent of the Annunciatess that she had founded at Bruges. However, Margaret never left Mechelen as the gangrene of her foot spread until an amputation was deemed necessary.

Knowing she had not long to live, Margaret made a codicil to her will to instruct Charles one last time about the issues most important to her. One was Burgundy, the land that she had spent her life safeguarding. She implored Charles that "in order not to abolish the name of the House of Burgundy," that he keep the Netherlands and the Franche-Comté in the family as a unit. Her "last request" to Charles was that "for the universal good of Christianity" and his own state that he maintain the peace she had worked so hard to create with England and France.[92] She also wrote a letter of farewell to Charles in which she reiterated the same issues. She returned to him his lands in the Netherlands noting that she had "not only kept them as you left them to me at your departure, but have greatly increased them" and that she had governed them well, so much so that she hoped for "divine reward," his satisfaction and the goodwill of the people.[93] Soon after, given a dose of opium to prepare for the operation, she died the night of November 30, 1530.

Margaret had set out the details of all her funeral ceremonies in her will.[94] Her attention to every detail reflected her lifetime of thorough and effective action as a politician and patron. The imperial ceremonies lasted three days at St. Rombaud's at Mechelen after which her body was placed in the Convent of the Annunciation in Bruges to await the completion of her tomb at Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse. Her heart was placed in

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[92] Tremayne, 287.
[93] de Boom, 230-31.
[94] Baux, 345-354.

Notre-Dame at Bruges and her entrails in St. Peter's at Mechelen.[95] Finally, in April 1532, Margaret's body was taken with grand ceremony from Bruges to Brou where from June 10th to 12th, 1532, ceremonies were held in her honour in the newly consecrated church of St. Nicolas of Tolentino. Here she was finally laid to rest in the crypt next to her husband, Philibert of Savoy, who had died twenty-six years before.

As a politician and ruler Margaret had been uniquely successful. Although in reality marked by rebellion and wars, in hindsight history would consider her rule of the Burgundian Netherlands a golden era.[96] She amassed, through inheritance, marriage and her own personal acumen, a personal empire encompassing much of the lands of the House of Burgundy.[97] Her loyal participation in her father's political machinations, her unwavering support for the expansion of the House of Habsburg, her education of Charles and her key role in securing his Imperial election, her protection and consolidation of what would become the "Burgundian Circle" of the Empire[98] and her moderating influence on international affairs helped lay the basis for an international empire.

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[95] Bruchet, 1927, 183. Her heart was moved to the Convent of the Annunciation in 1532, at the request of the Mother Superior Ancelle. Quinsonas, 347.

[96] Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 213-32.

[97] As of 1523 Margaret held the following titles: Archduchess of Austria and Burgundy, dowager duchess of Savoy, countess of Burgundy (Franche Compté), Charolais, Romont (Vaud), Baugey (Ain) and Villars (Ain), Lady of Salins (Jura), Mechelen, Chateau-Chinon (Nièvre), Noyers (Yonne), Chaulcins, La Parrière (Côte de'Or), the lands of Bresse, Vaulx and Faucigny. Bruchet, 1927, 57, n.1.

[98] Charles would reorganization his Empire in 1548 and formally designate the seventeen Low Country provinces as the "Bourgondische Kreits," the Burgundian Circle, a self-contained part of the empire. Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 232.

II. Margaret of Austria as Patron

Margaret was one of the most dynamic patrons of her time, commissioning works of art, architecture, music and literature. Erasmus called her the most accomplished princess of her day.[99] Her court at Mechelen was the centre of cultural activity in the Low Countries and was usually the first to introduce innovations, as varied as the collection and display of ethnographic artefacts of the New World to the reception of humanism and Italian Renaissance styles.[100]

The first appearance of the Italian inspired Renaissance in the Low Countries is associated with her court. Margaret employed several Italian influenced artists, such as Jan Mostaert, Bernard van Orley, Jan Gossaert and Albrecht Dürer as well as the Venetian Jacopo de'Barbari. In 1517, Margaret arranged for the Brussels tapestry weaver, Pieter van Aalst to execute Raphael's cartoons for the series of ten tapestries of the "Acts of the Apostles," commissioned by Leo X. Classical themes are often found in her collections and commissions. For example, three statues of Hercules are listed in her inventories, as are "antique" themed tapestries (for example, on the life of Alexander the Great), and manuscripts of classical authors like Aristotle and Ovid.[101] Margaret was also a patron of humanist scholars such as Erasmus of Rotterdam and Cornelius Agrippa, the latter writing Margaret's funerary eulogy.[102]

Margaret owned and commissioned a large number of paintings, usually portraits or religious subjects. Her collections included works of contemporaries like Bosch and van Orley as well as older works by van Eyck, Memlinc and van der Weyden. Margaret herself was apparently given painting lessons as a youth and as an adult, kept a paint set in her chambers. Conrad Meit provided her with sculpture in both wood and marble, often painted by one of her court artists.

Margaret's library was one of the greatest of the day and included inherited and commissioned manuscripts. The many masterpieces included the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry and the Hours of the Master of Mary of Burgundy.[103] Margaret also

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[99] Tamussino, 192.
[100] Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 227, 229.
[101] de Boom, 140; Debae, 1987, xx.
[102] de Boom, 216.
[103] See Debae, 1987 & 1998.

commissioned music and musical manuscripts.[104] The library held the majority of Margaret's large collection of New World artefacts for display to elite visitors. The first great Habsburg tapestry collection in the Netherlands also belonged to Margaret.[105]

Architecture had never been the chief investment of either the House of Burgundy or Habsburg, reflecting both Houses' itinerant lifestyle and absence of a fixed residence. Margaret would commission the creation and renovation of more structures than most of her ancestors. These works include her residence, the Palace of Savoy in Mechelen, the renovation of its neighbouring church, St. Peter and Paul's, the Great Council Hall of Mechelen, the Convent of the Annunciatess in Bruges and the Monastery of Brou. Beyond these major projects, she commissioned several individual projects for extant structures, such as memorials or stained glass windows.

While Brou, Margaret's greatest commission, has attracted significant scholarly attention, Margaret's role as an architectural patron beyond Brou is often overlooked. This is unsurprising as many of the above-mentioned structures were either long destroyed, renovated beyond recognition or, in the case of the Grand Council Hall of Mechelen, not completed until the early twentieth century. As well, her buildings are most readily identified as "Late Gothic," and as such traditionally of lesser interest than the Renaissance style in the sixteenth-century. But if considered contextually and in total, her architectural projects make her one of the most significant patrons of architecture of the period.

A. Family Traditions

Margaret had many models upon which she could draw for patronage patterns. Besides her time in the courts of France, Castile-Aragon and Savoy, [106] she was the direct heir to the traditions of the Houses of Habsburg and Burgundy.

The Habsburgs had a strong heritage of political and propagandistic patronage. Margaret's grandfather, Frederick III (1415-1493) developed the notion of the "House of Austria." He promoted it not only through dynastic and diplomatic means, but from the 1450's he commissioned chronicles to promote political loyalty to the House by giving it

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[104] For a complete list of publications on Margaret and music see Debae, 1987, 155-56.
[105] Guy Delmarcel, Flemish Tapestry (New York, 2000), 97.

a pedigree reaching back to famed figures of antiquity and the bible.[107] Habsburg lineage was architecturally manifested in Frederick's chapel in Weiner Neustadt, whose façade was covered with coats of arms of all Habsburg associations, creating a political emblem. Frederick orchestrated, in the words of Gerhard Benecke, an "original feat of conscious cultural creation through political and propagandistic management."[108] Maximilian would carry on his father's grand dynastic plan. This included Maximilian's marriage to Mary of Burgundy, which brought one of the most splendid courts in Europe into the Habsburg realm.

In order to compensate for the relative youth and humble (ducal) rank of their dynasty in comparison to rival France, the Valois Dukes of Burgundy consciously enhanced their image through extensive cultural patronage.[109] Efforts were made to create the image of long heritage. In 1430, Philip the Good (1396-1467) founded a new Order of chivalry, the *Toison d'Or* (the Order of the Golden Fleece), creating a noble elite of the Duke's choosing. An ancestral mausoleum was created at Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon. Its marble tombs by Claus Sluter and the prayer and worship of the Carthusian monks were all designed to commemorate the Duchy's magnificence for future generations. The Dukes and Duchesses of Burgundy were active religious patrons, supporting various Orders and saintly cults, in particular that of the Virgin Mary.[110] Just as Frederick III, the Dukes also commissioned histories, which established their ancestry back to the heroes of Antiquity and this heritage was portrayed in various commissions, designed to glorify the Duchy to its subjects and contemporaries.

The Ducal court made little investment in architecture, as the Dukes were constantly travelling from court to court, and instead focused on smaller scale commissions (such as tapestries, metal work, jewellery, painting and music) and grand

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[106] Margaret experienced the results of the "golden age" of Savoy, under Duke Amédée VIII in the early XVth century. The period is discussed in, Brondy, 404-414; and Guichonnet, Histoire de la Savoie (Toulouse, 1992), 220-26.
[107] Their ancestry included Charlemagne, Jesus and Caesar Augustus. Benecke, 177-8.
[108] Benecke, 179.
[109] On the Ducal court see W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands (Cambridge, 1986); Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999; W. Blockmans in Steyaert, 46-49; and C.A.G. Armstrong, "The Golden Age of Burgundy, Dukes that Outdid Kings," in The Courts of Europe, Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800 ed. A.G. Dickens (London, 1977), 55-75.
[110] For examples, see C. Canon Willard, " The Patronage of Isabel of Portugal," in The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women, ed. J. Hall McCash (Athens, Georgia, 1995), 317-18; and Weightman.

rituals. The Dukes represented themselves primarily through displays of splendour best exemplified by Joyous Entries.[111] Elaborate Burgundian ceremonies (royal entries, processions and official celebrations) were intended to resound beyond those present and to be passed on by word-of-mouth, chronicles and histories. The masses saw a staged spectacle and a grand mystification of power all designed to gain their support and loyalty.[112]

After his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian combined Imperial Habsburg and Burgundian traditions.[113] His vast and decentralised state required continual movement, and ceremony and images were used to represent his rule to several audiences. For example, in the rebellious Netherlands, great care was taken to display Maximilian's links to Burgundy. The majority of his portraits in Margaret's collection present Maximilian in the traditional manner of the Burgundian dukes, not as Emperor. Contemporary German portraits, however, show him as Emperor with crown, insignia, sceptre and eagle.[114]

Maximilian was a great patron of the arts but was never solvent enough to build much. His architectural projects are few, such as the King's House in Brussels that he commissioned Anthonis I Keldermans to begin in 1514-15. His greatest project, his own tomb at Innsbruck, which was to represent the Emperor kneeling on his sarcophagus surrounded by some 140 life-size statues representing his ancestors and court, was never completed. Maximilian used less costly media to create his desired image as the ideal Prince, such as the illustrated chronicles *Weisskunig*, *Theuerdank* and *Freydal,* and Dürer's engraving of Habsburg glory, the *Triumphal Arch*. He maintained artists and supported scholars, creating a college of poetics and mathematics in Vienna under the influence of Conrad Celtis.[115] However, Maximilian's grand, Imperial court was more planned illusion than reality as his itinerant lifestyle and his constant state of financial insolvency prevented its establishment.[116]

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[111] Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 218, 227.
[112] Prevenier & Blockmans, 1986, 224.
[113] Benecke, 138. Kaufmann, 1995, 68.
[114] Such as those by his court painter, Bernard Striegel. Eichberger & Beaven, 232, fig. 61.
[115] Bonney, 479-80.
[116] For a discussion of the Habsburg courts of Frederick III and Maximilian see R.G. Asche & A.M. Birke, Princes, Patronage and the Nobility, The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age (Oxford, 1991), 103-145.

It was left to his daughter to further the dynastic ambitions of the combined Houses of Habsburg and Burgundy. In the Burgundian Netherlands Margaret and her brother Philip presided over what has been called the "second flowering" of Burgundian culture, continuing the cultural idea of Burgundy into the sixteenth-century.[117] After Philip's early death, Margaret took up the role of sole representative of the first generation of the Habsburg-Burgundian alliance, presiding over a transitional stage of her familial Houses, from two ambitious dynasties to a world-wide Habsburg empire. Her unique context, along with her familial past and the ambitions of the present dynasty would inform all of Margaret's patronage.

B. Margaret of Austria's Personal Issues

Margaret's patronage choices reflect her view of her role in society. She was a daughter of Burgundy and the Empire, the widow of the Duke of Savoy, the guardian of Charles V and ruler of the Netherlands, as well as a variety of personally held territories and cities. Her activities were always designed to support her family, the House of Habsburg and Burgundy, the latter of particular focus considering the threats to its continuing existence.

Margaret was by no means the only female ruler in the early sixteenth-century.[118] Nevertheless it was a role that prompted comment among contemporaries. Gender was a central category in relations of power, as witnessed by the Salic law.[119] Ideas of rule centred on the "masculine" virtues of strength, wisdom, leadership, autonomy, etc. Niccolo Machiavelli described the worse type of ruler as "effeminate," literally meaning

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[117] Blockmans and Prevenier, 1999, 216-232.

[118] Anne de Beaujeu ruled was regent of France (1483-91) for her younger brother and Margaret's first husband, Charles VIII. Isabelle of Castille, Margaret's mother-in-law, ruled Castile in her own right for thirty years (1474-1504) as well as acting as Queen Consort of her husband's kingdom of Aragon (1479-1504). Her official successor was Juana, the wife of Margaret's brother, Philip the Fair. Louise of Savoy, the sister of Margaret's last husband, was Regent for her son, François I. Most of these women came to power indirectly and temporarily, as did Margaret, because of inheritance practices that favoured male offspring.

[119] Many scholars have recently examined issues of women and rule in this period. To name a few: Hopkins; M. Wiesner, Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe (NewYork/Cambridge, 1993); A. Wolf, "Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: When, Where and Why," in Medieval Queenship, ed. J. Carmi Parsons, ed. (NewYork, 1995), 169-179; C. Levin, 'The Heart and Stomach of a King," Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power (Philadelphia, 1994); C. Levin, Political Rhetoric, Power and Renaissance Women (Albany, 1995); A. Duggan, ed., Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe (London, 1997); Welch; Howarth; and Sanchez.

"dominated by or similar to a woman."[120] However these ideas were disputed, often by great thinkers in the service of ruling women. Margaret herself was lauded by the German humanist Cornelius Agrippa in his *De nobilitate et praecellentia sexus foeminei ... declamatio* (1529) in which he argued that women were not simply equal, but superior to men and should hold public office. Of course, Agrippa dedicated it to his patron, Margaret of Austria.[121]

These ideas informed practice and a female ruler did need to consider gender in her actions, speech and image. Margaret was well aware of the limitations and advantages of her gender and manipulated her words and image accordingly. In her words, she often chose to ignore or highlight her gender depending on her advantage. When she did not want to meet with Henry VIII at Tournai in 1513, she replied to Maximilian's request that "it is not the place of widowed women to run around and go visit armies for pleasure."[122] Yet she rejected this womanly role in a letter to Charles III, Duke of Savoy, in which she threatened to retaliate in an "unwomanly" fashion if he continued to cross her; "If my lord brother thinks that by such unmannerly treatment he can reduce us and put his intentions through, he has the wrong idea. For that we are a woman, ours is of a different nature, and we cannot do any good to those who work us harm."[123]

Margaret's successful rule revolved around her ability to understand and manipulate society's codes. Yet, even she was not always able to negotiate against strict gender rules. In a conflict with the all-male Order of the Golden Fleece, the Order was furious that she, a woman, dared interfere with the Order's affairs. In a public confrontation she expressed her frustration; "Gentlemen, if I were such a man as I am a woman, I would make you bring your statutes to me and make you sing out passages from them."[124]

Margaret's heritage gave her privilege and rank, yet, she understood that as a unmarried woman, she needed to accent certain traits as support for her authority. She supported her rule and desire to remain unmarried by her image as a widow, which she

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[120] From The Prince. Discussed by Weisner, 252.
[121] Weisner, 16-17.
[122] My translation. Russell, 97. Margaret did eventually go, but at her convenience.
[123] "*...Car jaçoit que soyons femme, si avons le coeur d'aultre nature....*" de Iongh, 128. An interestingly similarity to the tone of Elizabeth I's later speech at Tilbury. Elizabeth said, "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble women, but I have the heart and stomach of a King," cleverly manipulating the same ideas that made her gender subordinate to empower her. Levin, 1994, 1.
[124] de Iongh, 193.

cultivated from the age of twenty-four (Fig. 5). As a widow she was relatively independent and could rationalize her actions as familial duty. In terms of patronage, the most common activity of widows was that of creating memorials for dead husbands, a duty Margaret devotedly carried out.[125] In pictures and in her own person, Margaret also emphasised her piety and virtue, further placing herself beyond censure.[126] A person with a reputation for sanctity could rationalize a grand public commission as an act of charity or for the glory of God.[127]

In the perception of their commissions women patrons had the added concern of appropriate female behaviour.[128] Ruling women had to obey what Catherine E. King has called an "iconographical double standard," of maintaining a womanly reputation but also exuding the masculine traits associated with good rule.[129] Margaret's male relations had no such contradictory expectations and their commissions could be costly, public, monumental and self-referential. As a ruler, Margaret's projects could have these traits but they also needed to be simultaneously perceived as feminine and virtuous. She attempted to reconcile these conflicting ideas in her choices of self-representation. Thus gender, culture and politics all overlap in her patronage.[130]

Margaret adhered to the traditions of female patronage, creating works to glorify her husband and family, but then went beyond the parameters to promote herself. The

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[125] Many other noble women did the same, such as Jeanne d'Evreux and Catherine de'Medici. See C. Lawrence, ed. Women and Art in Early Modern Europe, Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs (Philadelphia, 1997); and C. King who devotes a chapter to "commemorating dead men" in Renaissance Italy. C. King, Renaissance Women Patrons, Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300-1550 (Manchester, 1995), 99-128.

[126] An image of virtue and piety also aided the rule of married women, such as Isabella I. See M. Lunenfeld, "Isabella I of Castile and the Company of Women of Power," Historical Reflections IV, no.2 (1977): 207-29. On the perceived suitability of widows for power, see Sanchez, 151. This is further discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.

[127] See King, 4-5; Hall McCash, 9-13; Lawrence, 5; Monson, 49-50; and S. Kettering, "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen," Historical Journal, 32/4 (1989): 817-41.

[128] According Scripture and natural law, an "ideal" woman was submissive, obedient, modest, selfless, virtuous, etc. For the development of these ideas, see Weisner, 9-38.

[129] King, 247-52.

[130] C. Levin considers this in relation to Elizabeth I. Levin, 1994, 2-3. The patronage practices of Margaret's female contemporaries (i.e. Anne de Beaujeu, Anne of Brittany, Louise of Savoy) display an awareness of the value of the visual arts in projecting an appropriate image, although their patronage practices have yet to be fully addressed in scholarship. T. Tolley provides a brief overview of existing scholarship. Also see: for Louise of Savoy, E. McCartney, "The King's Mother and Royal Prerogative in Early Sixteenth Century France," in Parsons, 117-141. A forthcoming book by Pauline Matarasso may yield more information. P. Matarasso, Queen's Mate. Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the

unusual aspect of Margaret's patronage was that she was often the subject of her commissions, even if outwardly, to a large part of the audience, it appeared to be something more appropriate. For example, Brou, although begun to honour her husband, was ultimately for her own glory. Her portrait collection at Mechelen was to display the glory of her family in relation to herself and her rule. In religious patronage, her aim was not only to sanctify her House, but her own person.

In her unprecedented public role Margaret walked a line between the magnificence expected of a ruler and the modesty expected of a woman ruling in another's stead. In a quest of self-representation to her subjects, other rulers, her family and herself, she embodied in her patronage choices the singular circumstance of an early sixteenth century Habsburg-Burgundian female regent and her own concerns.

Besides the support of her authority, her patronage reveals a concern with the salvation of her soul and most strongly, her remembrance. Like all her family, she promoted and supported various cults and orders, not only for political reasons, but also for the eternal betterment of her soul. She wished to be recalled in prayers and worship, and as such commissioned religious structures, reliquaries and art works, often including herself portrayed in worship in proximity to the holiest of figures and even in the guise of a saint herself. Her goal was to ensure her piety and good works were acknowledged and recorded for posterity.

Margaret spent her life advancing the House of Habsburg and took great pride in her accomplishments. Through her patronage she sought to ensure that her irreplaceable role was remembered. The importance of dynastic memory for her family was immeasurable. Her father Maximilian wrote that;

> He who during his life provides no remembrance for himself, has no remembrance after his death and the same person is forgotten with the tolling of the bell, and therefore the money which I spend on remembrance is not lost; but the money which is spared on my future remembrance, that is a suppression of my future remembrance, and what I do not accomplish during my life for my memory will not be made up for after my death, neither by thee nor by others.[131]

Renaissance. London: Ashgate. On gender's effects on patronage see Alice T. Friedman, "Gender and the Meaning of Style in Early Modern England," in Lawrence, 111-25.

[131] Quoted from Maximilian's allegorical prose autobiography, *Weisskunig*. Larry Silver, "Paper Pageants: The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I," in "All the world's a stage...". Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque, eds. B. Wisch and S. Scott Munshower (University Park, Penn, 1990), 293.

Margaret herself echoed his sentiments, once declaring that she feared "to be lost and forgotten to the world."[132] And indeed she could have been, for if we consider the primary roles for a royal daughter, that is to create lasting marriage alliances and produce heirs to continue the dynasty, Margaret is clearly lacking. Although her whole life was spent advancing the House of Habsburg, in dynastic terms she was superfluous: childless, unmarried and a ruler only by appointment with all her lands and titles reverting back to her family upon her death. This is made clear in a family portrait commissioned by her father from Bernhard Striegel around 1515-1516 (Fig. 6). Maximilian presents himself as the head of the *domus Austriae* with his descendants. Pictured with his long dead wife Mary and their son (also dead) Phillip, his grandsons Charles and Ferdinand and his adoptive son, Ladislav of Bohemia. [133] There is no reference to his "dear and beloved daughter" Margaret.[134] In terms of dynastic history, Margaret was indeed a person "lost and forgotten."

Her remembrance would be based on her own actions and so through her patronage Margaret developed an image of herself not only for her contemporaries, but for history. Intertwined in her choices of self-representation are the issues of politics, gender and culture that provide a glimpse of both Margaret's life and her era. The following chapters will examine Margaret's actions as a patron, the means of self-representation she choose, her rationale and intentions and the contemporary (and historical) responses to this art and architecture.

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[132] This statement is recorded in a letter on Sept 16, 1507 that Maximilian wrote to his recently widowed daughter. In this letter, he encouraged her to marry Henry VII of England for "by this marriage, you would leave the prison that you fear to enter...you would govern England and the House of Burgundy and you would not be placed out of the world, like a person lost and forgotten, as you have declared to us before." Le Glay, vol.2, 11-12. Margaret refused to marry again declaring that she had three times been married and each time was the worse for it. de Boom, 61.

[133] The portrait's inscriptions indicate the sitters as Jesus' uncle, aunt and cousins: Cleopas (Maximilian), his wife Mary (Mary of Burgundy) and their sons James, Joses, Juda and Simon (Phillip, Charles, Ferdinand and Ladislav). The reference is to Mark 6.3, where sceptics in Jesus' home town refuse to listen to him as they know who he is: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and of Juda, and Simon. And are not his sisters here with us?" (Medieval tradition interpreted 'brothers' and 'sisters' as cousins.) This iconography falls within the "Holy Kinship" tradition. I thank Professor Faith Wallis for providing me with this information. This religious metaphor is used to represent the dynastic House of Austria. The biblical passage's reference to Jesus' "sisters" could have allowed for Margaret's inclusion. The fact that she is nevertheless omitted further supports the dynastic emphasis of the image.

[134] Maximilian began most of his letters to Margaret with the phrase, "*Tres chiere et amee fille... .*" For examples, see Le Glay, vol. 2, 5, no. 385.

Chapter Two:
The Monastery and Church of Brou:
The Architectural Autobiography of Margaret of Austria[135]

Contemporaries considered the church of the monastery of Brou (Figs. 7 and 8) as "l'oeuvre parfait de Marguerite."[136] They called it "superb," "beautiful," a "masterpiece." Yet for all its praise, Brou did not inspire imitators and today it remains a unique expression of its era and, more particularly, of its patron. It tells of the singular circumstances and individuals that created it. Brou's miraculous façade alone raises the questions as to what and who initiated or inspired this creation? Who planned, organised and maintained its construction? And most intriguingly, why? All answers revolve around the life of Margaret of Austria, her marriage, widowhood, rule and family. Brou is her autobiography, representing her multi-faceted life in architecture.

Brou appears remarkably well preserved today; however, much has been altered since its completion in 1532. Looted by French soldiers in 1557, its roof burned, it was repaired and remained a functioning monastery until the French Revolution. In 1790 it was sold by the State for materials but was saved the following year when it was named a national monument. Its tower, however, was destroyed during this period. It was then used subsequently to store hay, as a prison, as a pig stable and as a soldier's barracks. In 1823, it was given back to the church, which installed a Seminary that carried out many restorations throughout the nineteenth century.[137] Brou was active until 1907. In 1922, the town of Bourg obtained the rights from the state to place the museum of Bourg at Brou. A new restoration campaign was undertaken from 1940-50 to undo the damages of the Revolution and nineteenth-century restoration with the goal of giving it back its original appearance. Restoration work continues, the most recent work done to restore the original patterned tiled roof.[138]

So Brou's present, tantalisingly well-preserved appearance must be considered in a prudential light, focusing on information of Brou's construction, appearance and

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[135] Howarth discusses the idea of an architectural autobiography..
[136] Cahn, 61.
[137] The first was by the architect Dupasquier in 1842 and from 1849 to 1851. The second was from 1881-1903 by Laisné, then Tony Ferret. Poiret, 1994, 124. For an overview of changes to Brou, see Hörsch, 62-77.

function in the early sixteenth-century. Through the 26 years of its construction, Brou as a structure was in constant flux: from its original inception by a young widow and her entourage, it passed through several designers, master masons, and craftsmen. Circumstances constantly changed, from major changes in the patron's life to issues of money, material, time and relationships among all those involved – patron, builders, monks and locals. The relationships are a very basic part of Brou's evolution but are sometimes the most elusive to demonstrate. Margaret's souring relations with Lemaire and Perreal are easily demonstrated, but other relations are subtler. For example, the most primary relationship involved at Brou is that of Margaret and Philibert. It is their relationship that is the impetus for Brou but this relationship evolves even after Philibert's death. The grief struck widow becomes a guardian, Regent and ruler and Philibert becomes a part of her past, greatly altering the final outcome of Brou. Brou was the result of a creative forum and its evolution can only be plotted considering the conversations and circumstances of its production.[139]

Brou's rapid construction, its conscientious patron and the resulting abundance of documentation, makes Brou a reflection not only of the patron, but of the era itself. Brou's transformations directly reflect those of its patron, illustrating the effect of not only Margaret's direct commands but also her political, personal and social context on the direction of the work. By charting the chronology of the church's construction, we create a narrative that tells us a great deal more about the building and its builders than the completed work today. The church must therefore be read diachronically; as both completed structure and a series of design and building choices. Therefore, the first section will set out the chronology of Brou's construction and a description of the building as it stands.

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[138] Eric Pallot, "La toiture vernissée de l'église de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse. Le contexte d'une restitution," Monumental, n. 15 (décembre, 1996): 78-89. The roof was finished in 1999.
[139] The idea of a "creative forum" is from S. Murray, Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens : the Power of Change in Gothic (Cambridge, 1996), 15.

I. Planning and Construction

A. The Conception and Early Plans of Brou by the Widow Duchess of Savoy (1504-1506)

Margaret was inconsolable at the death of her third husband, Philibert the Handsome on 10 September 1504. According to Margaret's court poet and historian, Jean Lemaire de Belges ,

> *...en preuve de l'amour qu'elle portoit au prince defunct, incontinent après le trespas de son cher espoux, elle [Margaret] fit couper ses beaux cheveux aureins, et autant fit-elle faire à ses plus privées damoiselles; et, en outre, elle a délibéré d'honorer le lieu où le corps de son feu seigneur est inhumé, et d'y faire construire un edifice grand et somptueux, là où perpétuellement seront establis gens de religion...et sera enrichie sa sépulture d'une oeuvre mémorable.*[140]

Six days after his death, Margaret had Philibert's body taken to Brou, the location of a dilapidated Benedictine priory, St. Pierre, and buried near his parents, Philip of Bresse and Margaret of Bourbon. The Dukes of Savoy had traditionally been buried at the Abbey of Hautecombe on the shores of Lake Bourget, but Margaret decided to construct a new monastery to house Philibert's tomb here, in the small priory of Brou, outside the city walls of Bourg-en-Bresse.[141] The reasons for the choice of this small, peripheral location has been traditionally explained by a vow made by Philibert's mother, Margaret of Bourbon, when her husband fell suddenly ill. She had vowed to build a monastery for the Order of St Benedict at Brou, if her husband recovered. He did, but Margaret of Bourbon died three years later without having completed the vow. In her will, she had asked her son, Philibert, to execute it. Upon Philibert's death, Margaret took up this vow.[142]

In deciding to create a mausoleum for her late husband, Margaret was following a common pattern of female patronage. In the late Middle Ages, secular female patrons were often widows and their patronage took the form of efforts to honour the deceased

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[140] From *La Couronne margaritique*, 1504-1505. Quoted in Poiret, 1994, 26.

[141] Brou was the official seat of the Bourg Parish. Bourg itself only had a population of about 4000, and although it had a law court and was an important marketplace, it was off the main trade routes. On Bourg in the 16th-century, see D. Turrel, Bourg-en-Bresse au XVIe siècle, les hommes et la ville (Bourg-en-Bresse, 1986).

husband.[143] This notion was strongly supported by Jean Lemaire de Belges.[144] Shortly after Lemaire entered the service of the Duke and Duchess, Philibert died and Lemaire wrote *La Couronne margaritique* (1504-05) for Margaret. *La Couronne margaritique* begins as a lament for Philbert whose days were ended by Death and Misfortune, but soon turns into a panegyric for his widow (Fig. 9). Prudence and Fortitude are sent to console Margaret and banish the agents of Death to Hell (Fig. 10). In celebration, Virtue decides to offer Margaret a "triumphal and permanent" crown made by Merit. Merit is also busy making two diadems, "*grands chefs d'oeuvre exquis*" for Margaret's two dead husbands.[145]

Lemaire was playing with the idea of Margaret as Artemisia of Caria, the great patroness of Antiquity.[146] Artemisia was the patron of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, which was built in memory of her husband. Artemisia symbolised the widow's devotion to her husband's memory, an appropriate reference for the newly widowed Duchess. Lemaire had earlier evoked Artemisia in his "Temple of Honour and Virtue" (1503), written for Anne de Beaujeu on the death of her husband and Lemaire's former employer, Pierre de Bourbon. He advised Anne that after mourning she should, like Artemisia, honour her husband by creating a great monument in his honour, for which he even provides a design for a temple to Virtue and Honour.[147] These encouragements to create a masterpiece of devotion were no doubt also presented to Margaret. And she must have found them pleasing as Lemaire would be an important contributor to the early development of Brou.

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[142] The vow is found in Guillaume Paradin's Chronique de Savoie (Lyon, 1561); S.Guichenon, Histoire de Bresse (Lyon, 1650) first part, 93,96; Bruchet, 1927, 146; Horsch, 16; Poiret, 1994, 26-27.

[143] For a recent discussions of widow's patronage see King, 99-128; Lawrence, 1997; and Hall McCash, 9-13.

[144] Lemaire was born in Hainault in 1474, studied at the University of Paris and then served Duke Pierre de Bourbon and Louis of Luxembourg. He entered Margaret's service in Turin in 1504. On Lemaire see, P. Jodogne, Jean Lemaire de Belges: écrivan franco-bourguignon (Brussels, 1972); F. Thibaut, Marguerite d'Autriche et Jehan Lemaire de Belges (Paris, 1888); and Cahn.

[145] The fullest account of the manuscript is found in: O. Pächt and D. Thoss, Französische Schule II (Wien, 1977), 87-91; and Debae, 1987, 49-53. Also discusses in: Cahn, 50-52

[146] Artemisia was a tale well known in the period, included in works by Giovanni Boccaccio and Christine de Pisan, both of which Margaret had copies. Cahn, 63, n.53. Artemisia would also be taken up as a model by later female patrons such as Catherine de'Medici and Anne of Austria. On Catherine see, S. Ffolloitt, "Catherine de'Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow," in Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, eds. M.W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan and N.J. Vickers (Chicago, 1986), 227-41.

[147]Cahn, 46-47.

These personal, social and literary encouragements for beginning Brou were also supported by more pragmatic rationale. On a very practical level, Brou was conveniently located on the road from Bourg to Pont d'Ain, Margaret's preferred residence. At this point, with no desire to marry and no role in Habsburg government, Margaret may have thought to make this her principal residence and would thus have opportunity to monitor and visit the work.

Bourg-en-Bresse was also the principal city of Margaret's dower lands. As part of their wedding contract, Philibert had promised, in the case of his death, that the Duchy would provide Margaret with an annual dowry of 12,000 "écus d'or," guaranteed by the revenues of Vaud, Romont, Faucigny, Bresse and Bâgé and "les vaiselles, tapisseries, bagues, joyaulx et autres biens meubles qui lors seront appartenant à son état."[148] Margaret went a step further and attempted to maintain control of the regions. This move was met by resistance from the new Duke of Savoy, Charles III, and also from the *Chambre des comptes* who saw the move as a Habsburg attempt to take-over traditional ducal powers. They were correct in their suspicions. The Habsburgs had hoped to increase their influence over the Duchy through Margaret's marriage and were no doubt fearful of losing their influence under the new duke Charles. Maximilian intervened in the conflict, using his authority as Emperor over a territory of the Empire. The resulting Treaty of Strasbourg (August, 1505) stipulated that Margaret keep near full power and all funds from her dower lands. Margaret's dowry would be governed from the capital of Bresse, Bourg-en-Bresse, by the region's council, acting on orders from Margaret.[149] Over the years of Brou's planning and construction, Margaret's purpose would evolve, but in 1504-1505, Bourg-en-Bresse was the administrative centre of Margaret's life, thus an appropriate place for her husband's mausoleum.

The tradition of widow's patronage in contemporary society, which was exemplified in literature by Artemisia and promoted by Lemaire, appears to be the source of the idea of Brou. Margaret of Bourbon's vow is clearly the source of the choice of location. The more practical reasons stated above would have reinforced both decisions, supporting the concept long after the initial stages of grieving had pasted.

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[148] De Boom, 41.
[149] Bruchet, 1927, 93, 328-35.

Margaret wasted no time in beginning the project. Seven months after Philibert's death, the land had been purchased and a *prix fait (*contract with projected costs) had been signed with builders from Bresse.[150] The plans were modest with a yearly budget of only about 4000 florins coming from Margaret's dower. There was to be a small stone church of three small naves, which would house two tombs, one for Philibert and the other for his mother, Margaret of Bourbon. A single cloister monastery and a separate residence for Margaret would both be made of brick and the only mentioned decoration was to be places for coats of arms in the window frames.[151]

There was to be one significant deviation from Margaret of Bourbon's original vow. Margaret of Bourbon had vowed to build a monastery at Brou for the Order of St. Benedict. Instead, Margaret built a monastery at Brou for a group of Augustinian hermits from Lombardy. This change was decided from as early on as 1504, as the first Augustine brothers arrived in March 1505 to participate in the drawing up of the first plans.[152] The Benedictines and the Parish of Bourg, until then located at Brou, would be officially moved into the Church of Notre-Dame in the city of Bourg.[153] Margaret sent a delegation to Rome (which included the chancellor of Savoy, many cardinals as well as Jean Lemaire) in 1505 to obtain papal permission to move the Parish and to create a new monastery dedicated to St. Nicolas of Tolentino at Brou, occupied by the Augustinian hermits from Lombardy. Julius II granted Margaret's requests with a papal bull on 16 July, 1506. Why such a great effort to change the designation of a small, dilapidated monastery?

The reason for this change has been explained by the fact that Philibert had died on the feast day of the St. Nicolas of Tolentino.[154] St. Nicolas was a saint of the Augustinian Order, which was popular for its emphasis on individual spirituality, and

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[150] The land purchase was signed April 26, 1505. Bruchet, 1927, 146, n. 5. The *prix fait* is dated March 31, 1505. Bruchet, 1927, 188-189, no. 3.
[151] Bruchet, 1927, 149-150.
[152] Bruchet, 1927, 147, 187-88, n.1.
[153] According to J. Baux, the location of the city parish in Brou had proven inconvenient for the local inhabitants and so from 1466, the Benedictine brothers had operated out of Bourg. Baux, 169-70. If true, when Margaret had Bourg officially named parish, it had already been acting as such for years and so the change would not have troubled the local population.
[154] This theory is put forward by most scholars: Bruchet, 1927, 147; Cahn, 49; Poiret, 1994, 30; Hörsch, 33-34. St Nicolas of Tolentino (1245-1305) was a northern Italian sainted noted as a preacher, confessor and protector of the poor and was canonized in 1446.

promotion of "devotio moderna."[155] The Augustinians were not a strict Order, demanding nothing more than prayer and a spiritual life from its followers. As such, the Augustinians were popular with princes for their burial churches as their flexible focus of worship and potential loyalty to more secular powers guaranteed that the prayers and services to Princely Houses would be carried out after their death. The Augustinians' participation in the secular world also meant that they could also act as unofficial princely representatives and informers. Margaret's father, Maximilian had placed Augustinians in his own court church at Vienna.[156]

The reason for the specific choice of the Order from Lombardy is most likely found in relation to the Habsburg's strong emphasis on Italy's place in the Empire. Since the French take-over of the Duchy of Milan in 1499, Maximilian had fought to gain control in Italy, making the area a physical and symbolic focus of the family. He was also married to Bianca Maria Sforza, daughter of the deposed Duke of Milan, so it is possible that Margaret may have known the Lombardy Order through her father's court. In this light, Margaret's decision was a subtle, symbolic promotion of her father's Imperial policy. It was also a very pragmatic method of installing a loyal bastion of informers on Savoyard lands. The decision was taken when Margaret needed Maximilian's help in struggles with the new Duke of Savoy. Margaret was also refusing to marry again, much against her father's wishes, and so a demonstration of her loyalty and her potential usefulness in Savoy was to her benefit.

Another potential source of the use of this particular Order, or, at the very least, a strong supporter of it, was Margaret's counsellor, Mercuriono Arborio de Gattinara (1465-1530).[157] From Piedmont, Gattinara would be a very influential figure in Margaret, Maximilian and then Charles V's service. In 1504, Gattinara acted as Margaret's president of the Council of Bresse and was also a great friend of Lemaire's. Gattinara was a strong promoter of the Empire and viewed Italy as its symbolic and physical centre and

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[155] Devotional emphasis had moved from mass devotion to individual experience, learning and prayer ("devotio moderna") reflecting the weakening of faith in the church, which was more and more seen as corrupt and fallible. See Henk van Os, The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages, 1300-1500 (Amsterdam, 1994).

[156] F. Lebrun, ed., Du christianisme flamboyant à l'aube des Lumières, vol. 2 of Histoire de la France religieuse, XIVe-XVIIIe, eds. Le Goff, J. & R. Rémond. (Paris, 1988), 214-17.

encouraged this belief in each ruler that he served. He was behind much of the Habsburg's aggressive Italian policies and it is not difficult to imagine him encouraging a symbolic link between Brou and Lombardy though the Augustinian Order. It is also interesting to note that all leaders of the Order in Brou were from Gattinara's home, Piedmont.[158]

On April 7, 1506, Margaret made a second *prix fait*, on the prompting of the monks, which slightly augmented the modest initial plans. Some work had obviously been done in the last year as a clause refers to foundations that had been begun and which would have to be augmented according to the new plans. Interestingly, another clause states that the new church should be built "selon l'avis des religieux augustins."[159] The monastery, however, was to be constructed first, as the old structure was inadequate for the monk's needs.

Margaret laid the first stone of the monastery herself in an elaborate ceremony on 28 August 1506. An account of the event was recorded by Lemaire, as well as in the *Liber recordationum*.[160] Both tell of a grand ceremony attended by nobles and locals despite a terrible rainstorm. The locals huddled in the old church nave while the procession made its way outside in the turbulent storm, where the widow Duchess laid the first stone of the new church. As she did, the skies cleared and the sun burst forth. From the first stone, the mythology surrounding Brou and its patron was already forming.

Work was underway on the walls of the monastery when news of Margaret's brother, Philip the Fair's death on September 25 reached Margaret. On October 29th Margaret left Savoy, never to return. At her departure, Brou was to be a modest church and monastery for the tombs of Philibert and his mother. She was fulfilling a vow and acting within the perimeters of noble widowhood. There were also undertones of political manoeuvring to maintain a Habsburg foothold in the region. The fact that the Augustinian brothers had a clear say in the design of the plans and that she was willing to have the church built "according to the wishes of the Augustinians" suggest Margaret's

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[157] On Gattinara see, J. Headly, The Emperor and his Chancellor, A Study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara (Cambridge, UK, 1983) and Church, Empire and World, The Quest for Universal Order, 1520-1640 (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1997).
[158] Bruchet, 1927, 148.
[159] Bruchet, 1927, 189-190, no. 4.
[160] Bruchet, 1927, 191, n.7. Baux, 177.

interest at this point was more in the overall idea rather than the details. This, however, would change.

B. Continuation in the Absence of the Regent of the Netherlands (1506-1509)

Margaret's departure meant that she would not be able personally to oversee Brou's construction. From now on, she would rely on appointed officials to carry out her wishes at Brou and to provide her with reports on progress (or lack thereof). A hierarchical organisation of officials and artisans was set up. A *maître maçon* (Jean Perréal from 1509-12, Loys van Boghem from 1512-32) controlled the *chantier*, which was comprised of many local and, eventually, Flemish artisans. A *maître de l'oeuvre* (Etienne Chivilliard from 1506-14, Guillemin de Maxim from 1514-23 and Louis de Gleyrens from 1523-32), monitored by the *Chambres de comptes de Bourg,* was responsible for money matters (accounts, salaries) and obtaining materials. Both reported directly to the Duchess and were overseen by the Council of Bresse, who provided Margaret with a yearly report of the work. Margaret also received reports from the Augustinian brothers and occasionally sent officials from her court in Malines for surprise visits.[161] It was an elaborate network designed to allow the absent Duchess to control the work.

The first report recorded is from Louis Barangier, Margaret's secretary in Brou, on December 25, 1507, who wrote to tell her that the walls of the monastery were completed but the roof, carpentry and vaults were yet to be done.[162] There are few documents in relation to Brou from this period. The new Regent was very busy in the Netherlands. Besides the demands of organising the household of Charles and his sisters, a continuous low scale war with the Duke of Guelders threatened to undermine her rule and drained her funds. Her financial situation was made worse by Maximilian's demands for money for his wars against France and Venice, which meant that she was forced to use some of her own money for state needs.[163] If she had wanted to put more money into Brou at this point she would have been hard pressed to find it.

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[161] Bruchet, 1927, 237, n.138. Brou, les bâtisseurs..., 15-19.
[162] Bruchet , 1927, 191, n.8.
[163] Her use of her own money from her Spanish and Savoyard dowries is mentioned by Margaret in her letter to Charles V regarding charges of corruption against her in 1515. See Bruchet & Lancien, 370-71, n. LXII.

As well, Margaret's personal future was still uncertain. Maximilian continued to urge her to marry Henry VII of England. In a letter of Sept. 16, 1507, Maximilian proposed she go to England, but return for four months a year. In this way, she would "rule both England and the House of Burgundy" and not be, as she had once said to him, "wandering the world, like a person lost and forgotten."[164] Maximilian's letter suggests that he thought he could persuade his daughter with offers of a Queen's crown, as well as her continued authority in the Netherlands. To emphasise the alternatives, he reminds her of her fears for the future. A childless, unmarried daughter did not fulfil her basic roles of providing a political alliance with another major house and as a producer of royal heirs. It was Maximilian who was the official regent of Charles, and it was he who had passed the role on to his widow daughter. Her guardianship was partial and temporary at best.

Circumstances changed the following year as Maximilian, having been unable to get to Rome to be crowned Emperor, was granted by Julius II the right to use the Imperial title without coronation. On February 4,1508 Maximilian assumed the title "Imperator Electus" and soon after, on March 18, 1508, Maximilian gave Margaret full authority in the Netherlands,"...not only like a simple regent or governor, but as the Lady of the House."[165] In a short time, Margaret had proven her abilities, gaining for herself the rule of the House of Burgundy.

This was also the year of Margaret's first major diplomatic triumph, the League of Cambrai (December 10, 1508). Although inundated with letters of advice by Maximilian, it was Margaret who led negotiations and attained a peace, improved trade conditions for the Netherlands and advanced her father's political goals. Margaret's success at Cambrai may have been the deciding factor in Maximilian's decision to approve Margaret's insistent request for lands of her own. On February 17, 1509 Maximilian granted his daughter many titles and territories of her own, most signifiantly the Franche Comté and Charolais, which bordered her dower lands.

Together with her Savoyard lands, Margaret was now a significant landowner, possessing most of the "*pays de par delà*" (southern lands of Burgundy) still in Habsburg

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[164] "*...paer cest fachon, vous gouvernerés Engleterre et la maison de Bourgoingne, et vous ne pourrés estre mis errier de la monde, comme ung person perdu et oublié, cume vous aussy nous avez aultrefois déclaré.*" The potential marriage is first mentioned in 1506 and continues to be considered until Henry's death on 22 April, 1509. Le Glay, vol. 2, 10-12, n.5.

hands. Considering she was also the ruler of the "*pays de par deça*" (the Netherlands), Margaret's authority included most of the traditional lands of the Dukes of Burgundy, making her the de facto ruling Duchess of Burgundy. This jurisdiction also had the very practical benefit of augmenting her personal income, allowing Margaret to devote more and more money to Brou.

C. A change in plans (1509)

It was during this eventful year that Margaret began to rethink her plans for Brou. Until this point a Bressan mason had controlled the work at Brou. Now she appointed Jean Lemaire as "sollicteur," suggesting she had a more conceptual model in mind. Soon after, on February 20, 1509, Margaret wrote her will, stating;

> *...Item, nous élisons la sepulture de nostre corps en lesglise du couvent de sainct Nycolas de Tollentin lez Bourg en Bresse, lequel avons fondé et faisons présentement édifier et construyre...et voulons estre in humée emprès* (près de) *le corps de nostre tres chier seigneur et mary le duc Phillibert de Savoye que Dieu absoille (*absolve*), du cousté senestre (*côtè gauche*); et au destre (*à droite*), sera le corps de feu madame Marguerite de Bourbon sa mère, et le corps de mondict seigneur et mary on (*au*) milieu.*[166]

The reason she would chose to be buried in Brou rather than the Netherlands is multifaceted. Firstly, Brou was located in Margaret's personal lands. She ruled the Low Countries as Regent, but the southern Burgundian lands were her own territory. Margaret's life in the Netherlands, however ultimately successful, was also permeated with wars and near rebellion. The relative peace associated with Savoy might have been attractive. Margaret planned to retire to Brou and thus would have been able to oversee the work and make use of the church. The simple desire to be buried with her last and beloved husband was also no doubt a considerable factor.

She was fairly certain she would not remarry and so her future remembrance was not to be found in her husband or children, but would depend upon her own actions. At twenty-eight, the widowed daughter of the "Imperator Electus" and appointed guardian of the Burgundian lands, she had much to commemorate. Margaret inherited her strong

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[165] de Boom, 66. See above note 38.
[166] Brou, les bâtisseurs..., 76.

desire for remembrance from her father, Maximilian, who stressed the importance of ensuring one's own memory and who had begun plans for his own mausoleum in 1508.[167]

Earlier studies have suggested Lemaire and Jean Perréal were the source of her idea to create a masterpiece memorialising herself.[168] They may have helped in the original architectural articulation of the project but the source was solidly lodged in family tradition. The Burgundians had a strong history of dynastic tombs from the Chartreuse de Champmol onward,[169] as did the Habsburgs. Margaret's grandfather, Emperor Frederick III had created his own tomb in Vienna and Maximilian's plans for his tomb in Innsbruck were unrivalled in scale.[170]

However, it was not the norm for a woman to create self-memorials, even the daughter of an Emperor, ruling the House of Burgundy. Margaret wished to be buried with Philibert for personal reasons, but it also placed her project well within the traditional boundaries of female patronage. Through her roles of dutiful wife and daughter she could also allow for her own self-aggrandisement, without drawing criticism for inappropriate behaviour.

D. The Church of St. Nicolas of Tolentino

1. Early Projects (1509-12)

As Margaret's new overseer at Brou, Lemaire suggested his friend of several years, Jean Perréal (also known as Jean de Paris, 1460-1530) as designer for the church and tombs.[171] Margaret had probably met Perréal in her youth when he was attached to her court as Queen of France and later when he was attached to the ducal court of Savoy. He was a painter, architect, engineer, designer and organiser of royal and civic ceremonies. He had worked for the city of Lyon and later as *valet de chambre* and painter to both Charles VIII and Louis XII. His best-known work was the tomb of the Francois II, Duke of Brittany, which he designed and Michel Colombe had made for Anne of Brittany from 1502 to 1507.

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[167]Maximilian's thoughts on remembrance are found in the *Weisskunig*. Silver, 1990, 293. Also see above, page 33.

[168] Poiret, 1994, 75; Cahn, 43-64.

[169] For more see W. Prevenier & W. Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands (Cambridge, 1986), 316-19, 348-49.

[170] H.R. Trevor-Roper, Renaissance Essays (London, 1985), 22.

[171] On Perréal see: Bruchet, 1927, 153-156; Poiret, 1994, 67-75; and Cahn.

Perréal had just returned from Italy in November 1509 (where he had accompanied Louis XII on campaign), when Lemaire asked him to make designs for the Brou tombs. Lemaire wrote to Margaret to tell her he had asked Jean Perréal for a design *"de quelque mode digne de memoire"* (of a manner worthy of memory) for three tomb sculptures for Brou. He notes that he instructed Lemaire to make them "fort belle," informing him that Margaret already had many plans from others. He also adds that Perréal's plans would be inspired by the antiquities he had recently seen in Italy.[172] These plans have not come down to us but it is known that Margaret received them and, after considering other plans, such as those by the Italian sculptor, Piero Torrigiano,[173] approved Perréal's tomb plans in a letter dated July 15, 1510.[174] (For more on the tombs, see below "Tombs").

In the same letter, Margaret told Perréal that she wanted the church begun by the following Lent and wished to receive the plans and designs as soon as possible. Margaret also wrote to Lemaire on July 14, 1510 telling him she had requested Perréal to make the church designs and plans, "if they were not already made" and *"icellui fait avec son advis, nous ferez envoyer incontinent, car nous avons deliberé fere (faire) continuer à ladicte eglise ceste caresme, et ne cesserons qu'elle ne soit parfaicte (achevée) au plaisir de Dieu...."*[175] Margaret was clearly interested in expediting the whole project as she wrote a total of ten letters in just two days urging development.[176]

However, little seems to have been done on the church itself as on July 16, 1511, Margaret wrote again, this time to the Council of Bresse, stating her desire that the church be begun by the following Lent.[177] The delay with the church seems to be related to Lemaire and Perréal's focus on the tombs, despite Margaret's requests to the contrary. Clashes over this as well as the details of the tombs between patron and artists would conribute in the eventual exit of both men from the project.

Finally in October 1511, Perréal wrote Margaret's secretary, Barangier, that the site for the church, where the old St. Pierre still stood, had been examined, and plans were

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[172] Bruchet, 1927, 192-93, no.11.
[173] Bruchet, 1927, 194, n.16.
[174] Bruchet, 1927, 196, n.25.
[175] Brou, les bâtisseurs ..., 76 ; Bruchet, 1927, 366.
[176] On July 14 & 15, 1510. Bruchet, 1927, 195-198, nos. 21-28, 366-67.
[177] Bruchet , 1927, 206, n.48

discussed *"faire ouvrage de fille d'empereur que pour aultre regard."*[178] Perréal states he has made a plan and a model that he has sent to Margaret by which she can see all "sizes, heights and lengths" of the proposed church. Perréal also states his wish for complete authority in the construction of the church: *"Je ne voudroie, en telle affaire que l'esglise, point estre garssonné ne gourmandé (outragé ni réprimandé), maiz avoir autorité à tout le moins de conduire les choses."*[179]

In November Lemaire travelled to Tours to meet with Colombe and discuss his involvement in Brou and on December 3, the near eighty-year-old Colombe signed a contract to make models of Perréal's designs. During his time in the Loire, Lemaire made a contract with Anne of Brittany to write a history of the House of Brittany. Upon hearing this, Margaret wrote Lemaire a sardonic letter in which she expressed her surprise that he had not told her of the problems his long trip to France would cause his work at Brou.[180] Considering as well the bad reports Margaret received from the monks of Lemaire's work at Brou, she had clearly decided Lemaire was not the man to continue the job.[181] Perréal, who himself had fallen out with Lemaire, was put in charge of Brou.[182]

At the end of March, 1512 Perréal was in Blois in his capacity as project supervisor to meet with Colombe. However, he failed to do what Margaret wanted most... begin the church. He was not liked at the building site and the craftsmen refused to follow his orders. Perréal himself wrote that the *"masson me blasme, disent que ne sais qu'un paintre."*[183] The hierarchy of the Bressan *chantier* had no place for a French painter, who Bruchet described as *"brillante...mais égoiste et, par certains côtés, bien peu sympathique."*[184] Perréal also had different ideas for Brou than Margaret. Both he and Lemaire had a particular vision of a "masterpiece" which, according to them, was grander

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[178] Bruchet , 1927, 209. Brou, les bâtisseurs..., 77.
[179] Brou, les bâtisseurs ... 77.
[180] Poiret, 1994, 74.
[181] Most scholars present Margaret's break with Lemaire, and later Perréal, as a mutual decision. Clashes over details of the tombs, the two men's unwillingness/inability to progress in the church construction contrary to Margaret's instructions, and a basic difference in the vision of Brou, meant that the collaboration was destined to failure. See Cahn, 56; Poiret, 1994, 70-75. Both men moved on to new projects while still engaged by Margaret so clearly must have seen the signs of their upcoming fall from grace. A. Carpino dismisses the above rational on the simplistic conclusion that Margaret engaged new artists for the sole reason that the Lemaire and Perréal decided to leave Margaret's service, ignoring the important details of the break. A. Carpino in Lawrence, 42.
[182] Cahn, 55-56.
[183] Poiret, 1994, 72.

than the concept of their patron.[185] The relationship was clearly dissatisfactory to all. In order to see real progress, Margaret needed a strong and respected overseer who would create Brou according to her vision. By July, Perréal was replaced.[186]

Margaret had obviously been looking for a replacement for some time as the same month, she sent a letter to her *maître de l'oeuvre* at Brou, Chivilliard, introducing a new master mason. She informs Chivilliard that she had communicated with,

> *...ung maistre maçon sur la construction de l'eglise que entendons faire en notre couvent de Brou, et luiavons fait montrer le patron et pourtret d'icelle eglise,sur quoy ledict maistre maçon a prins charge d'aller sur le lieu devans la fin du moys d'aoust pour veoir la place, regardé sur le fondemant et sçavoir et cognoistre quelz ouvriers et maistres maçons y trouvera sur le lieu et après que lui aura le tout veu et entendu, nous en fera le rapport et après marchief avec luy.*[187]

To the Augustinian brothers, she wrote telling them to soon expect the arrival of a new master mason, "*ung bon et éxperimenté maistre et des meilleurs qui soient par deça.*" She asks that they receive him "*bénignement*" and assist him every way necessary.[188] The "good and exerienced master" was Loys van Boghem and his arrival marks the beginning of the Brou we know today.[189]

2. Progress: the Flemish *Chantier* of Loys van Boghem

Loys van Boghem came from a family of masons from Brussels. Margaret no doubt knew of van Boghem's work in Brussels and Bruges, such as the Count of Nassau's residence in Brussels. Although he would devote most of the next twenty years to the direction of the *chantier* at Brou, he was also named chief of masonry for the Princes of Brabant and worked on projects such as the *Broodhuys* (King's House), the Grand Place

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[184] Bruchet, 1927, 154.

[185] Perréal expressed his opinion of Margaret's insufficiently grand vision of Brou in a January 4, 1511, letter to Barangier. He wrote of the potential high costs of the tomb plans that he feared would cause Margaret to pull back from the project. He continued in a manner meant to belittle his patron, that considering the cost that the French Queen had undertaken in the tombs he had made for her father, he thought it was a small amount. Poiret, 1994, 75.

[186] There is no record of his dismissal. It most likely happened sometime before July 20, 1512, the date of a letter written from Blois by Perréal to Margaret, in which he states, "*...je doubte (redoute) que pour le temps vous estes lasse de Jehan de Paris, tant par parolles raportées que aultrement...* ." Brou les bâtisseurs ..., 77; Bruchet, 1927, 224.

[187] The letter was written in August according to Bruchet but in July according to Poiret. Bruchet, 1927, 225, n.88; Poiret, 1994, 76.

[188] Poiret, 1994, 76.

[189] On van Boghem see, Finot, 1888.

in Brussels and probably Notre-Dame in Bourg-en-Bresse after the collapse of the church in 1514.[190]

Margaret's choice of the Brabantine van Boghem reflected the changes in Margaret's life since first beginning Brou. As Duchess of Savoy, she had had many Frenchmen in her service and it was a natural choice to make use of their talent at Brou. But by 1512, after five years as Regent of the Netherlands and tumultuous relations with France, her focus was on her Burgundian homeland. A new vision of Burgundy was emerging which maintained its pride and references to its Valois past, but also looked forward to its Habsburg future. This was a Burgundy without the Duchy of Burgundy and focused on the "pays par deca," the Netherlands. By bringing in a Netherlandish master mason, she brought her present, not just her Savoyard past, into Brou.

After an initial visit in August to examine the site, van Boghem returned in October 1512 with many proposed modifications to the church plans he had been given. He suggested that the church be moved further from the convent to have more light and space for the chapels and sacristies. He wished as well to make a splendid oratory and chapel for Margaret however, the plan to construct a new building for "Madame" to the north, next to her chapel (stipulated in the 1505 *prix-fait*) was to be abandoned in order to concentrate on the church. In its place van Boghem suggests Margaret's chambers be placed in the cloisters and then connected to her oratory and chapel by a system of above ground passages facilitated by a jubé. Margaret was informed that it was to be "a real work of art, for you (Margaret) will be able to descend from above the rood screen...into your chapel, from which you will see the high altar over your tomb."[191] The jubé is therefore being added as a convenience for Margaret's circulation in the church, not for liturgical reasons.[192] The change in plans for her residence also indicates that Brou had shifted in Margaret's mind from a principal residence, which would require a separate building, to an occasional one.[193]

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[190] Cahn, 58 ; Poiret, 1994, 76. After Brou's completion, van Boghem continued his work for the Habsburgs, doing several projects for Charles V.

[191] Reported in a letter from Barangier to Margaret, written before November 15, 1512. Bruchet 1927, 227, n.95. Also see Poiret, 1994, 79. Translation Tremayne, 299.

[192] Poiret, 1994, 79.

[193] A few years later, Margaret decided to retire to the Convent of the Annunciates in Bruges, which she founded in 1517. There she had a separate building completed as her residence. See Chapter 3.

When van Boghem returned to Mechelen in November, he presented Margaret with a revised plan for the church. Her approval is indicated by van Boghem's subsequent contract to complete Brou. Margaret wanted to avoid the problems she had had with Lemaire and Perréal and ensured that Van Boghem knew what was expected from him. His contract of June 1, 1513 stipulated that he should, "*construire et édiffier selon les pourtraictz que luy en avons baillé, sans delaisser ne habondonner lesdicys ouvraiges jusques ladicte église soit entièrement parfaicte de massonnerie.*"[194] The same "*pourtraictz*" were sent to Chivilliard (the *maître de l'oeuvre)* to allow him to verify that van Boghem kept to plan.[195] Van Boghem's contract stipulated that he could make two annual visits north to see to his affairs and, most importantly, to report to Margaret on progress made.[196] Van Boghem's reports along with those of her *maître de l'oeuvre*, the Augustinians, the Council of Bresse and envoys from Margaret's court, allowed Margaret to monitor and ultimately supervise the work she would never see.

Through all these changes, the cost of Brou continued to increase. The project had begun as a fairly modest venture, but from Margaret's decision to be buried at Brou, the cost rose and rose until finally all of the revenues from her Savoyard dowry went to the church's construction. According to the eighteenth-century chronicler, Father Raphaël, she paid 600 florins per year for the monks' upkeep, the annual revenue of the county of Villard (4000 florins) for the church construction proper, and another 8000 florins for other aspects of the church's completion.[197] But in reality it cost much more and the funds provided were augmented regularly. In 1514, the yearly budget was 10,000 florins. By 1517, it was 12,000, but this did not include the salary of Van Boghem, Conrad Meit and other masters, as well as occasional supplementary allotments for special projects.[198] The

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[194] Poiret, 1994, 79.
[195] Poiret, 1994, 79.
[196] The contract also gave van Boghem a good annual salary, compensation for the long time far from home and the dangers of the road, including a horse and the promise to pay his ransom if he was kidnapped. Bruchet 165, 229, nos. 103-104. In 1515, after realising that "*lesdicts ouvraiges dudict couvent de Brouz en sont fort retardéz et ne sont bien dresséz ne conduictz que en sa presence...,*" Margaret offered him a bonus if he would make the journey only once a year. Bruchet, 1927, 232, n.116
[197] Raphaël de la Vierge Marie (le Père), *Description historique de la belle église et du couvent royal de Brou....*, manuscript between 1692 and 1696, and between 1711 and 1715, Bibliothèque de la Société d'émulation de l'Ain, Bourg-en-Bresse. Quoted in Brou les bâtisseurs ...,19.
[198] For instance, in 1517, Margaret authorised her works master to buy oak for the construction and gave 200 ecus of gold for the wood above the annual budget. Brou les bâtisseurs...,19-20. Bruchet, 1927, 235, n.128.

high costs meant that funds often ran so short that it was feared the work site would have to close.[199] Only Margaret's serious dedication to the building's completion which dictated the strict and efficient organisation of the construction led the church to be finished in a remarkable twenty years.

Van Boghem was, unlike his predecessors, an efficient and capable manager. Although he had a reputation for rudeness, he knew how to handle his workers by appealing to their sense of pride, such as his praise of the Brou craftsmen's work as "très beau et bien ordonné" on his first visit.[200] Finally, progress would be made. In July 1513 the old church of St. Pierre was demolished and new foundations were dug. The Bishop of Maurienne, Louis de Gorrevod, witnessed the placing of the first stone of the new church.[201]

Work began on the choir, progressing west. Near the end of October 1515, in a letter to Margaret, the council of Bresse estimated that a quarter of the church was completed. The outer walls of the church had reached 22 feet (ca. 6.5m) and the choir 28 feet (ca. 8.5m), the tower had been constructed to the second level and Margaret's personal chapel and much of its sculptural decoration was "*presque entièrement taillée.*"[202] Van Boghem had originally foreseen the church's completion in five years but various problems, such as changes in the plans, occasional money shortages and Margaret's own personal problems relating to her loss of power (1515-18) made this impossible.[203] Still the project went forward.

A report on the progress of the work in July 1522 states that all sculptural work was well advanced, including work on the three tombs, the retable of the Seven Joys of the Virgin and some statuary for the exterior.[204] In the autumn 1523, the choir and transept were completed.[205] In 1526, the jubé was begun and the nave was partially roofed. A report made to Margaret's envoy in 1527 gives a complete description of work

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[199] For instance, in 1521, the Council of Bresse informed Margaret that they required an advance of funds or they would be forced to close the building site, greatly slowing progress, as they were short of funds. Brou les bâtisseurs..., 20. Bruchet, 1927, 238, 239, nos.140 & 142.
[200] Bruchet, 1927, 164.
[201] Bruchet, 1927, 230, n.107.
[202] Bruchet, 1927, 233, n.122 and Poiret, 1994, 83.
[203] This promise is quoted in a letter from Barangier to Margaret, November, 1512. Bruchet, 1927, 227, n.95.
[204] Bruchet, 1927, 239-40, n. 143.
[205] Letter from the Council of Bresse to Margaret. Bruchet, 1927, 240, n.145.

completed to that point. The choir, chapel and transept were vaulted. The nave was completely roofed, except the last bay, but still required much work to complete the vaulting. The nave chapels were roofed. The tower nearly completed "*bien richement et triomphaument avec ses clerevois, et ne reste que l'esguille*" to build, and for that they await Margaret's direction whether to make it in stone or wood.[206]

On 14 July, 1528, Van Boghem and Louis de Gleyrens reported to Margaret that they were "diligently working to see the finish of her church." The transept vaults and the choir chapels were almost finished. The nave vaulting was in progress but the portal was not yet complete although its statuary was well advanced. Only the upper part of the facade, the jubé, and minor decorative and constructional elements were yet to be concluded.[207] Clearly progress was not going quite fast enough for Margaret as in February 1529, she made van Boghem an offer of 500 pounds if he could complete the plans in 30 months.[208]

But this was not soon enough for Margaret died on November 30, 1530, never having seen the church to which she had devoted so much time, attention and money. Brou was officially consecrated on 22 March 1532, and Margaret's body was laid to rest there soon after. Several details remained to be completed and would not be so until 1548.[209]

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[206] Bruchet, 1927, 244-45, n.155.
[207] Bruchet, 1927, 246-47, n.159.
[208] Bruchet, 1927, 248-49, n.166.
[209] Poiret, 1994, 84.

II. The Final Result

With the work of close to four hundred artisans from Savoy, France, the Low Countries, Italy and Germany, Brou was a cosmopolitan creation. With such a melange of collaborators, one would expect a less harmonious structure but Brou is particularly whole. Although outside of major centres and trade routes, Brou nevertheless attracted the attention and praise of contemporaries. Even before Brou was complete, Lemaire informed Margaret that her father and the French King and Queen had all heard of her project and were impressed.[210] A poem, dated 1531, was formerly found inscribed in the sanctuary of Brou. Written by Antoine de Saix, it enumerates the Antique marvels of the world, all of them surpassed, it is said, by "*l'oeuvre parfaite de Marguerite.*"[211] Brantôme (1517-1614) named Brou "one of the most beautiful and superb edifices in Christendom."[212] Guillaume Paradin, in his *Chronique de Savoie* (1560), wrote that Brou was,

> *...le plus superbe et triomphant bâtiment et la plus plaisante structure (pour une oeuvre à la moderne* [i.e. Gothic]*) qui soit en Europe. Et peut être compté cet édifice entre les miracles de beauté que l'on puisse aujourd'hui choisir de l'oeil.*[213]

Paradin also relates Francis I's visit to Brou in October 1, 1541. Filled with admiration, Francis said "he had never seen a sanctuary of such excellence."[214] As late as the early eighteenth-century, Piganiol de la Force wrote that *"le plus habiles architectes ont souvent fait un détour pour examiner ce chef d'oeuvre."*[215]

But even with such effusive praise, Brou never received the greatest of all compliments, that of imitation. Brou was never copied. The reason why may be found in Brou's remarkably personal and unique nature. A close examination of form, placement and composition reveals a peerless structure....as peerless as its patron. To understand Brou's genuine but unrepeatable charm for the sixteenth-century viewer, one must first examine the extant structure taking into consideration changes and alterations since its inception.

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[210] Bruchet, 1927, 159, 212.
[211] Cahn, 61.
[212] Brantôme, *Dames galantes*, Paris, 1787, III, 176-77.
[213] Poiret, 1994, 122.
[214] Bruchet, 1927, 440. Translation in Tremayne, 300-301.
[215] Poiret, 1994, 122.

A. Completion of the Monastery

While plans for the church and tombs were under discussion, on the building site, work on the monastic cloisters continued. The basic stonework was completed in 1507. Work continued and by September 1512, Margaret's coats of arms were placed on the structure and soon after, twelve Augustinians took up residence.[216]

The convent (Figs. 11 and 12) consisted of three two-story cloisters, each functioning in the organisation of life at the monastery. The first cloister formed a connection between the outside world and the cloistered world. It is connected to the church's south portal and has an external door to the west. To the west side is found,

> *...l'appartement de la princesse, qui consiste en huit chambres, quatre en bas pour les domestiques, quatre en haut pour elle et pour ses dames..., en gallerie par laquelle elle pouvoit aller directement à plein pied et à couvert de ses chambres à son oratoire dans l'église.*[217]

There was also a *Salle des Etats* to the south side where Margaret could attend to the business of governing her territories and receiving official visitors. The only space devoted solely to monastic concerns in the first cloister were the chapter house and the sacristy found on the east side. The design reflected the secular concerns of the monastery. Margaret had planned to live here after her retirement, and although never used, the plan reflects her original intentions for Brou as the residence of a devout but politically active woman.

Although Margaret had appropriated much of the first cloister for herself, the other two were left to the Augustinian brothers' use. The second or "*grand cloître*" was for the monks' meditation and housed another chapter house, a dispensary and the refectory. Some of the monks' cells as well as Margaret's "*Salle des Etats*" overlooked the cloister. The third cloister provided for the worldly needs of the monks and included a kitchen, an infirmary and a prison.

The first two cloisters are in a Gothic style. On the ground floor of both cloisters, pointed arch arcades with rib vaults open onto the courtyard. Small buttresses support the arcades and their moulded piers are similar to those in the church. High sloping, tiled

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[216] Bruchet, 1927, 150.
[217] According to Père Raphaël. Quoted in Poiret, 1994, 56.

roofs top both cloisters. In the first, rectangular cloister, the upper story is an arcaded gallery to the north and west (which provided a passage between Margaret's personal chambers and the church) and mullioned windows to the east and the south. The monk's entrance to the church is on the east end of the north arcade. The second cloister is a square, with seven arcades on each side, second floor galleries to the south and west sides and mullion windows to the north and east.

Decoration is limited to simple sculpture (as indicated in the original plans) and is attributed to a local artisan, Thibault Landry. Arch supports display various figures, floral motifs and shields and, on the rectangular frames of principal doors is found decorative sculpture of both secular and religious themes. In the first cloister religious symbols include an angel with cross across from the entrance to the church, a Christ figure blessing and a monk with a book. On the northern entrance to the second cloister one finds two fish and the cross of St Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy. Other more secular references to the monastery's patron and prospective resident are found throughout the first and second cloisters with Margaret's signature marguerites (daisies) (Fig. 13) and small shields that would have carried her arms. Marguerites are even found in the sacristy.

The third cloister is done in a simple Bressan manner, adapting local style to correspond to its practical usage. The floor is covered with large stones, called *bressans*, often used in local architecture. The ground floor arcade has simple octagonal columns and supports the high upper galleries and a covered well is in the centre courtyard. Here, in this utilitarian space, no political or religious symbols are to be found.

The entire monastery had over 5000 square metres of rooms, galleries and corridors for twelve monks and a few lay brothers, in all around twenty inhabitants. The impressive size, the harmonious proportions and the richness of the monastery reflected the intention of creating a truly royal foundation. Jean Perréal wrote to Margaret that, "the building already completed is so large and magnificent that I do not know what will be said, except that the monks are worthier than God of being sumptuously housed."[218] The Augustinians appear to have agreed with him, comparing it to the buildings of ancient

[218] "*...le logis jà fait est sy grant et sy mannifique, disait un connaisseur, je ne scaey que l'on dira, sinon que religieux sont plus dignes que Dieu d'estre sumptueusement logés.*" Dated January 11, 1511. Bruchet, 1927, 150. Translation from Poiret, 2000, 23.

Rome, "*tanto he splendido e glorioso*," an interesting comment on what is basically a Late Gothic monastery.[219] They were also satisfied that they had the guaranteed support of the Regent, who provided their living costs as well as gaining indulgences from the Pope for the church and its visitors. Margaret also donated several relics given to her by the Pope to the church, attracting pilgrims and encouraging the development of a cult of St. Nicolas.[220]

In return, the brothers gave Margaret prayers and the devotion of the Order. A monk wrote her; "You have planted a good tree. The fruit is yours and we are your gardeners." The Order wrote to her during a difficult time in the war with the Duke of Guelders to tell her that they would fight Guelders for her with their prayers day and night until death.[221] This loyal Order would maintain her good name in Savoy as well as promoting Margaret's agenda in the region, acting as part of her network of representatives. They would keep her informed not only of the progress of the church, but also of happenings in the region.

The construction of a well-endowed monastery was also to the locals' benefit. Bourg-en-Bresse, a small town of about 4000 inhabitants off the main trade routes, benefited greatly as the construction created employment and kept the money from Margaret's Savoy dowry in the territory. Brou also developed into a pilgrimage site thanks to Margaret's endowments. She also aided the town in other fashions, such as building a new plague house outside the city.[222] Margaret's image was that of a great benefactress, and this period would be viewed as an *age d'or* for Bresse.[223] Margaret's associations with prosperity and stability and the construction of a religious convent maintained her, and thus Habsburg influence in the strategically positioned Duchy of Savoy.[224]

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[219] Bruchet, 1927, 150.
[220] Poiret, 1994, 64.
[221] Bruchet, 1927, 151.
[222] Baux, 175-77.
[223] Turrel, 161-3.
[224] Her good relationship with the populace was important. Savoy had already experienced peasant revolts, the most serious in Faucigny in 1492 which had to be put down by the Ducal army. P. Guichonnet, ed. Histoire de la Savoie (Toulouse, 1988), 218.

B. The Church:

1. Exterior: A Public Statement of Authority and Splendour

a. Façade

The church of St. Nicolas of Tolentino at Brou was constructed from east to west, the façade (Fig. 14) the very last part to be finished.[225] However, the average viewer's experience of the church is the opposite, and begins with the façade and progresses eastward. The façade of Brou is constructed from all embracing geometric figures with squares, triangles and circles interacting to create its basic form. At its most fundamental level, it consists of modular squares topped by triangles. Liaisons link the modular forms: the bell arch links the top square to the bottom;[226] the "flying buttresses" link the sides to centre; buttresses create vertical links. All is done in perfect symmetry. Brou's façade could be folded as a book and match perfectly, each form having its mirror image.

The fenestration and portal at once lighten the thick wall and emphasize it. The portal's multiple, recessing jambs, created by the buttresses' projecting thickness, create a vortex drawing the viewer in (Fig. 15). Windows are paired with their opposing twin or fold back upon themselves in symmetry. No two pairs of windows are the same, each with a different form and tracery. The windows are a balance of symmetry with contradiction and contrast, creating a singular architectural vocabulary.

The tripartite centre grows from a deep, recessed portal, to a comparatively shallow presentation balcony, to a flat surfaced gable. The multiple layers of the first level give way to a three or four layered wall surface on the second (consisting of a base wall, tracery, first framing arch and second framing arch) to a carved out single wall on the scalloped gable. Finials, crockets and minaret-like turrets offset the relative simplicity of the gable, creating continuity with the rest of the building. The two balustraded balconies create an impressive architectural stage, functioning in the visual articulation of the façade and in the performance of the building. This tripartite formal division into portal, window and gable recalls the French-type cathedral transepts of buildings such as

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[225] The façade was not complete until well after the church's consecration. As late as 1535 the monks wrote the executors of Margaret's will that the façade was yet to be completed. Poiret, 1994, 84.

[226] These links are also formed between exterior and interior as the elliptical arch of the portal is echoed in jubé.

Amiens and Prague,[227] but in detail and articulation it is thoroughly "*moderne*," that is, contemporary Brabantine.

Two "flying buttresses" spring so forcefully from the centre that they seem to create an indentation in the triangular aisle gables. As in response to this blow, the gable windows are compressed forming identical half windows. The intersection of the buttress also gives an impression of a symmetrical mistake, that somehow the windows could not be finished for structural reasons.

This interaction between repetition and difference in form and detail, and the spatial expression of surface and depth, create the experience of the facade. Balance and symmetry play off contrast and contradiction, even seeming error. There is a sense of massing of detail, as if basic forms were elaborated by the adding of detail layers.

Sculptural decoration is applied over the surface of the façade in a relatively sparse yet precise manner. The highest density of decoration is on the central lower level. The tracery above the portals stands before the surface attached by stone pins (Fig. 16). St. Nicolas of Tolentino stands on the trumeau between the doors, recalling the church's dedication (Fig. 17). Other figures and symbols on the portal tell of other aspects of the church's dedication (Fig. 18). The mouldings of the door jambs and archivolts contain purposefully sparse ornament. There are emblematically applied intertwined P and M's, marguerites, the cross of St. Andrew, foliage and tracery, all of which stand away from the wall surface. The tympanum scene is recessed into the wall like a stage with Margaret and Philibert acting out a religious ritual; they kneel below architectural canopies, accompanied by four shield bearing angels and are presented to the *Ecco homo* by their patron saints, St. Margaret and St. Nicolas of Tolentino. The personal crests of the Duke and Duchess are placed beneath them, Philibert's being his usual enigmatic motto "FERT"[228] while Margaret uses the very Burgundian cross and brick of St. Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy. Above the tympanum, St. Andrew also tops the delicate,

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[227] This comparison is noted by B. Arciszewska, "The Church of Sint Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch: Defining Boundaries of Patronage in Late Medieval Netherlandish Architecture," in The Search for the Patron in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, eds. D. Wilkins & R. Wilkins (Lewiston/Queenton/Lampeter, 1996), 94-95.

[228] "FERT" was an ancient Savoyard motto. Although many theories have been put forth, its exact meaning remains uncertain. Poiret, 1994, 118. A plausible explanation associates it with the Savoyard order, the Order of the Annunciates. A summary of what is known of the motto is given in Baux, 162-164, n. 1.

crocketed, bell arch, marking the centre of the ceremonial balcony and the unofficial secondary dedication of the church to the patron saint of Burgundy.

The second level starts with a balustrade of "rolling" tracery circles which front a deep balcony, entered by a doorway to the south side. The backdrop is of three tracery windows (Fig. 19). Two blind, lancet two-part windows flank a single functional, drop arch, four-part window. The side windows' tracery is freestanding, casting a shadow on the backing wall. Moulded arches frame all three windows: the central window by a compressed arch and the flanking windows by equilateral arches, all of which spring from shared applied pilasters.

This geometric virtuosity continues to the upper gable. Teardrop tracery flows across the balcony's balustrade. Above, the gable's scalloped edges echo the slightly curved lines of the three tracery triangles that orbit a central circle. These windows are non-functional, as are the two, side-aisle, gable windows. Out of the thirteen windows on the façade, only five are functional suggesting the impetus for such a display of geometric virtuosity was symbolic rather than practical.

Ornament is distinctive, purposeful and hierarchical. The density of ornament on the portal clearly articulates the building's function and status not simply as a monastic church but as a ceremonial ducal church, part of the ritual of rulership.[229] The tripartite division which becomes lighter and more delicate as it rises, further reflects contemporary social division: the multi-layered earthly portal, the more rarefied and elevated space of rulership and topping all, the celestial realm.

As the principal face of the building, it is charged with meaning, the play of difference projecting Margaret's desired message. The multiple layers of meaning find expression in the recessing surfaces and varied window shapes which change as often as contemporary political alliances. The tripartite frame creates a structural hierarchy that holds many disparate parts within, each represented in the apparent architectural disjunction of pieces such as the flying buttresses or differing tracery patterns. The irregularity tells of compromise and imperfections but it also expresses the definitive control of the building's creator, for this unorthodox, even chaotic, façade is underlain

[229] On the hierarchy of architectural ornament, see E.M. Kavaler, "Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Use of Ornament," Art Bulletin LXXXII, n.2 (June 2000): 226-51.

with symmetry and order. The surface disunity suggests something exciting, dynamic and potentially dangerous but it is ultimately controlled by a judicious application of equilibrium. It is a delicate balance of harmony and disunity, much like the precise diplomatic balance Margaret was so adept at negotiating, or like the Habsburg Empire itself, comprised of many lands, languages and peoples under the rule of one family, who themselves represent and identify with different parts of their Empire.

In this light, the façade emerges as a representation of Margaret's negotiated place in the world, or rather, in her family's dynastic House. One could imagine Margaret examining the design with van Boghem, altering a form here, a line there, until she achieved a result to her liking. Margaret's world of negotiated rule and diplomacy in a far-flung Empire run by family members with often-conflicting goals is embodied by the façade. In it she achieves a balance of disparate units, like a fine tuned treaty, reflecting a desired political reality in architecture: the public façade of the dynastic House of Margaret of Austria.

b. Body of the Church

The side aisles reflect the interior chapels with the large clear glass tracery windows separated by buttresses (Fig. 20). The window tracery delineates five tall windows topped by tracery of overlapping circles holding trefoil forms. Father Raphaël's description of the body of the church in the early eighteenth-century notes that;

> *... on compte déjà le nombre des chapelles par celui des pavillons; celui-ci par des murailles couvertes de pierre de taille qui s'élèvent au dessus du couvert environ un pied, et qui ornées à la pointe d'un beau fleuron et sur les deux remparts de gros bouillons en forme d 'amortissement.*[230]

This is confirmed by the earliest image of Brou in the "*Carte générale de Bresse*" (1607) (Fig. 21). Father Raphaël also notes that the buttresses held a shield that bore the Duchess's coats of arms.

The north transept is dedicated to St. Augustine in reference to the patron saint of the Augustinian Order. The transept portal follows similar themes to the West façade: double, recessed portal with a variant of the bell arch, tri-level elevation with presentation balconies before windows, framed by projecting buttresses, with a triangular gable, again

[230] Poiret, 1994, 87. The side chapels appear to have been lowered which alters the perception of the roof transition.

with unusual fenestration, a single triangular window topped by a circular window with an unusual applied tracery arch dividing the two. This tripartite formal division into portal, window and gable once again recalls French-type cathedral transepts yet with the detail and articulation of "*moderne*" Brabant style.

The south transept portal has a similar tripartite elevation and is connected to the first cloister (which blocks its full view) (Fig. 22). It is dedicated to Augustine's mother, Saint Monica, the ideal Christian mother and the patron saint of widows, an appropriate saint for the Augustinian Order as well as a reference to the life of the church's patron. Trumeau figures of Augustine and Monica were carved by the Brou workshop but have since disappeared. To the east of the north transept is the Gorrevod chapel, Margaret's oratory (indicated by two pointed arch windows on two levels) and her chapel. To the east of the south transept is the tower and a Chapel dedicated to St Apollonia.

The half circle of the choir (Fig. 23) is divided into five segments of long, thin stained glass windows separated by narrow, deep buttresses. Its peaked roof is echoed in the north and south chapels' square peaks, forming a similar triangular form as the facade.

c. Roof

Father Raphaël wrote that "*le couvert est à la française, extrêmement haut, droit et aigu...elle est couverte de tuiles plates à crochets, vernissées, plombées et peintes de plusieus couleurs, lesquelles étant arrangées avec méthode....*"[231] The original roof had been even more impressive as in 1548 Charles V had colours and decorations, "*...d'or fin en feuille, azur et aultres couleurs...,*" added to the roof and to various details.[232] So precious were these additions, they were plundered by French soldiers in 1557, who even took the water gutters.[233] The roof today, the result of a recent restoration, is single-pitched and covered with a pattern of red ochre, brown, yellow and dark green tiles.[234] It recalls other near contemporary roofs such as the Habsburg's St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna, the Burgundian Chancellor Rolin's Hotel-Dieu in Beaune and the roof of the

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[231] Poiret, 1994, 87.
[232] Bruchet, 1927, 259,n.190.
[233] Bruchet, 1927, 260, n.193.
[234] The roof's present state is the result of a 1996-99 restoration. A faulty drainage system had led to problems and the roof was remade in 1557 and again in 1759, when it took a plain mansard form. On the restoration see : Pallot, 1996 and Brou, les bâtisseurs..., 62-67.

Duke of Burgundy's palace in Dijon.[235] This precious, colourful roof united the varied elements of the exterior, consolidating its jewel-like aspect, almost like a giant reliquary, under a brilliant symbol of both the Habsburg and Burgundian aspects of Margaret's heritage.

d. Tower

The tower was originally to be placed above the transept crossing but was changed to its present placement, east of the north transept, by van Boghem on the request of the monks. Van Boghem had planned to top the square, angle buttressed tower with a wooden spire but Margaret intervened, stating that she preferred something more Imperial with symbols of the "world" and "crown" of the Caesars.[236] As a result, the tower, designed to bear the weight of a wooden summit, was completed by a stone dome in the form of a crown, topped by a lantern cupola, a globe and a cross, no longer extant today (Fig.7). Clearly Margaret's word was final when it came to Brou's design, even when her decision was not structurally sound.[237]

This Imperial symbol of spiritual and global power was a device used by the Habsburgs, architecturally referring to Charlemagne's crown-topped church in Aachen, and other Habsburg structures, such as St Stephen's in Vienna (completed 1433). Margaret's desire for an Imperial crown on Brou also reflects yet another dedicatory aspect to hereditary Habsburg Imperial power of church and state. Was she not the daughter, surrogate mother and aunt of Emperors?

2. Interior

The interior is designed around its liturgical and aristocratic functions and as such, creates space in relation to its public, clerical and aristocratic uses.

a. Public Space:

(1) Nave, Aisles, Jubé

The nave (Fig. 24, 25 and 26) has four modular bays flanked by two aisles and eight shallow chapels. The two-storied nave consists of an arcade and clerestory with

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[235] On the colour roofs of Burgundy see, Frédéric-Olivier Didier, "*Les couvertes en tuiles vernissées en Bourgogne, Quelque experiences récentes*," Monumental n.15 (*décembre* 1996): 70-77.

[236] Bruchet, 1927, 178.

[237] The heavier than originally planned summit caused structural problems from the beginning. The stone dome was finally destroyed in the mid 17th-century and replaced by a lighter wooden version as the tower

passageway, an elevation used frequently in late fifteenth century Brabantine churches, such as Notre-Dame de la Chapelle in Brussels.[238] The clerestory windows are framed by pointed, moulded ribs, echoing the framed windows on the façade.

Each pier has a complicated polygonal base in a series of thin colonnettes and deep mouldings. The pier's thick trunk rises without interruption into the nave arcade and across forming a thick transverse arch (Fig. 27). Diagonal ribs emerge from the sides of the transverse ribs. Two additional tiercerons emerge from between the transverse and diagonals ribs in the four corners of each bay and are joined to the central keystone by four additional . The results are stellar vaults with five pendant keystones. The unusual, asymmetrical precision of the vaults continues the theme of delicate balances (and imbalances) seen in the façade. This star vaulting was used in many Habsburg structures as part of the staging of Imperial ceremony.[239] These vaults formed a complex cosmos (often elaborately painted) over the head of spectators, reminding them of the all-encompassing expanse of the Empire. And below their feet, was a floor of monochrome, faience tiles in a similar colour range as the roof: ochre brown, green and red. No longer extant, the tiles were described by Father Raphaël in the eighteenth-century as covering the nave up to the lateral chapels and the transept.[240]

The shallow side chapels are divided by moulded piers, similar to those of the nave. (Fig. 28) The aisle and chapel vaulting are simplified versions of the stellar vaults of the nave. Each chapel contains a five-paneled window with clear glass and flamboyant tracery within the arch. The only stained glass is a small lozenge containing a small motif in grisaille and golden yellow, of either an intertwined M and P or the cross and plane of St Andrew. The clerestory windows have three panels, flamboyant tracery and clear glass. The natural light against the warm-toned stone creates a golden glow and stresses the open space. These simple windows were part of Margaret's conception of Brou as she

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was in danger of collapse. The entire top was destroyed in 1794 when the region was ordered to destroy all church towers. Poiret, 1994, 86.

[238] Noted in M. Buyle, Architecture gothique en Belgique (Bruxelles, 1997), 89; Poiret & Nivière, 65; and Bruchet, 1927, 165.

[239] The vaults were used by Peter Parler in Prague cathedral and are found in several other churches with imperial connections, such as St. Stephen's, Vienna and Sint Jan, 'S-Hertogenbosch. Arciszewska, 93-94.

[240] Poiret, 1994, 112.

refused to allow a sponsor of an aisle chapel to insert their arms in the chapel window, permitting their arms only on their tomb.[241]

The west wall (Fig. 29) is plain with two doors, a balustrade and a four-paneled, part clear, part stained glass tracery window. Opposite this wall, marking the border of the nave is a jubé of three segmental arches (Fig. 30).[242] The side arches open into niches with altars, while the central arch frames the compressed arch door (itself topped by an open tracery tympanum) leading to the choir. Flamboyant tracery dominates the jubé with undulating ogival tracery and crown-like finials overlapping the balustrade and curvilinear tracery suspended from the arches. The underside of the jubé is elaborately vaulted with embellished bosses. P and M's run along the lower ridge of the balustrade and marguerites along the upper. The statues now placed on the ornate balustrade are believed to have been originally from the exterior of the church. The predominantly flamboyant Gothic jubé is supported by four classical-rectangular piers, although the applied round pilasters on the east side integrate the Renaissance forms into the whole structure.

The jubé marks the line dividing the public space of the nave and the more ornate and privileged space of the choir. The jubé was incorporated into the design not only for liturgical reasons but also as a display of privilege, functioning as a passageway from Margaret's chambers to her oratory and chapel.[243] The nave is impressive but is sparsely adorned in comparison to the choir. The jubé was a physical and symbolic marker of society's boundaries, articulated through the varying intensity of detail, ornament and virtuosity. For a spectator in the nave (Fig. 31), the greater part of the choir's ornamentation would be blocked from view, although enough would be visible to suggest the privilege and power associated with such splendour.[244]

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[241] Colvin, Architecture and the After Life (New Haven, 1991), 185 & Bruchet, 1927, 248, n.165.
[242] The concept of the division of nave and choir by a jubé was fashionable around the turn of the 16th-century. Albi (1500), Troyes (1508-16) and King's College, Cambridge (c.1508) all have jubés from this time. Bialostocki, L'Art du XVe siècle des Parler à Dürer (Paris 1993), 314-16. However, Brou's jubé is closer in composition to slightly earlier Flemish models, such as St Pierre at Louvain. Poiret & Nivière, 65.
[243] See above section on construction, or Poiret, 1994, 79.
[244] From the nave a spectator could see: a person crossing the jubé; the windows of the south transept depicting the story of Suzanne and the elders; the image of Christ and the doubting Thomas in the Gorrevod Chapel; the upper clerestory of the chevet which contains Margaret and Philibert's various coats of arms and Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene; and, with the doors of the jubé open, the tomb of Philibert.

The overall effect of the nave is of an elegant arching space and light hewn from the pale yet solid stone. It does not have a Gothic sense of soaring height and thinning wall but instead a sensation of encompassing space, like a barrel vault, and of great solidity with thick piers and recession used to emphasise, rather than disguise, the thickness of the wall. The decorative and architectural articulation are used in conjunction with the flow of lines and space, not breaking them, but participating in the forming of the space. The basic architectural vocabulary of the nave is Brabantine Late Gothic with Imperial architectural quotation. However, the application of these forms and their contrasting and complementing sense of space and solidity suggest a grammar, or application, strongly influenced by "antique" ideas of space and harmonious proportion. The classical piers of the jubé hint at an underlining influence of Italian Renaissance principles in the nave space. Is this the Italian influence spoken of in relation to Perreal and Lemaire's designs filtered through the Brabantine Late Gothic of Van Boghem? Possibly. However, the one constant in Brou's construction was Margaret, a woman whose court was the first to promote the "antique" style of the south in the Netherlands. If we consider other arts being produced around Margaret's court at the time Brou's design's were being finalised (c. 1512) we find many images mixing Late Gothic and Renaissance motifs. For example Jan Gossaert's "St. Luke Painting the Virgin and Child" (Fig. 32) presents very traditional Virgin and Child in a classical architectural superstructure with some Late Gothic details. In the background (drawn with Renaissance principles of perspective) is a flamboyant Gothic font and church. Gossaert signs his work on the belt of St. Luke indicating what we would think of as a Renaissance artist's self-awareness.[245]

Margaret's knowledge of various artistic styles, considering her experiences of several royal courts, would equal or surpass her controllers and master masons and coupled with the confidence/arrogance of a blue-blooded ruler, her choices and instructions were most likely the source of the blending of styles.

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[245] This painting was made for the painter's guild for their chapel in St. Rombout, Mechelen (ca. 1513-15). Gossaert had been to Italy with Philip of Burgundy in 1508 & was one of the first Netherlandish artists (along with Bernard van Orley) to incorporate Renaissance architecture and ideas into his art. R. Tijs, Architecture renaissance et baroque en Belgique (Brussels, 1999), 16-17.

b. Privileged Space:

(1) Clergy: Monks' Choir, Stalls, Chevet

In the choir (Fig. 33), the clerestory and star vaults follow the same design as those in the nave. However, the arcade is half filled by thick walls against which stand seventy-four choir stalls. Occupying two bays, the stalls were carved between 1530-32 by the local artisan, Pierre Terrason from Flemish designs. The misericords have a variety of genre and allegorical scenes while above, under elaborate carved canopies, are scenes from the Old (north side) and New Testaments (south side). The open galleries above the stalls are fronted by a balustrade of the same design as that in the nave.

The east side of the jubé (Fig. 34) features three compressed arches springing from classical looking pilasters (as on the west side), but here the spandrel and lintel decoration is more like relief carving as opposed to the projecting flamboyant tracery of the opposite side, giving an impression of classical influence. The décor consists of intertwined P and M's, shields (now blank), marguerites, the symbols of St Andrew and a knotted rope, a symbol of the House of Savoy.[246]

The chevet has five bays, each with narrow, two-paneled windows from which spring ribbed vaulting. The windows rest upon five, articulated, compressed arch niches. The deep, double mouldings around the windows contain marguerites and the cross and plane of St. Andrew applied in a similar manner as those on the façade archivolts. Similarly, Margaret's motto ("Fortune infortune fort une") is repeated on the bottom ridge of each window (Fig. 35). On the piers between the windows are diamond-shaped shields with the same motto below, yet another ornamental architectural element referring to Margaret.

The style of the chevet is similar to several Flemish churches, such as the Ducal court church of Notre-Dame de Sablon in Brussels. It is also comparable to that of the private chapel of the Dukes of Savoy, the Sainte-Chapelle in the Ducal Palace at Chambéry, which had been built by Duke Amedée VIII (1408 - c.1427) and was known

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[246] C. de Mérindol, "*Le décor emblematique et les vitraux armoriées du convent St Nicolas de Tolentino à Brou*," Revue françaises d'heraldique et de sigillographie 64 (1994): 157. Others have interpreted the knot as a widow's knot or a lover's knot. Poiret and Nivière, 61. Although temptingly appropriate, the heraldic meaning of the knots must dominate. The knot is also found in a 1502 coin made to celebrate Philibert and Margaret's joyous entry into Bourg. Marguerites and knotted ropes dot the background of profile portraits of Philibert and Margaret. A reproduction of the coin is found in Poiret, 1994, 20.

as the most splendid in Savoy.[247] Brou's chevet echoes the basic forms of Sainte-Chapelle and improves upon them. At Sainte-Chapelle, the niches are flat, without articulation, and were most likely draped with tapestries.[248] Its stained glass, which portrays images of Christ's passion with only one Savoyard emblem at the base of the centre window, is an undistinguished display of lineage when compared to Brou's elaborate emblematic stained glass display setting out its patron's impressive lineage (see below, "Stained Glass"). The architectural quotation of ducal Savoy both blends Brou into its local landscape and emphasises the superiority of Margaret's version.

The overall effect of the chevet, while in stylistic harmony with the nave, is much more complex and visually astounding. The details of the vaulting ribs are more elaborate than in the nave and hold multi-coloured keystones of a myriad of Margaret's motifs. The vaulting was originally given an elegant coating of pink and white plaster depicting mock stone masonry.[249] Even the floor of the chevet (and that of Margaret's chapel) was originally covered with faience tiles in tones of blue, yellow and white made by a Lyon artisan, François de Canarin, from Italian Renaissance models. A few examples of the original faience floor can still be seen at the base of the tombs (Fig. 36). The floor pattern was a repetition of four hexagonal tiles decorated with interlaced boughs that surrounded a uniquely decorated square tile. Some portrayed historical or contemporary figures (such as Cleopatra or a Charles V-looking man), others held images of arms, mottoes (i.e. "memento mori") emblems (i.e. marguerites) or musical instruments.[250]

The choir's original colour scheme: multi-coloured tile floor, off white and black tombs, red-orange stalls, the pink and white plaster vaults and the yellow, red, blue and green of the windows, combined with the profuse decorative detail, would have created a dazzling effect in the afternoon sun. It was a truly splendid space for the rituals of worship, display and remembrance.

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[247] Brondy, 407-12.

[248] In the 19th-century, the niches were painted to resemble sculptural articulation in a similar manner as at Brou. This relatively modern decoration has been mistakenly presented as contemporary to Sainte-Chapelle's construction (see Brondy, 407-412) and I only discovered this mistake upon visiting Chambery in May, 1997. The *trompe l'oeil* was removed in the 1960's and the walls remain plain today.

[249] Poiret, 2000, 49.

[250] See "Le pavement de Brou, XVIe siècle," in Image du pouvoir, pavements de faïence en France du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle (Paris, 2000), 112-47.

(2) Functionaries and Nobles: Chapels

The Chapel of Laurent de Gorrevod, governor of Bresse and Margaret's counsellor at Malines, opens from the north arm of the transept, and the Chapel of Abbot Antoine de Montécuto, her chaplain and confessor, opens to the south. These chapels are placed between Margaret's space (choir) and that of the public (nave), a symbolic reflection of their roles as Margaret's representatives to her populace. Both chapels' stained glass (see section on stained glass) have images of their patrons and of Christ resurrected, in keeping with the church's role as mausoleum. The window tracery of the Gorrevod chapel contains tear drop and flame-like forms with a flowering finial centred in a circle, which echoes the circular forms of the transept gable and side aisles.

The Gorrevod chapel contained the tombs and bronze effigies of Laurent Gorrevod and his wife, Claudine de Rivoire which were destroyed in the French Revolution.[251] The Montécuto chapel is dedicated to Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, balancing the Seven Joys found in Margaret's chapel on the north side. The Abbot's tomb has also disappeared. The only other item that may have been intended for the chapels was a triptych of the crucifixion (Fig. 37, a and b), commissioned for Brou from Bernard Van Orley by Margaret.[252] This dramatic crucifixion scene contained a portrait of the widow Margaret emerging from the clouds beneath Christ's right arm. She is portrayed as a personification of Charity and surrounded by four naked children, a reference to her role as guardian to her four nieces and nephew. Its exact intended location is uncertain, as it was incomplete at Margaret's death and remained in the Netherlands on the order of Charles V.[253] However, regarless of where it was placed, the image of Margaret as Charity (as well as the multitude of Habsburg arms on the outer panels) would further emphasize Margaret's importance at Brou.

Another chapel is found to the south of the chevet. Dedicated to St Apollonia, it is sometimes called the Prince's chapel as Charles III, Duke of Savoy, may have been its sponsor.[254] For years, Charles III had wavered between alliances with the French and the Habsburgs until finally, after the French were defeated at Pavia in 1525, he sided with the

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[251] Bruchet, 1927, 180.
[252] F. Mathey, Brou (Paris, 1978), 42.
[253] Poiret, 1927, 47.
[254] Mérindol, 155.

Habsburgs. As a result of these improved relations Charles III felt secure enough to request a chapel at Brou in August of 1528. He did not however feel certain enough to make the request directly to Margaret but made it indirectly through an Augustinian, Paul de Dronero.[255] The following month Margaret requested Dronero to chose a location for the chapel.[256] However, no further mention is made of the request.[257] Therefore it is not clear if the chapel was sponsored by the Duke. The St Apollonia chapel had in fact been nearly finished, complete with Margaret's symbols on the keystones, in 1527, a year before the Duke's request.[258] The Duke could have been offered the completed chapel as his own, but may have rejected it for a variety of reasons. The Duke would obviously wish a chapel in the privileged area of the choir. However, the chapel provided little opportunity for public display as it was placed to the side, behind the tower, accessed through the monk's passage from the monastery and by a single door leading into the choir. The chapel did have a clear view of the architecture of the chevet, but the quotation of the Duke's own chapel in Chambéry heavily overlaid with all the symbols of Margaret of Austria's power would not have been pleasing. In all, the relatively isolated position of the St. Apollonia chapel and the references to Margaret would emphasise Charles III's secondary position to the Duchess and may explain the absence of the Duke's name in further documentation.

(3) Royal: Oratory, Passageway, Chapel, Stained Glass, Tombs and Tapestries

(a) Oratory and Passageway

One of Brou's many functions was as a place of worship for its patron. Van Boghem devised a two-storied personal oratory north of the monk's choir, west of the Duchess's Chapel. (Fig. 38 and 39) A spiral staircase connects the two stories. The lower room contains a fireplace (a significant luxury) flanked by two ornamented niches, a P and M to the left and a blank shield to the right. Undulating arches form blind arcading above the mantelpiece, quite similar to that in the Chapel of St. Hubert at Amboise (which was begun in 1483, during Margaret's time in Amboise). Two windows are above the niches and four elaborate pendant keystones with the intertwined initials of Margaret

[255] Bruchet, 1927, 247, n.161.
[256] Bruchet, 1927, 248, n.163.
[257] Bruchet notes that Margaret's Private Council was to make a decision on the request but the result is not recorded. Bruchet, 1927, 248, n.164.

and Philibert and two Burgundian arms join the ribs that decorate the ceiling. The decorative detailing is in keeping with the stylistic unity of the entire building.

The upper room has a similar plan with stellar ribbed vaults whose bosses are elaborately detailed. There is an interesting and perhaps telling anomaly in the bosses. The intertwined P and M's are here reversed to put M first and the P backward (Fig. 40). A mistake in the patron's personal space, in a church where even the smallest details were given attention, seems unlikely. Is this some sort of allusion to Margaret's primacy at Brou, for her eyes only? Whether by her direction or by the decision of a loyal servant aiming to please his patron, the result is telling as to the focus of Brou.

An oblique window pierces the eastern wall of both the lower and upper room through which the adjacent chapel and chevet can be seen (Fig. 41a and b). Delicate marguerites and foliage are applied to the ridges and spandrels of both sides of the arches. The multiple mouldings of the oblique arches are done with stereometric precision and spring abruptly from flat wall at an unusual angle, accenting the thickness of the wall and the space hewn from it. Van Boghem leaves arches incomplete, disappearing into the solid of the wall in a show of mastery recalling the Parlers' use of incomplete hanging arches and ribs at Prague and Vienna.

Beyond its display of technical virtuosity, the oblique windows would allow Margaret to observe a service in relative privacy, reflecting her elevated status as well as her devotional preferences.[259] The oratory also afforded a direct view of Margaret's own image (not Philibert's) in the stained glass of the choir and of her own tomb and chapel. Morning sun would even cast colourful light through Margaret's image in the chevet into her personal rooms.

These views were part of the master plan. In November, 1512, Barangier wrote to Margaret that Van Boghem planned to build a chapel "*...qui sera ung chief d'oeuvre et pourréz descendre par dessubs le jubilé...en vostre chapelle, de laquelle pourréz veoir par dessubs vostre sepulture au grand haulte.*"[260] The setting would not only be worthy

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[258] Bruchet, 1927, 244, n.155.

[259] That oratories were used to provide privacy is demonstrated by Jean Lemaire's remark about Margaret's attendance of the memorial services for her brother at St. Rombouts, Mechelen, on July 18, 1507. He writes Margaret was "secretly praying in your oratory....clad in your mourning." Hare, 109-110.

[260] Bruchet, 1927, 227, n.95.

of its Imperial patron but also in keeping with the religious concept of the "momento mori" allowing Margaret to contemplate her remembrance after death.

The oratory was accessed by a series of above ground passages from Margaret's chambers in the first cloister through the upper galleries of the south transept, across the jubé and east into the upper oratory chamber. On either side of the jubé are stone doorframes (Fig. 42) that appear to be more ceremonial (perhaps decorated or curtained during an entry) than functional. The balustrade along the front of the jubé is decorated by marguerites on the upper railings and is quite high, permitting only a limited view of a person crossing the jubé by those in the nave. The passageway continues, accessed by the spiral staircase, around the nave and opens onto the balcony on the facade.

The presence of a complete aboveground series of passageways recalls a tradition in princely chapels.[261] The Habsburg's traditional use stems from Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen where the Emperor had a private space from which to view but remain unseen. The tradition continued with the Ottonians, as seen in the royal abbeys of Hildesheim and Essen, which provided private space and display balconies. Charles IV's St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague is also similarly laid out for public displays with internal and external balconies over the south portal and passageways above the choir.

Brou's passageways are ideal for the public display of a "Joyous Entry," a ceremonial practice at which Margaret's Burgundian ancestors excelled. The passageways and balconies were to be the backdrop of a procession or the stage upon which it was enacted. The splendour of the décor and architecture and the many representations of Margaret's lineage emphasised Margaret's secular consequence, which was further augmented by the religious connotations of the display. The church could be considered as a giant reliquary for Margaret, both alive and dead. Just as a relic would be presented to the congregation, Margaret would present herself to the populace and clergy as she walked from the monastery across the jubé to her chapel where she would be unseen but her presence understood, and as she walked along the nave passageway to stand behind the congregation within the nave or to present herself on the facade gallery. If privacy was required, tapestries or hangings could hide her passage along the nave.

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[261] Cahn, 60.

And after her death, her tomb would provide a focus for her cult. Brou was to be both secular and religious theatre, with Margaret as its principal player.

(b) Chapel

The Chapel of Margaret of Austria lies to the east of the oratory and is accessed from the west through the lower chamber of Margaret's oratory and from the south through the choir (Figs. 24, 33 and 34). The four walls of this square chapel are devoted to two main themes: the Coronation of the Virgin and the salvation of Margaret of Austria.

The north wall is taken up by a large stained glass window depicting the Coronation of the Virgin witnessed by a young Margaret and Philibert (Fig. 43). The lower wall is lined with white marble with seven delicately carved arcaded niches with alternating intertwined P and M's and shields (Fig. 44). To the west, the wall of Margaret's oratory is pierced by the two oblique windows that have marguerites carved on their ridges. To the south, Margaret's tomb marks the transition to the choir.

The east wall holds the white marble Retable of the Seven Joys of the Virgin (Fig. 45a), which is thematically balanced by the Montecuto Chapel's dedication to the Virgin's Seven Sorrows. The delicately carved retable presents the Seven Joys: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Magi, the Resurrection of Christ, the Pentecost, and the Assumption of the Virgin. In the central niche, the crowned Virgin rises from her tomb surrounded by angels and below, kneeling by the Virgin's tomb, is the widow Margaret (Fig. 45b). The retable is topped by statues of the Virgin and Child flanked by Mary Magdalene and St Margaret, two saints associated with Margaret.[262] Above the retable, flamboyant tracery holds stained glass depicting angels and musicians.

The detailed retable was made by the same Flemish workshop that made the tomb statues. The work was achieved in two stages, the larger statues and the body of the tabernacle were completed before 1528 and the details of each compartment and some cherub-like angels after 1528.

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[262] St. Margaret was Margaret's name saint and Margaret commissioned a portrait of herself as Mary Magdalene (see chapter 4). Margaret may have chosen the Magdalene for her association with Burgundy, devotion and music. Margaret herself wrote, played and commissioned music. For more on the Magdalene

The chapel vaults are the most involved of the building (Fig. 46). The configuration of the ribs takes the form of two concentric four-point stars, connected at their points by formerets and intersected by ridge ribs. There are thirteen elaborate pendant bosses with painted armorial shields of the ducal couple. Intricate vaulting and decorative bosses were popular in Flamboyant architecture and are present in many royal works, such as St. Hubert's Chapel at Amboise and in the chapel of the Duke's of Savoy at Chambéry. The floor of the chapel was also covered in faience tiles similar to the choir.

The architectural virtuosity of the oratory wall, stellar vaults, colourful bosses, elaborately carved retable, stained glass and faience tiled floor create a density of ornament unequalled in the rest of the building. Add to all this, the presence of Margaret's tomb and the space designed for the potential presence of her own person and the chapel proves to be the symbolic heart of the building. The chapel is dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, but is clearly about a more human assumption as well. If the Virgin Mary is the Queen of Heaven then Margaret, pictured in direct relation to her, is clearly her earthly counterpart. Mary could also be read as a reference to her late mother, Mary of Burgundy. Margaret's Chapel links the most importance female figures of the terrestrial and celestial worlds in its imagery and articulates the chapel's consequence by the density and complexity of its ornament.

c. Stained Glass

The focus of the decorative and symbolic theme of the stained glass windows is found in the five windows in the chevet, the north window of Margaret's chapel and the small lozenges with Margaret's monogram or coats of arms on the otherwise clear aisle windows. The south transept and private chapel windows were completed independently by their individual patrons.

(1) Chevet

The five long, two-panelled lancet windows of the chevet (Fig. 33) contain both religious and secular themes. The windows are divided horizontally by a transom, creating upper and lower sections. The central window depicts images of the resurrection (Fig. 47a). On the lower portion, Christ, draped in a dramatic red cloth and holding a

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as musician see Slim H. Colin, "Mary Magdalene, Musician and Dancer," in Music in Sixteenth Century Painting, (London: Ashgate, forthcoming).

crossed staff, appears to the Virgin Mary. A Renaissance architectural frame tops the scene and the floor is covered with blue and yellow tiles, similar to the choir floor. In the upper window, Christ appears to the Magdalene, who like all female saints depicted in Brou, has golden hair similar to Margaret. An architectural frame that contains elements of both classical and Late Gothic styles tops this scene. The arch contains flamboyant hanging tracery while the upper arch contains more classical motifs such as medallions and cherubs. Both compositions are based on Albrecht Dürer's engravings on the "Small Passion" (1510).[263] At the base of these central scenes are two coats of arms, the Habsburg Imperial arms and Margaret's personal coat of arms. Philibert's are to be seen to the north under his image.

To either side of the central window, Margaret and Philibert kneel with their patron saints. To the south, Margaret (Fig. 47b), dressed in reddish-gold with a headdress decorated with marguerites, kneels at a prie-dieu before a multi-colour tapestry. A dog, a symbol of fidelity, lies at her feet. St Margaret stands behind in a similarly coloured gown trampling a dragon. Above their heads is a garlanded and gilded Renaissance arch. A tapestry appears to cover the entrance to a chapel which could reflect how tapestries were hung in Brou.

Philibert's pose (Fig. 47c) mirrors Margaret's and he wears armour, the arms of Savoy and a necklace reading "FERT." At his feet are pieces of armour, reflecting his noble status. Below is his crest, the arms of Savoy, surrounded by "FERT" and topped by a helmet and winged lion. He and his patron saint, St. Philibert of Tournus, are placed in a Renaissance architectural frame that opens to the countryside. Although Margaret lived to be a more significant public figure than her husband, their imagery remains true to traditional images of gendered roles; Philibert as knight, concerned with external affairs and Margaret as loyal wife, placed in interiors.

The presentation of donors in the windows of churches or chapels was quite common. Two Habsburg examples were found in Nuremberg with Frederick III portrayed in the windows of St. Lawrence and Maximilian I at St Sebald. Margaret herself was

[263] Margaret would have had access to much of Dürer's work as the artist had presented the Regent with a copy of all his prints. Poiret, 2000, 22.

depicted as patron in other churches, such as at St. Gudule in Brussels and St Waudru in Mons.[264]

In the window north of Philibert are the arms of his ancestors: to the left, the house of Savoy, whose earliest ancestor is given as Berault, mythical nephew of Otto III, thus linking Savoy to the Imperial House of Saxony and the ancestors of the Habsburgs; and to the right, the house of Bourbon since the time of Saint-Louis. Above him are symbols of the possessions of the House of Savoy, including not only nearby territories such as Aosta, Geneva and Nice but also Cyprus and Jerusalem. To the south and above Margaret are the arms of Houses of Habsburg and Burgundy. On the left panel of Margaret's windows are the arms of the Habsburg emperors and their spouses from the thirteenth century, beginning with Rudolph I, and on the right panel are the arms of Burgundy, which include the Burgundian union with Austria and end with Margaret herself.

The display of secular heraldry and motifs in a religious space would have been a familiar practice for Margaret. Many Burgundian churches had similar displays, such as St Gudule in Brussels, St Gommaire in Lierre and St Jacques in Liège and St Waudru in Mons.[265] Margaret had in fact donated the windows in St. Gudule and Notre-Dame-du-Sablon in Brussels. A similar use of heraldry as décor and display is found in the painted walls of the Burgundian Chapel, Hof van Immerseel, Antwerp.[266] Margaret's Habsburg ancestors were also practised in heraldic display. Frederick III included thirty-seven coats of arms in his chapel of St Stephen, and on the *Wappenwand* of the Chapel of St. George (1453) at Wiener Neustadt there were 110 coats of arms on the facade between two buttresses. Maximilian used a similar display on the Armoury Tower at his Palace in Innsbruck.[267] The practice was used in smaller arts as well, as evidenced by a diptych (Fig. 48) from the 1490's of Margaret and her brother, Philip, surrounded by their coats of arms. Great displays of arms and emblems are also to be found in the architecture of

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[264] Exposition:Vitrail Rhône-Alpes (Lyon,1983), 57.
[265] Exposition..., 57.
[266] Buyle, 226.
[267] The tower held fifty-four coats of arms as well as figures of family members, including Maximilian himself and his two wives. Destroyed in 1777, it is known through a painting. W. Blockmans, A History of Power in Europe, Peoples, Markets, States (Antwerp, 1997).

Ferdinand and Isabella, such as the Capilla del Condestable, Burgos and the facade of San Pablo, Valladolid.[268]

The chevet stained glass, while presenting the appropriate resurrectional themes, is primarily a display of the ducal and Imperial lineage and connection. And the focus of this display is not the mausoleum's original subject, Philibert, but Margaret of Austria. The Habsburg crest and Margaret's personal coats of arms below the central religious scenes, the use of Philibert's coats of arms to display further aspects of Habsburg heritage and the windows' architectural frame which contains sculpted marguerites, the symbols of St. Andrew and several shields with Margaret's motto (not to mention the repeated motto below the windows), tip the balance of the seemingly equal display in Margaret's favour. An unsurprising outcome considering the images were commissioned by a widow of over 20 years who had gone on to raise an emperor and rule the Habsburg House of Burgundy.

(2) Chapel

The largest stained glass window in Brou is the window of the Coronation in Margaret's Chapel (Fig. 43). The scene is adapted from "The Coronation of the Virgin" by Dürer that was engraved in 1510 for the series "The Life of the Virgin."[269] The Brussels designer has, however, inserted additional, secular figures.

There are several planes to the image's pictorial space. In the central foreground, Margaret and Philibert kneel at prie-dieus facing each other. Philibert is dressed in armour and a tunic sporting the red and white cross of Savoy. A youthful Margaret wears a court dress and a cloak patterned with, what appears at first glance to be the red and white of Savoy, but is actually her own arms: the red and white of Austria, trailed by the arms of Burgundy. A dog lies at her feet. Between Philibert and Margaret lie their coats of arms, both arms echoing the apparel of the figures. Margaret's arms also include a Habsburg Imperial crown and her motto. From this secular realm, the image steps back to the hagiographic realm of the Duke and Duchess's patron saints who stand behind the couple. A further step into the pictorial space presents an apocryphal scene of the discovery of the

[268] It is interesting to note that both of these building were the work of Simon of Cologne, which suggests a possibility of German influence on these emblematic displays, Marcel Durliat, L'architecture Espagnol (Toulouse, 1966).

empty, classically styled tomb of the Virgin by the Apostles. Above all, on the same plane as Philibert and Margaret is the Coronation of the Virgin. The serene Virgin floats in a glow of yellow light as she receives an Imperial crown from God and Christ, who are both crowned and hold an orb and spectre respectively. Christ's crown is similar to the crown seen in the crests of Burgundy and both God's and the Virgin's crowns follow the mitre-like design of the Imperial crown. The three figures recall an earlier religious allegory used to describe the Habsburg generations. For a ceremonial entry of Frederick III, Maximilian and young Philip the Fair into Brussels, ducal chronicler Molinet records that the locals were "near tears" by his proclamation, "Behold, the Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost."[270] At Brou, through the Virgin Mary, Margaret takes her place in the religious and dynastic Trinity of the chapel stained glass window.

The choice of a scene from the life of the Virgin is unsurprising as Margaret and her Burgundian ancestors were particularly fond of the cult of the Virgin. The Virgin as Queen of Heaven and her coronation was often used in decorative programs of royal cathedrals and the majority of court churches were also dedicated to the Virgin.[271] Margaret had also ordered a copy of a tableau of the Virgin from Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome for the high alter of Brou.[272] The choice of an Imperial coronation was especially meaningful here at Brou, for it would not be hard to imagine this scene as a symbolic crowning of Margaret of Austria. Her uncrowned role as a generational guardian and transmitter of Habsburg-Burgundian power is celebrated and recorded for posterity.

The imperial nature of the scene is reinforced by the used of gilded classical pillars and an antique-styled frieze to frame the image. The grisaille frieze rests on the pillars like a pediment and depicts the "Triumph of the Faith," based on a well-known engraving of a work by Titian (1510). At the centre of the procession is Christ, seated on a chariot and escorted by the Doctors of the Church. Before him are the patriarchs of the Old Testament and behind him the Apostles and various Saints. The melange of modern and antique styles in the stained glass at Brou follows the trends of Margaret's

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[269] See V. Nodet, "Un Vitrail de l'église de Brou: Titien et Albert Dürer," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, XXXV (1906): 375-409.
[270] J. Huizinga, The Autumn of the Middle Ages, trans. R. Payton and U. Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996), 312.
[271] Arciszewska, 95, n. 71.

Netherlandish court painters, such as Gossaert, van Orley and Rombouts, although it is unknown which, if any, were responsible for the designs.[273]

Except for the name of the designer, the creation of the stained glass windows is well documented.[274] In 1525, as the choir was finished, Van Boghem traveled to Brussels where he purchased four designs from an anonymous painter for twenty-four pounds. He described his purchase as;

> *...certains grands patrons sur papier, historiés et armoyés des armes d'icelle dame pour servir à faire quartre belles et grand verrieres, selon le plaisir de madite dame, assavoir les trois pour le cropon [abside] du choeur de l'église dudit Brou et l'autre pour servir en la chapelle de madite dame, lès ledit choeur.*[275]

He also purchased 700 pounds of lead to make the windows. Upon his return to Brou, he gave the designs to the local glass-painters Jean Brachon, Jean Orquois and Antoine Noisin who made the windows in a temporary workshop near Brou. The central chevet window and that with Philibert le Beau was installed in 1527, and that with Margaret, as well as the Coronation of the Virgin window in Margaret's chapel, in 1528. The designs for the heraldic windows came last. According to a report made on the site in 1527, the design could not be arranged until, "Master Loys has spoken with My said Lady to learn her good pleasure and will."[276] Van Boghem spoke with Margaret soon after, for in 1528 he ordered sixty-four coats of arms from an unrecorded Brussels painter.

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[272] Bruchet, 1927, 147, n.3. The exact image is unrecorded. Santa Maria Maggiore was one of the four major basilicas in Rome and was renovated by Julius II.

[273] Bernard van Orley has often been cited as the designer (*Exposition...*, 55) although Louis Grodecki believed the work to come from the workshop of Nicolas Rombouts or his entourage. L. Grodecki, "*Les vitraux de Brou au Musée des Arts décoratifs*," *Visages de l'Ain*, 24 (1953): 2-7. Rombouts had designed windows in Saint Gudule in Brussels for Margaret in 1524 that show a similar composition to Brou with the patrons kneeling with their patron saint in elaborate architectural niches. However, the design of the Brou windows follows the styles of the contemporary Netherlands (such as in the plentiful coats of arms, the layout of the chevet windows and the mix of classical and modern styles) and so could be by almost any painter associated with Margaret's court. There is also the fact that the designs were executed by local painters, making it difficult to know where the original design ends and their interpretation begins. Yet, in the end, the exact artist is not as important as the fact that, as with the rest of the church, it would seem to have been Margaret's intentions and choices that informed the outcome.

[274] For a full list of sources on Brou's stained glass see Exposition..., 60-1.

[275] Poiret, 1994, 104.

[276] *"Oultre plus, l'on est après la verriere de Madite Dame, en laquelle sainte Marguerite represente Madicte Dame, mais le dessus dez le commancement où vont les armes ne s'achvera jusques a ce que maistre Loys ayt parler a Madicte Dame pour d'elle savoir so bon plesir et vouloir." Poiret*, 1994, 104. Translation in Poiret, 2000, 23.

(3) Other Windows

The windows in the noble chapels and the south transept were completed independently by their patrons although their designs would have been approved by Margaret. The Gorrevod chapel has a quadripartite tracery window. To the right, Laurent de Gorrevod appears with his patron saint, St. Lawrence and to the left Gorrevod's wife, Claudine de Rivoire, and her patron saint, St. Claude. Between the two figures is the scene of the incredulity of St. Thomas. The patrons are encased in Gothic architectural frames and below them are their coats of arms. The central scene takes place under a classical arch that also contains elements of the Late Gothic, such as the hanging tracery. The arms of Margaret and of Savoy are placed in the upper frame. Christ holds a flag, a sign of resurrection. However, the traditional white flag and red cross colour scheme is reversed to display the crest of the House of Savoy. Angelic musicians are within the tracery above, similar to those of the Retable of the Seven Joys of the Virgin in Margaret's chapel.

The Montécuto window depicts the risen Christ appearing to the pilgrims at Emmaus. To the right, the kneeling Abbot, presented by his patron saint, observes the scene. Behind the Abbot is a flamboyant Gothic architectural frame, in contrast to the Renaissance frame of the religious scene. Both frames have a similar line suggesting both were made by the same workshop. The only use of Gothic frames in the stained glass of Brou is for the noble, yet subordinate, patrons of these two chapels. Classical architecture frames the Holy scenes and the those of Philibert and Margaret, suggesting a hierarchical connotation to the stylistic choice.

The dominant theme of most windows is the resurrection. The one exception is the window of the south transept that depicts the trial scenes from the story of Susanna and the Elders. Susanna had refused the propositions made by two Elders after seeing her at her bath. In revenge, they accused her of adultery. The scenes depicted show Susanna before a judge, Daniel, and the two Elders being found out and thrown into prison. Susanna was a popular subject that was often presented in religious plays and the clergy of Notre Dame of Bourg were known to have presented the "*Jeu de sainte Suzanne*" on important festivals.[277] And although very tenuous, a comparison is possible between the

[277] Poiret, 1994, 109.

tale of Susanna and Margaret's own experience of defending herself against false charges in relation to the accusation of misrule laid against her on Charles V's coming of age in 1515.

The only windows missing are one in the north transept, whose subject is unknown and was destroyed in 1539, and a second that was behind the Retable. It represented the resurrection of Christ with Saints Peter, Augustine, Nicolas and three others and disappeared after it was removed for restoration in 1800.[278] There is speculation as to whether the three large windows of the western facade were ever painted. In a letter to Charles V in 1531, Van Boghem proposes to create three large windows for the western facade but there is no response to this proposal.[279]

All windows are done with skill and in sumptuous colours: green, red, blue, yellow, violet, and gold, which were used mostly in costumes, architecture and drapery. The originality of the windows is a result of the collaboration of Flemish and local masters, the use of several sources of inspiration (i.e. Dürer, Titian) and the mixture of Gothic and Renaissance motifs. The subjects are chosen with function in mind, the religious images referring to resurrection and the many secular images referring to the patron and her politics.

d. Tapestries

The colour of the windows was also enhanced by the many hangings of gold, velvet and brocade which once draped the walls of the church. A convent receipt dated 15 June 1532, mentions nine large tapestries with the Duchess's heraldry, four of which were still to be found in the sacristy in the nineteenth-century.[280] Their description corresponds to two tapestries conserved in the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest (Fig. 49) that are thought to have been commissioned by Margaret.[281] Both have the same layout using a tree motif to display relations. The first displays Margaret's arms joined with that of her late husband, Don Juan of Spain and is surrounded by the arms of various relatives:

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[278] Exposition..., 57.

[279] Scholars have disagreed if the windows were actually made. Max Bruchet and Bernard Prost state they were not completed. Bruchet, 1927, 117; B. Prost, Notice sur les anciens vitraux... (Lons-le-Saunier, 1885), 22. Lucien Bégule believes the central facade window to have been completed, based on small blue and red fragments representing angels that are now placed in the upper part of the window. L. Bégule in Nodet, 1942, 194.

[280] P.F Cussinet, Essai sur l'histoire de Marguerite d'Autriche et sur le monastère de Brou...1748 (Lyon, 1837), 36. Also see Bruchet, 1927, 447.

Ferdinand of Hungary and Bosnia, Louis of Hungary, Anne of Hungary and Mary of Burgundy. The second unites Margaret's arms with Savoy and is surrounded by the arms of Charles the Bold, Maximilian I, Isabeau of Bourbon and Mary of Burgundy. A griffon and a lion, symbols of the House of Habsburg, support the crests. Margaret's emblems are surrounded by her motto and are surmounted by a crown and the inscription "MANUS DOMINI PROTEGAT ME." They can be dated between 1526 to 1530 by the presence of Ferdinand of Hungary who was elected King in 1526 and the date of Margaret's death. There is also a letter dated 1528 to a "fabricant" from Enghien, Henry van Lacke, for delivery in 6 months of 4 tapestries, well made, of the arms and coats of madame with a "lyon" and an "aultruche."[282] The inclusion of the arms of Margaret's former husband further enforces the primacy of Margaret at Brou. It also reflects an understanding of the etiquette of personal display, putting references to Margaret's life beyond that with Philibert only in media that could be removed if necessary.

e. Tombs

(1) Plan and Production

The Bressan stonemason, Thibaut Landry, was the first to work on the tombs, although Perréal, who critiqued his work as unrefined, soon usurped his place.[283] Perréal drew up his own plans in 1509. Details of these plans do not survive although hints to its appearance can be gained in Perreal's correspondence regarding the tombs. Perréal made references to the Ducal tombs at Dijon and his own work on the Duke of Brittany's tomb in Nantes as comparisons to those he would design for Brou and made many references to the type of marble to be used.[284] Michel Colombe, who sculpted the tombs at Nantes, was hired to work on Brou but never got beyond the first models. Margaret handed over all of Perréal and Colombe's plans and models to van Boghem in 1512 but it is unclear how much of the original plans he kept. He presented Margaret with revised plans for the church in November 1512 but there is no indication if the tomb plans were also revised at this point.

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[281] Mérindol, 173.
[282] Merindol, 174
[283] Perréal wanted Landry replaced by Colombe, saying that Landry was to Colombe "as lead was to gold." Cahn, 53.

It was only in 1516 that the tombs were definitively begun. At this time Margaret was out of politics as she had been removed as Regent and was generally out of favour with the new government of Charles. This brief period had the positive effect of allowing her more time to focus on her patronage activities. She began her most elaborate additions to her Mechelen residence, the Palace of Savoy, at this time and soon after founded the Convent of the Annunciates in Bruges (see Chapter 3). At Brou, she now focused attention on the tombs.

In a document dated 7 July, 1516, Margaret gave John of Brussels (also known as Jean van Roome) orders to create a "*sépulture*" for Philibert of Savoy, Margaret of Bourbon and herself using portraits provided to ensure a correct likeness. The Duchess indicated that she wishes "*ung visaige de feu mondit seigneur de Savoye sur ung tableau à l'uille aussi grand que le vif, et pluiseurs autres petis patrons.*"[285] John of Brussels was a painter and designer attached to Margaret's court in Malines. He was known for his designs of tombs, seals, stained glass and tapestries that followed the tastes of the humanistic circles of Margaret's court.[286] There is no documentation as to whether he was given the earlier plans to guide his in his design.

John of Brussels' plans were completed by Brabantine sculptors working at Brou sometime around 1522. According to the notes of a visit of the Council of Bresse to the building site at this date the small statues, decoration and architecture of Margaret's tomb were close to complete and the statuary and decoration for Margaret of Bourbon's tomb were ready. However, they would not be assembled until after the tomb effigies were finished.[287]

The effigies were to be carved from Italian carrara marble by another of Margaret's court artists, Conrad Meit.[288] Meit came from Worms and had formerly worked for Frederick the Wise at Wittenberg before entering Margaret's service in 1512.

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[284] See his letter of January 4, 1511 to Barangier. Bruchet, 1927, 203-04, n. 41. In the same letter, there is talk of a copperwork tomb, like that of Mary of Burgundy and Charles the Bold in Bruges, although Perréal advises against such work as there was no artisan of sufficient quality to carry out the work.
[285] Bruchet, 1927, 234, n.124.
[286] On John of Brussels see, Elizabeth Dhanens, "L'importance du peintre Jean van de Roome, dit de Bruxelles," in Tapisseries bruxelloises de la pré-Renaissance, ex. cat. (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1976), 231-38.
[287] Bruchet, 1927, 239-40, n.143.
[288] On Meit see J. Duverger, Conrad Meijt (Brussels, 1934) and Gert van der Osten & Horst Vey, Painting and Sculpture in the Germany and the Netherlands, 1500-1600 (London, 1969).

He was greatly admired by contemporaries, including Albrecht Dürer who called Meit an artist for whom he has never seen an equal.[289]

At Margaret's court in Mechelen Meit had worked on several projects including a series of busts in wood and marble of Margaret and Philibert (see Chapter 4). This work must have pleased his patron as in 1526 he was given a contract to create the effigies at Brou. The contract clearly sets out what was expected from Meit. He should make "*de sa main [...] les visaiges, mains et le vifz*" (my emphasis) of the five main effigies and he could be aided only by his brother, Thomas, and two assistants.[290] Work began at once, however, all the effigies were not finished by Margaret's death in November 1530. Margaret's effigies were the last to be completed as the date of August 1531 is carved into Margaret of Austria's cloak and the foot of her lower effigy shows the wound that led to her death.[291]

(2) The Results

Each tomb has a different design (Fig. 50). Philibert's freestanding tomb lies in the centre of the choir, while his mother's wall-niche tomb is to the south and his wife's canopied, architectonic tomb is to the north.

Philibert's tomb is the first to be seen from the nave as it is perfectly framed through the open jubé doors (Fig. 31). The tomb has two levels with two effigies of the deceased (fig. 51). The upper figure lies on a bed of black marble surrounded by six, winged, Italianate cherubs holding armorial shields and symbols, reminiscent of the tombs at Champmol. The white carrara marble effigy portrays Philibert "as in life," as a young man wearing armour and court dress. At his feet lies a lion and his headrest on a tasselled pillow. Below, an elaborate architectural frame encases the lower effigy of Philibert's semi-nude corpse. These idealized but nevertheless realistic effigies follow the specifications set out by Margaret in Conrad Meit's contract. Meit was contracted to create;

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[289] While in the Netherlands to petition Charles V and Margaret for the pension promised to him by Maximilian I, Dürer sent gifts to Meit and wrote admiringly of him. For more on his voyage see: Albrecht Dürer aux Pays-Bas, son voyage, son influence, (Brussels, 1977); and J. Campbell-Hutchinson, 140-45, 167-68.

[290] The contract is dated 14 April, 1526. Bruchet, 1927, 242-43, n.151.

[291] They were finished despite many problems bewteen Meit and Van Boghem. The men did not get along and Margaret's Private Council was forced to interven in the dispute and produced an ordinance regulating

Premier, la figure et la representacion au vif de feu monseigneur le duc Phelibert de Savoie, illecques reposant avec le lion couchant aux piedz, et alentour les six enffans, dont les quatre tiendront des armes et épitaphe, et le deux du millieu l'ung les gantelletz et l'autre le timbre [écu]; et cecy se fera de marble blanc. Item fera au dessoubz la figure de la Mort, selon le pourject [projet], et icelle figure sera d'alabastre.[292]

The architectonic, lower section of the tomb is richly decorated in the Flamboyant style. Moulded, niched pillars form trefoil compressed arches with pendentive tracery, topped by more tracery and pinnacles. A recessed third pillar divides each arch, creating an impression like a double portal, and functions in a display of architectonic virtuosity as well as modestly obstructing the view of Philibert's semi-nude body. The outer pillars contain deep, canopied niches in which are placed ten graceful Sibyls, antique prophetesses who had predicted the events of the life of Christ. The Sibyls had been very popular in the fifteenth workshops of Brussels, Antwerp and Malines. One Sibyl, identifiable as Agrippa (whose attribute of a whip is seen in the remains of a knotted cord on her dress), is also found in many Flemish retables.[293] It has been suggested that Pérreal's original plans included female figures of the classical Virtues which Van Boghem and the Flemish workshop at Brou transformed into the more familiar and religious Sibyls.[294]

To the south of Philibert's tomb is the wall-niche tomb of his mother, Margaret of Bourbon (Fig. 52). Her tomb is the most traditional in Brou, an architectural indication of her place in an earlier generation. Like the other effigies, Margaret of Bourbon's white marble figure is placed on a slab of black marble, dressed in courtly attire. Four cherubs holding armourial shields, framed in applied tracery arches, surround the figure. At her feet is a greyhound, a symbol of fidelity. Below, instead of a second effigy, nine niches contain alternating cherubs holding shields and mourners, similar to the "*pleaurants*" of the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy at Champmol. The entire tomb is recessed in a portal-like frame, comparable to Brou's west entrance. Sparsely decorated jambs are framed by an ornate, flamboyant, trefoil, ogival arch. Deeply moulded pillars to either

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each man's role in consideration of "*...l'ynimitié estant entre lesdicts maistres Loys et Conrad.*" Bruchet, 1927, 249-50, n.167.

[292] Bruchet, 1927, 242, n.152.

[293] Poiret, 1994, 94.

side of the tomb hold double-canopied niches holding statues St. Margaret, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Andrew and an unidentified female saint. Elegantly ornate, her tomb merges into the wall, indicating her honoured status as well as her secondary consequence at Brou. Her status is reinforced by the fact that the cherubs at her head and feet hold shields bearing not her own symbols, but Philibert and Margaret's initials intertwined by a knot.

Philibert's primacy is expressed in his central position, however, the subtle tilt of his head (Fig. 53) leads the viewer's gaze to the most ornate part of the entire building, and also, to a reconsideration of the symbolic focus of Brou.[295] The open canopy superstructure of the tomb Margaret of Austria (Fig. 54a) seems to extend the northern wall of the choir towards the apse, although the lush and elegant ornamentation applied to the surface of the tomb makes it appear closer to a transparent screen.

The tomb's imposing architecture evokes a majestic state bed. The moulded, architectonic pillars of the tomb hold niches with sculpted saints and are topped by complex spire-like pinnacles. The three openings of the bed are moulded jambs decorated with Margaret's symbols and foilage, and are topped by trefoil, ogival arches reflecting the similar portal-like form of the tomb of Margaret of Bourbon. The points of the ogival arches jut up through applied tracery to a cornice-like element at the level of the gallery floor. Along the bottom of this cornice, Margaret's motto is repeated around the tomb. The canopy is crowned with balustrade-like tracery and intricate finials, a seeming continuation of the gallery.

This magnificent bed holds Margaret's double effigies. Meit's contract stipulated that the figure "*au vif*" should have a, "*levrier couchant aux piedz, et alentour quatre enffans tenant les armoyries, letout de marble blanc. Et fera au dessoubz la representacion de la Mort, d'alabastre.*"[296] The upper effigy (Fig. 54b) portrays Margaret, not as Philibert's widow, but near her age at death in court dress with her head resting on a tasselled pillow, similar to the placement of the head of Mary of Burgundy in

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[294] J.G. Lemoine, "Les Sibylles du tombeau de Philibert le beau à Brou," Annales de la Société d'émulation de l'Ain (1949): 15-35.

[295] The use of the gaze to link two separate sculptural figures is also utilized by Meit in his portrait busts of Margaret and Philibert made between 1516-1518, which were displayed in the Palace of Savoy. Commissioned by Margaret, they may have been Meit's test to see whether he could attain an acceptable likeness and effect.

her tomb in Bruges. Her feet rest upon a loyal greyhound, while her head tilts to meet Philibert's gaze. Margaret wears an Imperial crown, similar to the crown of her coat of arms that is held above her head by two cherubs. At her feet two more cherubs hold a blank slab, clearly meant for an inscription. The underside of the canopy (Fig. 55) is filled with interlacing ribs and marguerite shaped keystones creating a personalised architectural cosmos above the effigy.

Below (Fig. 54c), in the simple gown of the sister of the Annunciates (the Order to which she had planned to retire) with her hair loose over her shoulders, Margaret lies in gentle sleep, her jaw dropped and her eyes partially closed, awaiting resurrection. Her bare left foot shows the wound (Fig. 56) which led to her death. The effigy is encased in another interpretation of trefoil, tracery arches with elaborate moulded pillars with twisted applied pilasters with geometric designs. The arches are open, allowing for a less obstructed view of the lower effigy than in Philibert's tomb.

Margaret's tomb is not incorporated into or even adjacent to that of Philibert but stands on its own, further suggesting her independent status at Brou. It has been noted that Margaret's separate tomb is a departure from the many contemporary or later French aristocratic tombs, which usually presented a married couple together, even if one had predeceased the other by many years.[297] But France was not Margaret's primary template for precedence. Margaret parent's had independent tombs in different regions of the Empire, Mary of Burgundy's in Bruges and Maximilian's in Innsbruck. Maximilian had commissioned both, location being decided by political and dynastic necessity. Margaret's tomb's location in Brou and its specific location within the church reflect similar needs, with the added consideration of gender. She shares her mausoleum with her husband following the accepted widowly role, but her independent and historically more significant role is maintained by her individual representation.

Everything about the tomb, from its size to its decoration, indicates that this is the heart of Brou. Not only is it the largest of the tombs, it is also the most modern and innovative. In Margaret's mandate to John of Brussels (7 July, 1516), she specified that

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[296] Bruchet, 1927, 242, no. 152.

[297] For example, Perreal and Colombe's tomb for Francois II of Brittany and Marguerite de Foix at Nantes, the Guisti brother's tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany (1517-31) and the later 16th-century tombs of Catherine de'Medici and Henri II (completed in 1570). Noted by A. Carpino in Lawrence, 49.

he should create "*moderne*" works for both her and Philibert. For Margaret of Bourbon, however, the term, "*moderne,*" is omitted.[298] And accordingly, Margaret of Bourbon's *enfeu* tomb marks her place her in a past generation. Philibert's is a modern interpretation of the flamboyant tombs of Champmol. Margaret's tomb, like the church itself, is a masterwork of a delicate balance of complexity and simplicity, space and massing, and "antique" and "modern" sensibilities that are characteristic of the art of the court of Margaret of Austria.

The precisely sparse application of foliage and symbols on the pillars and arches makes the surface apparent as it is seen through the delicate appliqué, creating both a sense of space and transparency as well as a sense of solidity beneath. One would imagine that the dense detail of the upper canopy would weigh down the structure but the sense of a solid core beneath its delicate décor instead causes it to float above the effigies, a complex cosmos of finials, tracery and Margaret's symbols. The decorative detail is Brabantine Flamboyant, but is interpreted in a uniquely modern fashion, reflecting the architectural frames found in the Northern Renaissance paintings of Margaret's court artists, such as the works of Jan Gossaert.[299]

Margaret's tomb is highly architectural and its space, ornament and proportions create a sort of "micro-architecture."[300] The canopy of the tomb is comparable to the contemporary south portal of Albi Cathedral. The superstructure of the complex corner piers culminates in elaborate pinnacles that recall the north spire of Chartres,[301] as well as Late Gothic Brabantine towers such as that of Our Lady at Antwerp.[302] The tomb is adorned with floral and vegetal detail and recalls the decor on many Late Gothic Flemish and Flemish-influenced buildings, such as the town halls of Bruges and Ghent and the facade of Burgos Cathedral.

The tomb is a building within a building, its delicate and precise detail suggesting the sacredness of a reliquary that contains one of the most sacred relics of the church. Its

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[298] Bruchet, 1927, 234, n.124.
[299] For example, see Gossaert's Malvagna Triptych (Palermo, Galleria Nazionale della Sicilia) or St. John the Baptist & St. Peter (Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art). Reproductions are found in Friedländer, n.2, pl.5 & n.7, pl.15.
[300] On the concept of micro-architecture see: J. Bialostocki, 1993, 308-47; François Bucher, "Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style," Gesta 15 (1976): 71-83.
[301] W. Stoddard, Art and Architecture in Medieval France, (New York, 1972), 325.
[302] Buyle, 96-97.

architecture echoes the jewel-like qualities of the exterior, a play between the macro-architecture of the church and micro-architecture of the tomb. The design attempts to sanctify the patron herself, suggesting a hope for not only a crown in heaven, but perhaps also a saintly reputation on earth.

(3) Tomb Type

The concept of a double or transi-tomb has precedents from the thirteenth century and became quite popular in the late fifteenth century. Following the Black Death a certain fascination with the macabre and the physical death become apparent in funerary arts.[303] As well, in the wake of the Schism of the Church (1378-1417) and the Church's growing reputation for corruption, the focus of religious devotion began to shift from mass worship to an interest in personal salvation and piety, known as "devotio moderna." The transi-figures also refer to a notion popular in contemporary worship, of reflecting on the transitoriness of earthly life, a "momento mori." But while religion called for humility, politics and personal desires for self-aggrandizement called for greater ostentation. The transi-tombs were a way of displaying status while acknowledging the universality of death; worldly status was displayed above but an appropriate display of humility was provided by the death figure stripped of its trappings. Early tombs could be quite gruesome, such as that of Cardinal Jean Le Grange (died 1402) whose emaciated corpse acts as a public account for the luxurious life he had led at court. Later, the realism became less pronounced, such as in the tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany at St. Denis (1510's) in which the bodies have not yet decayed but simply show the jagged scars from the embalming process. In her contract with Conrad Meit Margaret had specified that she wanted two figures, one as in life and the other as in death.[304] She stipulated, however, that the figures "au mort" should be only eight hours after death and thus the lower effigies are not putrid or mutilated, but serene as in an eternal sleep.

The double tombs at Brou also correspond to contemporary princely funeral ceremony. In these ceremonies, an effigy was splendidly dressed according to its worldly status, with a face moulded from the death mask of the deceased, and was placed on the coffin which was displayed during the long funeral ceremonies.[305] This is illustrated in an

[303] Lebrun, 149-160.
[304] Bruchet, 1927, 242, n.152.
[305] Poiret, 2000, 38.

image of the funeral of Anne of Brittany from the manuscript *Trépas de l'Hermine regrettée* (Fig. 57). Anne's effigy, surrounded by coats of arms and symbols of power, lies on the coffin and is prayed for by a group of religious figures, including two hooded figures resembling those seen in Burgundian tomb sculpture. Both Margaret and Philibert's upper effigies are presented in this manner, and Margaret's tomb corresponds to the canopied and ornate coffins used in the funeral ceremonies.

(4) Authorship

With multiple artists involved in the planning of the tombs, the ultimate author of the tomb design is unclear. As the original designer, Perréal no doubt was influential. His references to the Duke of Brittany's tomb and those of the Dukes of Burgundy are certainly to be seen in the final outcome. The sculpted mourners, the black and white marble and the placement of the figures accompanied by angels reflect both works.

Lemaire had mentioned that Perreal's designs would be influenced by the latter's Italian voyage.[306] However, the plans were handed over to the direction of van Boghem and were either set aside or re-designed by John of Brussels. Italian influence can be seen in the angels' transformation into winged cherubs and in Meit's elegant handling of form and proportion. These characteristics, rather than being the result of the influence of Perréal's design are more likely reflective of the reception of the Italian Renaissance in Margaret's court in Mechelen. Her court was the primary conduit for the Italian inspired Renaissance in the Low Countries and she patronised many Italian and Italian-influenced artists.[307] At her court the influence of humanism and its associate "antique" style was incorporated into local artistic practice (which was characterised by a Late Gothic style accentuated by an attention to technical skill and precise application of detail) most often found in the details.

Margaret had stipulated that she wanted Philibert's and her own tomb to be in the "modern" style, a term usually used in contrast to "antique," meaning contemporary Italian style.[308] The resulting tombs are indeed made in the "modern" style, i.e. Late Gothic Flamboyant infused with the ideas of humanism and with the occasional Italianate detail. The final outcome of the tombs suggests that John of Brussels created an ingenious

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[306] Discussed by Cahn, 59.
[307] Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 229.
[308] Poiret, 1994, 91-92.

modern design, clearly influenced by van Boghem's designs for the Church and taking into account the same factors as had Perréal, such as Margaret's heritage and her desired statement. The concept, originating with Perréal, that Brou and its contents were to be an artistic *chef d'oeuvre* is maintained throughout. Margaret herself is the thread of continuity in the design process. Her own evolving vision of Brou (and of herself), filtered through the ideas and skills of Lemaire, Perréal, van Boghem, Meit and John of Brussels, can be seen as the true source of the tomb design.

(5) Inspiration

What inspired Margaret to create such lavish tombs? Family precedent was certainly a factor. Emile Mâle has noted that the finest monuments from the Middle Ages are funerary[309] and Margaret's Burgundian ancestors had left some of the best examples. The tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy at Champmol were mentioned often in the creation of Brou. The Champmol tombs, besides the obvious religious advantage of creating an object of devotion for others to pray for one's salvation, were also intended to be political and dynastic and to add to familial prestige in the eyes of contemporaries as well as future generations. Later generations continued the tradition. Mary of Burgundy had a tomb built for her mother, Isabella of Bourbon, surrounded by a near life size funeral procession of Isabella's family members. These figures were like a sort of dynastic honour guard, taking the place of the anonymous mourners of the Champmol tombs, accenting a still greater emphasis on dynasty.[310]

The merging of the House of Habsburg and the House of Burgundy continued these dynastic funerary practices, adding to them the strong traditions of the Habsburgs.[311] Maximilian I commissioned a lavish tomb for his wife, Mary of Burgundy, in Bruges in 1491, nine years after her death. The free-standing tomb's effigy is bronze gilded in gold and the walls of the black marble sarcophagus are decorated by an elaborate genealogical tree and angels holding shields. This lavish display of Burgundian-

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[309] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France* (Paris, 1931).
[310] Prevenier & Blockmans, 1986, 318-9, 348.
[311] Frederick III, Margaret' Habsburg grandfather, had created his own elaborate tomb in Weiner Neustadt, although like that of his son, it was never completed. Trevor-Roper, 1985, 15.

Habsburg connections was begun during Maximilian's struggles with the Netherlands and was most certainly aimed at promoting his son Philip's right to rule the Netherlands.[312]

Maximilian I began plans for his own tomb at Innsbruck in 1508 (the year before Margaret began plans for her own). Taking his lead from both his own House of Habsburg and his adopted House of Burgundy, the design was unrivalled in scale, organised to glorify himself, his family and their Empire. The sarcophagus was to be surrounded by forty, larger than life, bronze figures representing ancestors and family (including his daughter, Margaret), as well as thirty busts of Roman Emperors and a hundred statues of saints, all of course (according to family history) associated with the House of Habsburg. This layout, had it been completed, would have rendered the church useless for anything other than the mourning and adoration of the Emperor.[313]

The desire to make a grand tomb may also have been augmented by a desire to rival the tombs commanded by Anne of Brittany for her parents at Nantes. It would not be surprising if Perréal, who entered Margaret's service soon after completing the tombs, prompted his patron to make a memorial grander than his former mistress'. Although a secondary consideration, Margaret did indeed set out her own more lavish plans soon after with Perréal as director.

Margaret, having no spouse or children to create her memorial, took it upon herself to create her own. Just as Maximilian had, she not only created her own tomb, but also set out the arrangements for her funeral ceremony and salvation prayers, ensuring that the devoted prayers of others would aid her soul's salvation.[314] Margaret also followed her father's example in building a tomb to safeguard her eternal memory. Tradition, pride, a certainty in her own importance and an uncertainty in her own remembrance led Margaret to create a tomb for herself without parallel. Through its symbols, imagery and architectural quotation and invention, she provided a triumphal climax to her architectural autobiography.

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[312] Philip the Fair officially succeed his mother and became the Duke of Burgundy upon being declared of age in 1493. On this period see Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 196-205.
[313] On the tomb see Trevor-Roper, 1985, 22-23.
[314] Baux, 358.

III. Analysis:

A. Style

Traditional scholarship on Brou has generally been commendatory, although often qualified. Just as Paradin in the late sixteenth-century had called Brou a superb and triumphant structure, "for a Gothic work," much early writing on Brou was influenced by a general disdain for the Gothic style.[315] As well, Brou did not fit easily into established categories and in many cases, architectural histories simply mention it in passing or do not discuss it.[316] Dubbed the last Gothic work in Europe,[317] the ambiguous status of the Late Gothic in scholarship has influenced Brou's perception up to the present.

1. The "Late Gothic" in Scholarly Thought

The propensity to consider Late Gothic in Northern Europe as a retrograde style in comparison to the dynamic Renaissance of Italy is well embedded into art historical/historical writing.[318] Although the nineteenth-century experienced a revival of Gothic architecture, they too saw the Late Gothic as inferior, or as Ruskin called it, "ignoble, uninventive and declining."[319] Until the later part of the twentieth century, art

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[315] Pere Raphaël wrote at the end of the 17th-century, that "l'église est d'architecture gothique mais d'ailleurs fort belle..." [my emphasis]. Bruchet, 1927, 443. In 1908, Tremayne wrote "Brou is of the latest, and not the best, period of Gothic" but nevertheless is harmonious and of "extraordinary beauty." Tremayne, 294. Even Bruchet, who clearly admires Brou, states that in design choice Margaret was "*une femme du passé.*" Bruchet, 1927, 165.

[316] A highly original Brabantine Late Gothic building in the Duchy of Savoy (now France), built by the Regent of the Netherlands and daughter of an Austrian Emperor and Burgundian duchess, is difficult to classify. Brou is often cited in books dealing with French Architecture, even though it is not French and was not built on French soil. Whether organized by (modern) nation or style, most studies find its placement less than obvious. Paul Frankl's original work devotes a brief paragraph to Brou in a discussion of Late Gothic. Frankl, Gothic Architecture, (New York, 1962). Anthony Blunt mentions Margaret's tomb in passing. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700 (New Haven, 1999). Alain Erlande-Brandenburg & Anne-Benedicte Merel-Brandenburg make no mention of it at all. Erlande-Brandenburg, Histoire de l'architecture francaise du Moyen Age à la Renaissance : IVe siècle-debut XVIe siècle (Paris, 1995). Whitney Stoddard is the exception, devoting several pages to the church and tombs. Stoddard, 320-325. He does, however, consider Brou as a French Flamboyant Gothic building and thus finds several "inconsistencies" in its design. Studies of the architecture of the Low Countries rarely refer to Brou, and if they do so, it is in passing when discussing van Boghem or Margaret. Many other "difficult" buildings have been similarly overlooked. For example, see H. Böker, "York Minster's Nave: The Cologne Connection," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians L/2 (June 1991): 167-180.

[317] Thorsten Drost, Burgund, Kernland des Europäischen Mittelalters (München, 1993).

[318] Paul Frankl has charted the 'period of reaction against Gothic,' beginning with Filarete. Most later 16th-century commmentators made the distinction between Gothic (modern) and the Italian (Antique) mode, and, while not necessarily denigrating the former, it was viewed as a sub-class style. Frankl, The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interprestations through Eight Centuries (Princeton, 1960), 237-345.

[319] John Ruskin, The Nature of Gothic: A Chapter of the Stones of Venice (New York & London, 1977), 111-112.

and architectural historians have put forth a generally negative view of the style.[320] The Late Gothic was rehabilitated in scholarship by scholars who drew attention to the regionalism, variety and individualism of the style,[321] and then by those considering its cultural and technical aspects.[322]

The difficulties of the category "Late Gothic" have led to several proposals of how to approach the period. Jan Bialostocki's 1966 study "Late Gothic: Disagreements about the Concept" remains a fundamental starting point.[323] Bialostocki traced the history of the concept and named the categories by which Late Gothic has been understood.[324] Bialostocki adds his own definition based on the style's unique rendering of spatial and decorative elements, suggesting that the Late Gothic should be understood in its own terms, not as a decadent form of Gothic or inferior alternative to Renaissance.[325] Steven Murray has pushed this idea further, suggesting that the Late Gothic be considered in terms of modernism (i.e., as the expression peculiar to a certain age which has an element of the self-consciousness and a desire for newness), thus acknowledging the sophistication of a style often dismissed as derivative and tired.[326]

Earlier interpretations have given way to this view of Late Gothic as an essential reinterpretation of Gothic that prized experimentation and "eclecticism" and was designed to suit its intended audience.[327] It must be remembered that the builders of the early sixteenth-century Late Gothic were unaware, at least for a time, of the ultimate triumph of the antique in architectural thought. The fact that they called their style "modern" in opposition to the "antique" of Italy reflected an awareness of creating something that

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[320] For example see the work of C. Enlart, H. Weigart, H. Focillon, J. Huizinga, Hautecoeur, A. Blunt, G. van Osten, H. Vey and Janson and E.H. Gombrich.
[321] Primarily in the seminal work of R. Sanfaçon, L'architecture flamboyant en France, (Quebec, 1971).
[322] See the work of S. Murray, L. Neagley, Disciplined Exuberance : the Parish Church of Saint-Maclou and Late Gothic architecture in Rouen (University Park, Penn., 1998); Hans J. Böker, "Der Dom von Pienza und seine spätgotischen Vorbilder in Österreich," Weiner Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte IL (1996): 57-74; Böker, "Die spätgothischen Schaufassaden des Domes zu Münster," Sonderdruck aus dem Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch LIV (1993): 31-75; & Böker (1991); Arciszewska; A.L. McGehee, The Parish church of Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais : Parisian Late Gothic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ph.D. diss. (Berkeley, 1997).
[323] J. Bialostocki, "Late Gothic: Disagreements about the Concept," Journal of the British Archaeological Association 29 (1966): 76-105.
[324] Bialostocki, 1966, 78-94.
[325] Bialostocki, 1966, 95-101.
[326] Murray's oral comments are noted in McGehee, xxii-xxiii. Also see Murray, 1989, 132.

belonged uniquely to their age. Their willingness to undermine or even eliminate the structural and visual patterns of High Gothic was nothing if not decidedly modern.

2. Brou's Style

This study of St. Nicolas at Brou is informed by these scholars' ideas and demonstrates how Brou's individual and highly modern style participated in a sophisticated, contemporary dialogue. Both builder and patron display a historical and critical self-awareness in their abstraction of the Gothic, both using and challenging the style. Witty subversions and reversals of known forms speak of a sensitive, visually educated patron, builder and audience. Brou shows a historicist agenda, playing on the past in a subtle and varied fashion, aiming to claim a legacy while defining itself as something decidedly new.

When St. Nicolas was begun, a design was chosen that reflected both the traditions and contemporary experiments of the architectural world of, generally, the Low Countries and more specifically, the realm of Margaret of Austria. In doing so, a monument was created that spoke of both the legacy of Gothic Architecture and the architectural vision of the early sixteenth-century. The same period also saw a growing awareness and appreciation for the classical concepts of the Italian Renaissance, a trend emanating from the court of Margaret herself. All of these concepts were transferred south to Savoy, to Margaret's dower lands, which were contiguous with the traditional southern lands of Burgundy. Brou is a stylistic mirror of an era, refracted through the multi-faceted person of its patron.

At the core of Brou's style is the Late Gothic of Brabant.[328] The birthplace of both Margaret and van Boghem, Brabant in the early sixteenth-century was home to a distinctive style rooted in a strong Burgundian Gothic heritage and expressed in an eclectic and modern fashion.

Brou follows many of the formal characteristics of Brabantine churches. Its basic plan follows that of the Brussels parish church of Notre Dame de Sablon, the court church of the Dukes of Burgundy. This courtly church, built throughout the fifteenth century

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[327] See the work of Murray; Böker; Neagley; Hörsch; McGehee; Kavaler; Nussbaum, German Gothic Church architecture, trans. S. Kleager (New Haven, 2000); and Sankovitch, "A Reconsideration of French Renaissance Church Architecture," L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance (Paris, 1995): 161-180.

shows many similarities to Brou: a façade of a tripartite centre, flanked by aisles of double windows; a two-story nave with an arcade and a unified clerestory-triforium zone above;[329] a chevet of five tall windows peaking in ribbed vaults forming widow's peaks. Other Brabantine churches also provide direct comparison. The tripartite elevation and bell arch of the north transept portal of Notre Dame-au-delà, de la Dyle in Mechelen recalls Brou's west portal. Brou's jubé is similar to that of St. Pierre in Louvain.[330] The elevation of the chevet and Margaret's chapel featuring windows above applied tracery arcading are similar to St. Jan's Onze Lieve Vrouwe Confraternity Chapel at 's-Hertogenbosch.[331]

The ornamentation of Brou also follows the characteristics of Brabantine Late Gothic architectural ornament: elaborate geometric figures, ogival forms, complex mouldings, bell arches and tracery trefoils (in various forms).[332] All these characteristics are applied with the virtuosity prized in the Late Gothic style but with a level of abstraction and wit uniquely its own. The solid surfaces of the wall are opened by singularly placed and shaped geometric forms and deep, undulating moulding. Forms subtly repeat, linking disparate parts together. For instance, the circular windows of the façade and transept gables are echoed in the side aisle tracery windows and even in the curve of the façade gable. Triangles and squares constitute the basic forms and decorative shapes. Forms meld together creating new shapes.

Ornament and symbol are set above the wall surface, placing them in relief against a relatively unadorned environment. For example, the west portal tracery stands out from the surface affixed by stone pegs (Fig. 16). The portal's near empty jambs hold precisely placed convex symbols, arching out in relief, showing the stonemason's ability to "curve" stone. Both in detail and overall vision, virtuosity, abstraction and wit are built into the plan.

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[328] On Late Gothic in Brabant see: Hörsch; Buyle, 82-103; Arciszewska; Kavaler; & Joanna Ziegler, "The Genesis of Gothic Architecture in the Duchy of Brabant," Ph.D. diss. (Brown University, 1984).
[329] A characteristic also found in Brussels's Notre Dame de la Chapelle (built between 1425-83). Bruchet. 1927, 165. Buyle, 89.
[330] Pallot, 80.
[331] Constructed from 1478-1497, the elaborately decorated chapel has been suggested to function as an enclave for city and court elite. Arciszewska, 96-97.
[332] Kavaler, 233,237.

The typical Brabantine church employed quadripartite vaults; however, more intricate vaulting was used to indicate the courtly, ceremonial function of the spaces they cover.[333] The Chapel of St Philip and St John the Baptist in the Dukes of Burgundy's Coudenburg Palace (built 1522-53, destroyed 1778), the most important court chapel built in the Netherlands, had net and star vaulting. However, there was more to these elaborate vaults than a skilful display to indicate function. The Habsburg rulers of Burgundy built this Chapel and the net/stellar vault was a part of their personal architectural vocabulary.[334] Brou is covered with progressively more elaborate net/stellar vaulting from west to east, culminating in Margaret's chapel (or perhaps in the underside of the canopy of Margaret's tomb), indicating the courtly nature of the entire church and its focus on a Habsburg princess.

This is far from the only influence of the Habsburgs. The Brabantine architectural approach can find its origins in the works of the Parler family of masons who were active in the service of the Habsburgs in central Europe in the fourteenth century. In a radical departure from the reproducible system of abstract and interchangeable forms of earlier Gothic, the Parlers initiated a system that emphasised free invention and individual interpretation of form.[335] A systematic program of terse relationships, expressed through a virtuoso application of the architectural style, became a central theme of Late Gothic design in the Empire. Developing from these concepts, German Late Gothic was characterized by wall surfaces that became an aesthetically valuable element or sometimes simply a background for artistic display. Nussbaum lists its important modes of expressions as, "axial shifts or splits, a fusion of hitherto disparate elements, the staggered and surprising placement of structural elements, fragmentation, and a purposeful blurring of prototypic reference."[336]

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[333] Arciszewska and Kavaler also discusses the indicative function of architectural ornament. Arciszewska, 93; and Kavaler, 226-228.

[334] Most consciously employed by Peter Parler at Prague cathedral in the fourteenth century, the royal connotations of stellar vaulting led to its repetition in many Habsburg structures. For example, St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna. Arcizewska, 94, note 66.

[335] Peter Parler's work on Prague cathedral best exemplifies their individualistic approach. See Nussbaum, 111-136.

[336] For a discussion on the Parlers' influence on German Late Gothic architecture see: Nussbaum, 137-139. The virtuosity of "Parlaresque" architecture would again be taken up in Bohemia by Benedict Reid, contemporaneously with Brou construction. Nussbaum, 207-218.

Brabantine van Boghem was a subject of the Empire and working for the daughter of the Habsburg Emperor so it is unsurprising to see the influence of the great architecture of the Empire. Many elements of Brou can find their source in Parleresque architecture, particularly in the facade: the creative and surprising placement of supposedly structural elements, such as the flying buttresses; the dissolution of the wall as a load bearing structure, as varied and fragmental openings make it a background for artistic display, as well as ceremonial presentations. Peter Parler at Prague cathedral had delineated a system of interior and exterior passageways and presentation balconies for Imperial display. This system comes down to the early sixteenth-century in Brou's elaborate system, from the façade balconies to Margaret's personal oratory.

Brou at its stylistic core is a Brabantine Late Gothic church, imbued with the Late Gothic sensibilities of Habsburg architecture. Some scholars have dismissed Margaret's court for not immediately producing Italianate Renaissance architecture.[337] However, this statement does not consider the contemporary context and the reception and proliferation of the Italian Renaissance in the Low Countries in the 1510's and 1520's. Northern Europe had different artistic priorities than the south. They were not so attracted to the precise, simplified forms of the Renaissance but interested by the principle of creative fragmentation and reconstruction. A different perception was at work.[338]

The Brabantine Late Gothic viewed both "modern" and "antique" forms as valid artistic modes and combined both together in both religious and secular painting and architecture. Kavaler calls the style "Renaissance Gothic" and notes that various artists and architects at work in the Netherlands in the early sixteenth-century use these forms and themes: Gossaert, van Orley, Blondel, van Roome, the Keldermans, Waghemakere and van Boghem. Kavaler fails to note, however, that these artists all have another major factor in common: they all worked for Margaret of Austria.[339] Margaret's part in the proliferation of this style cannot be underestimated as it was her court in Mechelen that

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[337] W. Kuyper writes "Margaret of Savoy did not succeed in attracting Renaissance architects" and that... "In architecture, a Renaissance generation could only take over after the deaths of Margaret of Savoy and Rombouts Keldermans." W. Kuyper, The Triumphant Entry of the Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands.... vol. 1 (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1994), 1, 84. Kuyper also fails to credit Margaret for laying the foundations (through her patronage of humanists artist and scholars) for these later developments.

[338] Craig Harbison, The Mirror of the Artist : Northern Renaissance Art in its Historical Context (New York, 1995).

was the first to promote new "antique" styles in the Netherlands, alongside native artists' traditions.

The mausoleum of such a patron would not ignore the style so popular at her court. And indeed the influence of the antique is found in both the details and the fundamentals of Brou. The new "antique" is blended into various details. The west side of the jubé displays classically inspired squared pillars supporting three near-compressed arches. The east side more overtly displays antique motifs. The arches have lost the hanging Late Gothic tracery of the west side and appear closer to Renaissance round arches. The spandrel and lintel above are decorated with symbols and crests that have an articulation more akin to classical relief carving, in contrast to the Flamboyant tracery on the west. That the strongly Late Gothic side faces the more public nave suggests an appreciation of the connotations and hierarchy of style. This is also suggested by the stained glass architectural frames found in the choir and chapels. Late Gothic arches frame Margaret's functionaries while religious figures are portrayed under a melange of Late Gothic and Renaissance motifs. For instance, Christ and Magdalene in the choir windows are presented under a classical round arch and spandrel holding roundels but with Late Gothic, branch-like, hanging tracery. Pure "antique" architecture is reserved for the highest nobility, that being Margaret and Philibert. The only antique imagery at Brou is found in the window of Margaret's chapel, where the "*all'antica*" frieze after Titian is also part of the Renaissance frame of the ducal couple witnessing the Imperial coronation of the Virgin.

The details provide concrete examples of the use of Renaissance forms but classical influence is also present at a more fundamental level. At the heart of Renaissance architecture are the principles of symmetry and proportion. Alberti wrote, "I shall define beauty to be harmony in all parts...fitted together with such proportion and connection that nothing could be added, diminished or altered but for the worse."[340] These are surely principles at work at Brou. The church's plan has near perfect bi-lateral symmetry, with the exception created by the tower, which was originally planned to be central. Its façade is nothing if not a virtuoso show of precise symmetry. Every form and

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[339] Kavaler discusses the above artists' stylistic similarities but fails to note their common employer, a significant factor in a discussion in the development of style. Kavaler, 228-32.
[340] Quoted in John Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance (New York, 1993), 252.

detail has its opposite in perfect balance. In this light, the space of the nave seems less to reflect the Gothic ideals of abstract thinning wall and soaring pointed arches and more like the barrel vaulted space of a Renaissance interior. The solidity of the piers and near full-compression of the transverse arches and vaulting creates a solid encompassing space, defining an interior rather than reaching for the heavens.

Brou's "jewel-like" like quality emerges from the innate proportion and symmetry of its plan. Van Boghem's Late Gothic church has incorporated the basic principles of the Renaissance. Could this explain the consistent, if qualified, praise Brou continued to elicit long after the Late Gothic was considered passé?

Call it "post-modern" or perhaps, "neo-(Late) Gothic," van Boghem's fusion of space, form and detail is unusal. Brou's novelty reflects the influence of Humanistic thought upon a personalised knowledge of the architectural vocabulary of the aristocratic past and present. Such a design depends upon the skill and imagination of its architect and the personal references, experiences and vision of its patron. And with all this the opportunity and resources to build it and the confidence to carry it out. With such a list of requirements, it is unsurprising that Brou was never imitated.

B. Function and Meaning:

It is Brou's aberrant nature that ultimately reveals its historical importance, showing its international connections and manifesting the ambitions of its patron.[341]

1. Political

Margaret was a Burgundian and a Habsburg. As the last generational link between the Valois Dukes and the expanding Habsburg Empire she took it upon herself to ensure the survival of her Burgundian heritage. Her rule of the Low Countries was one of the longest of the Burgundian House and her policies aimed to continue earlier ducal attempts to consolidate Burgundian power. Only in 1529, as the only means of ensuring that the remaining lands of Burgundy would remain intact, did she finally officially relinquish the Duchy of Burgundy itself to the French in the Treaty of Cambrai.[342] A year later in her final will, written the day she died, she implored Charles to maintain the state she had spent her life keeping together.

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[341] The idea of the meaningful aspect of "aberrant" architecture is discussed by Böker, 1991, 180.
[342] Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 213-214.

> "...and in order not to abolish the name of the House of Burgundy....my said Lady begs and implores the Lord Emperor to be pleased to keep in his own hands the said county of Burgundy, and its dependencies, as long as he lives, and after his death to leave it to one of his children or other heirs who may succeed to these countries (the Netherlands), without dividing or separating it."[343]

But as she feared, after her death, Burgundy was subsumed and its borders were blended into the "Circles" of the Empire.

Margaret's Burgundy was a post-Valois Burgundy, the New Burgundy of the Habsburgs. The choice of a Brabantine Late Gothic style of St. Nicolas of Tolentino reflects Margaret's devotion to the New Burgundy, for it was an updated version of the courtly style of the Dukes of Burgundy and would have clear political implications for a contemporary audience.[344]

A primary reference would be to the mausoleum of Champmol, which although in French hands from 1483, was still very much part of the consciousness of the House of Burgundy. As late as 1522, Charles V's will stated that he wished to be buried in Champmol if the territory was recovered.[345] Champmol had been begun in order to help establish the Duchy, promote the ties of church and state and perhaps, one-day, help to legitimatise the Duchy's elevation to a Kingdom. Aristocratic tombs and memorials were generally about chronicling a dynasty in stone and providing concrete ties from one generation to the next.[346] Brou carries on from Champmol, chronicling the last of the original House of Burgundy. From Brou's earliest plans with Perréal, Champmol was discussed as a prototype of form and function. In the final outcome, the tombs bear a strong resemblance to those of Champmol, echoing the work of Claus Sluter. Brou, like Champmol was also a place of worship, offering continual prayers for the dead and a guarantee of their perpetual memory. It was also a place of aristocratic ceremony and

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[343] Translation by Tremayne, 287.
[344] On role of Late Gothic architecture as a political instrument, see Böker, 1993, 69.
[345] If not recovered, he was to be buried with his mother in Bruges. Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 210. Charles would later alter his wishes to reflect his Spanish centered Empire and was eventually laid to rest in Spain.
[346] Howarth discusses royal tombs building in relation to the English monarchy. Howarth, 1997, 190.

symbolic show, part of a political process and a ritual manifestation of established (and desired) relations of the ruler, her subjects and God.[347]

But this was the New Burgundy and the organisation of space reflected not only Burgundian processional "joyous entries" but also Habsburg traditions of Imperial representation and display. Margaret's father had viewed art as propaganda, as always having a purpose, that is, to represent and glorify the Imperial mission and pedigree.[348] Was Brou an imperial structure? The above ground passageways and balconies were indeed as reminiscent of Prague as they were of Brussels. Many traditions overlapped, such as the grand heraldry display of the choir's stained glass, which recalls the Habsburg *Wappenwand* as well as the Burgundian Chapel in Antwerp. The House of Habsburg too had a illustrious tradition of mausoleum building (even if they did have more trouble finishing them.) And even in the blending of tradition, it was the Imperial crown that was the apex of Brou, and although its heavy weight would eventually topple the tower, it declared to all the advent of Imperial Burgundy.[349]

Brou is the architectural manifestation of the New Habsburg Burgundy, aware of its multi-faceted heritage and expressed it in a modern fashion of quotation and invention. It is Margaret's personal vision of a Burgundy that exists through her efforts and that would melt away after her death. In this light, Brou is an expression of a fleeting and soon-to-be extinct House, which may be another possible explanation for its lack of imitation.

2. Social

Imbued with political significance, Brou was also a space of ceremony and social hierarchy. The interior is designed around its aristocratic and religious functions, providing a space for royal spectacle infused with an air of sanctity. The spectator would be witness to the ruler's devotions (or the devotions dedicated to the late ruler) and by observing these courtly religious ceremonies taking place in the church, the spectator was to be impressed, edified and reaffirmed in his or her loyalty to the ruler. The above

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[347] W. Blockmans & E. Donckers, "Self-representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the 15th- and early 16th-centuries," in Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages, eds. W. Blockmans & A. Janse (Belgium, Turnhout, 1999), 81-111.
[348] Trevor-Roper, 1985, 18-19.
[349] That Brou was understood as a symbol of Habsburg Imperial power is further suggested by that fact that Charles V continued embellishments of Brou even after the region had fallen to the French in 1536.

ground passages and balconies provided privileged space for the display of rulers or holy relics or for noble guests to observe ceremony. They could also be filled with musicians or processional participants or used to hang processional banners or tapestries. The open nave allowed space for processions and spectators and the jubé gave a clear delineation between public and privileged space. In the theatre of rule, it is the spectators that provide the meaning and so the architectural organisation of Brou creates spaces for both display and observation, making an architectural statement of the organisation of society.[350]

Architectural detail and ornament helped to articulate the function, status and ownership or patronage of a structure. From the relative simplicity of the nave to Margaret's ornate chapel, the varying density of ornament in the church is an architectural articulation of a strict social hierarchy. In his discussion of Late Gothic ornament in the Netherlands, E.M. Kavaler has posited that an informed viewer would discern the underlying order or architectural language of distinctive and hierarchical motifs and figures.[351] That the entirety of Brou was to be considered as the space of privilege is demonstrated by the stellar vaults throughout. However, the vaults, along with all ornament and symbol become more intense as one approaches the choir and tomb of Margaret of Austria. From the first entrance by the west portal, the spectator is introduced to the symbols, mottos and emblematic forms representative of the patron and her intentions. Marguerites, intertwined P's and M's, the cross and plane of St. Andrew, knotted rope of Savoy, etc were placed with precise intent on the portal and in the nave, discretely placing the mark of ownership upon the church, that being the widow Duchess of Savoy. By the time a spectator reaches the choir and tombs, the profusion of fluid mottos and emblematic devices leaves no doubt to the consequence of the space, to celebrate the widow herself, a Burgundian and Habsburg princess.[352]

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[350] On the organization of social space in church architecture see Arciszewska, 80, 86, 91 & 98.
[351] Kavaler, 226-228.
[352] This fluid use of mottos and emblematic device is typical of the period. E. Bourassin has noted that under Habsburg and Burgundian rulers, the traditional rigid and complex rules of medieval heraldry became inconvenient. More fluid imprese, mottoes and emblematic devices were more adaptable to changing role of elite at period and more easily tailored to individual needs. These supplementary insignia sometimes accompanied coats of arms, other times they replaced them. Emmanuel Bourassin, "La hérauderie au XVe

3. Religious

Equal to status and function, the intensity of ornament also denotes the holiest of spaces. Beneath the stellar vaults holding elaborate keystones of Margaret's mottos and before the stained glass walls of the heraldry and holy display of the patron are beautifully carved choir stalls, marking the space in which the holy brothers would worship and pray for the souls of Margaret and her family. The three tombs lie before them, providing a focus for their prayers. That Margaret wished to be prayed for as an individual is clear from her choice of a separate tomb. The size and density of ornament of her tomb declares her prominence among the three. Its delicate detail and succinct space reflects and intensifies the church's sacred nature, an architectural play between micro- and macro-architecture, interior and exterior. Within the jewel-like church, beneath its patterned roof, within the ornate choir, Margaret's tomb is like a reliquary within a reliquary.[353]

Did Margaret hope for more than memorial and prayer from her mausoleum? Although officially dedicated to St. Nicolas of Tolentino, he is pictured only once on the west portal. Other Augustinian saints appear in the secondary chapels and transept (such as St. Augustine and St. Monica) but the choir and Margaret's chapel focus on saints associated with Margaret. St. Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy, and the Virgin Mary, who was a common dedication for Burgundian rulers, are represented several times throughout the church. The Magdalene and St. Margaret, both associated with Margaret, also appear. Christ appears several times in relation to the resurrection. The saintly focus of the heart of the church is about resurrection, Burgundy and Margaret herself. Church and state and ruler are brilliantly intertwined, suggesting an alternative dedication to Margaret herself as embodiment of all.

Margaret clearly meant for Brou to become a centre of pilgrimage and provided the monastery with many precious relics. And by placing herself at Brou's core she associated herself with the divine, almost as a relic herself. Her widowly devotion, nobility and piety amply demonstrated, Margaret herself was to be revered. Her father

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siècle: Rois et hérauts d'armes" in Jeanne d'Arc : une époque, un rayonnement; Colloque d'Histoire Médiévale, Orléans, Octobre 1979 (Paris, 1982), 107-11. Discussed by Kavaler, 243, n. 84.

[353] The architectural design of reliquaries is well demonstrated by the chapel-like St. Ursula Reliquary (1489). Prevenier & Blockmans, 1986, 324.

had once (partially) joked that he would become Pope, gain sanctity and then be worshipped.[354] Could his daughter not have entertained similar saintly ambitions?

4. Personal

Whether divine or secular, Brou is about memory...a very personalised memory. It is the memory of the marriage of Margaret and Philibert, his early death and her continued devotion. However, it does not stop with Philibert's death, but continues to recount the life of the widow Margaret, pre- and post-Philibert. Brou's planning, design and style tell the educated viewer the facts of Margaret's life: her upbringing in France (seen in the earliest planning with French artists); her Spanish marriage (in tapestries); her Savoyard marriage; her virtuous and pious widowhood; her life and rule in the Netherlands (choice of style and architect, van Orley's altarpiece); her devotion to both the House of Habsburg and Burgundy and determination to ensure the survival of the later.

Brou also embodies her personal ambitions, foremost being the acknowledgement of her irreplaceable part in the building of the Habsburg Empire. She spent most of her life ruling and consolidating the Empire's Burgundian territory. Yet her efforts were not always appreciated, even to the point of having to defend herself publicly on charges of corruption. The importance of dynastic memory for her family, combined with her personal fears of being "lost and forgotten to the world," meant Brou was to be more than a royal burial place. At Brou, Margaret symbolically crowns herself in image and architecture, acknowledging her pivotal Imperial role. Her spiritual life is represented by her saint-like depiction and leaves no doubt that her religious ambitions were also as lofty as her secular.

Her pedigree and life place her in the centre of Imperial affairs yet she understood that as a woman uncrowned, childless and ruling for another, her dynastic position was tenuous. Still, the memory she wished to leave to history was no less ambitious than hat of her Emperor father or nephew.[355] At Brou, a place of personal happiness, which she

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[354] See note 74 above.

[355] Maximilian's lofty ambitions have been discusses above. Charles V would continue his family's grand memorial tradition in his creation of the El Escorial. The examples set by his grandfather and aunt Margaret, who together were responsible for his education and formation as a ruler, no doubt imprinted a pattern of elaborate personal display that informed his palatial plan. On Charles see, H. Soly, et al. eds., Charles V and his Time, 1500-1558 (Antwerp, 1999).

ruled in her own name, in lands traditionally part of Burgundy, she set out her life in stone, an architectural autobiography of an Imperial ruler.

5. Authorship

Most scholarly discussions of the authorship of Brou have focused on the artists and master masons, with the acknowledgement of Margaret's influence.[356] But Margaret was more than an influence. In the early sixteenth-century the relationship would have been perceived quite differently. A master mason might conceive and supervise an entire project, yet it was still the patron contemporaries considered the essential source for the monument. The patron was described as *architectus* and it was their reputation that would be commemorated by the project. The master mason was appreciated for his practical worth in bringing the project to fruition and as such was well paid and sought out by patrons.[357]

That Margaret may have been even more closely involved is hinted at by an undocumented anecdote that states, "it is known that" Margaret drew part of the plans of a church in Bruges.[358] This is an intriguing suggestion as it is easy to imagine a designer setting a plan before Margaret and her adding her own ideas. Although purely speculative, based on knowledge of her personality and varied artistic interests (she painted, wrote poetry and music), an interest in and perhaps, talent for, architectural design would not be impossible.

Brou is the result of a creative forum, taking shape in the interaction between Margaret's ideas, intentions and directions and the design, skills and complementary vision of her masters. The creation of a Brabantine Late Gothic church, with influences of Imperial/German Late Gothic as well as the Italian Renaissance could come only from the cultured experience of its patron who chose her artists and master based on their ability to

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[356] Max Bruchet stated that had Perréal and Lemaire stayed on, Brou would have been a great French Renaissance building, and that it was van Boghem who brought the influence of the Late Gothic of Flanders. Bruchet 162. In his discussion of the question of the authorship of Brou, Walter Cahn's focus was on Perréal, Lemaire and van Boghem and only in the very last paragraph suggests that Margaret may have been a driving force behind it. The work of M.F. Poiret and M. Hörsch however, does focus on Margaret's close supervision of Brou.

[357] C.M. Radding and W.W. Clark review this literature in Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning: Builders and Masters in the Age of Romaesque and Gothic (New Haven, 1992), 34-36. On the role of mason and artisan at Brou, see Brou, les batisseurs....

[358] Tremayne relates this anecdote (279) but does not elaborate, give a source, or name the church. I have found no other reference to this suggestion. See also Chapter 3 on the Convent of the Annunciates, note 457.

carry out her wishes. Their input and creativity undoubtedly altered and transformed her vision over the years but the final choice was always hers.
Her changing life was the catalyst of the evolution of the idea of Brou. Filtered through the ideas and talents of numerous designers, artisans, artists and mastermasons, Margaret's vision of Brou encompasses reflections of her own life as well as the trends and ideas of her time.

The symbolic composition is a multi-layered work like Maximilian had created many times on paper, but never seemed to get around to building. Here Margaret combined the ego, pride and monumental vision of her father with a temperance and practicality born of her particular experience as an Imperial daughter. Brou, while a masterpiece of jewel-like precision, is of realistic proportions, made with a practical and virtuous rationale. Margaret's considerable diplomatic talent is here applied to architectural design, to declare the importance of a woman who negotiated her place in her dynastic House.

Brou was admired but never copied. Why? Brou is traditional and unconventional at the same time. Of a "modern" style, it followed a contemporary appreciation for technical virtuosity taken to new heights through ingenious, unorthodox combinations of form and articulation. Any equally talented architect who wished to copy its singular design, would have adopted its personalized approach, which would have resulted in a new building. A lesser architect would miss the point. And if we take into account the contemporary perception of Brou, its associations were so complex and specific, that they would discourage any potential copiers. Brou was meant to evoke the independent entity of Habsburg Burgundy which at Margaret's death became nothing more than a part of a much larger Imperial whole. Why imitate the last of a great but basically extinct state? And much more specifically, Brou's design was about Margaret, embodying her own experience as an Imperial daughter, wife and ruler. Brou is the autobiography of Margaret of Austria set in stone. It was never copied because it was singular statement of a particular person and her era.

Chapter 3:
For the Glory of Family, God and Self:
Margaret's Other Secular and Religious Commissions

While Brou was Margaret's most complete commission, it was far from her only one. Margaret was a prolific patron of both religious and secular projects, all of which demonstrate a variety of facets and concerns, some addressed at Brou, others not.[359] Her life as Regent required not only her skills and abilities but also a supporting image of these and other qualities, in particular piety. Her sincere religious devotion was, as with all aspects of her personal life, also intermeshed with her political role. Her privileged status allowed her the funds and freedom to commission everything from personal residences to reliquaries and to support scholars and religious Orders. Her varied commissions further illuminate the varied aspects of Margaret's life, image and aims. This chapter will examine some of Margaret most significant and intriguing commissions, from her residence in Mechelen, to a tomb for a long dead brother, to her own Convent.

I. Representing Regency: Margaret's Secular Commissions

A. The Palace of Savoy

When Margaret's brother, Phillip, died on September 25 1506, Margaret was living in her dower lands in Savoy with no plans to leave. A little over a month later she left Savoy, never to return. This reversal was the result of the position her father offered her as Regent and guardian to Phillip's four children in the Netherlands. This was an ideal opportunity for Margaret to re-enter the international political arena. Since Philibert's death, she had refused the expected next move, to re-marry, and instead had pursued independent authority. She had displayed a desire and ability for rule in her role as Duchess of Savoy and in her negotiations as a widow with the new Duke and her father for control of her dower lands and the Franche-Comté. The prospect of rule in her homeland and one of her family's most important territories, a role that would put her at the center of her family's affairs (hardly "lost and forgotten"), was no doubt attractive.

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[359] Her full patronage activities cannot be fully addressed here; however, it should be noted that Margaret was a patron of a wide variety of media: music, painting, poetry, manuscripts etc. Her own interest in the arts included her own activities, for she herself wrote poetry and is known to have owned a paint-box and brushes. For a general overview of her patronage activities see, de Boom 135-228 and Tremayne 273-283; on music see, Debae 1987, 155-56; on painting see Eichberger & Beaven and Eichberger, 1995; on poetry and manuscripts see Debae, 1987 & 1995.

Margaret left Savoy, first for Dole, the principal city of the Franche-Comté and then continued on to German territory where she remained with her father, Maximilian (no doubt discussing the dimensions of Margaret's role) for three months.[360] On April 4, 1507 the new Regent arrived in Mechelen, which was to become her principal residence for the rest of her life. Margaret initially took up residence in the old ducal Palace of Margaret of York. However, she would soon build her own residence, naming it for the lands she had left behind, the Palace of Savoy. Before discussing the Palace itself, the factors surrounding the circumstances of its creation should be considered.

1. Mechelen

Margaret's choice of Mechelen (Figs. 58a and b) as her chief residence was influenced by many factors. Located on the river Dyle, the city of Mechelen was a prosperous port town, easily defended with a series of moats and walls. Mechelen also had a tradition of good relations with the House of Burgundy (at least in comparison to other Brabantine cities such as Ghent and Bruges or the province of Flanders). It became the principal ducal court under Charles the Bold who at one point planned to make Mechelen the capital of the proposed, but never actualized, "Kingdom of Burgundy."[361] After his death in 1477, his widow, Margaret of York received the city of Mechelen as part of her dower agreement and decided to make it her principal residence.

In November 1477, Margaret of York bought a house from John of Burgundy, Bishop of Cambrai for 4000 florins. It was the largest house in Mechelen but clearly not large enough for at the same time she bought seven adjoining houses and land. She commissioned Anthonis I Keldermans, a member of the well-respected mason family, to complete the renovations and extensions. The costs of these endeavors were partially paid for by the city itself, as they understood the benefit of having the Dower Duchess as a

[360] Margaret is noted as being in Dole at the end of October, 1506. By early January 1507 she is noted in Ensisheim, then Ulm, Rottenburg and as "hunting in Urach" (Swabia). Bruchet & Lancien, 20. Her itinerary is also discussed in Bruchet, 1927, 55.

[361] Mechelen was Charles' first choice but after capturing the more central city of Nancy, he decided the later was better situated. Charles had long negotiated with Emperor Frederick III to raise the Duchy to a Kingdom, the last meeting in 1473. Although no agreement was ever concluded, Charles proceeded with plans for his Kingdom until his death in 1477. C. Cope, The Lost Kingdom of Burgundy (London, 1986), 171-72.

resident. They offered 2000 florins towards her expenses and throughout her stay she received many gifts towards the costs of maintaining and improving her residence.[362]

Margaret of York was Margaret of Austria's step-grandmother, godmother and namesake and it was to the Palace of Margaret of York that the young Margaret returned between her marriages (mid 1493 to late 1496, and 1500 to 1501). Margaret of York had also raised Duke Phillip from the age of seven. On August 4, 1487, Margaret of York officially gave her residence to the children of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, making it the official ducal palace.[363] Upon her death in 1505, rule of the city and ownership of the Palace passed to Phillip and Margaret.[364] Upon Phillip's death, Margaret of Austria became the sole possessor.

Mechelen was therefore a centrally located, loyal Burgundian city, closely associated with Margaret of Austria and her family's past and now part of her growing personal empire. So in 1507, Margaret took up residence in the Palace of Margaret of York along with her four wards. For the next twenty-three years Mechelen would be Margaret's home and her presence would affect both the political and visual landscape of that city.

2. The Old Residence: the Palace of Margaret of York

The ducal palace, known during the time of Margaret of York as the *Cour de Cambrai,* was located in the parish of St. Peter's, an area of noble residences, east of the city's main square. Partially extant today, it is a two-storied, red brick building with a long, windowed façade on to what is now *Keizerstraat* (Fig. 59).[365] At the façade's west corner is a hexagonal tower which once held a stone presentation balcony supported by four griffins and four lions on the second floor. This Late Gothic structure originally included a court of honour and behind the palace were gardens, a tennis court, shooting gallery and Roman style baths.

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[362] M. Weightman, Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503 (New York, 1989), 122-26. The city benefited greatly by the ducal presence. Not only did they gain sufficient trading privileges to put them on equal footing as Brussels, they could expect royal, imperial and foreign diplomatic visits. Although these visits could be costly, they nevertheless added to the prestige of the city.

[363] Quinsonas, 319.

[364] Tremayne, 68-69. Margaret of York was buried in the monastery of the Recollets in Mechelen, which she had supported financially. Her tomb and memorial were both destroyed in the late 16th-century, although a description survives. See Weightman, 215.

[365] Margaret of York's Palace was badly damaged in an explosion of 1546. In 1611, the Jesuits were installed the former ducal Palace. Quinsonas, 309. In the 19th-century, the building was partly destroyed and transformed into a theatre.

On the second floor were Margaret of York's public and personal rooms. There were splendid reception rooms and her council chamber was massive with several monumental marble fireplaces.[366] Her staterooms were painted by Baudouin van Battel of Mechelen, who worked for many Brabant noble families. The walls of her personal study were hung with violet taffeta and she had a library of illuminated manuscripts and printed books, kept behind a wrought iron grill made by Gauthier van Battel, Baudouin's brother. She had a large collection of tapestries, plate and paintings – by the likes of van Eyck, Memlinc, van der Weydens and Bouts - many which became part of Margaret of Austria's collection.[367]

This splendid residence was deemed insufficient for the New Regent and even before she arrived in Mechelen plans had begun for her own residence.

3. The New Residence: Palace of Savoy

Margaret was to have a new Palace across the street from the Old. Some time soon after Phillip's death, but before Margaret's arrival in Mechelen, two ducal functionaries, acting in Maximilian's name, had acquired properties across from the Ducal Palace that belonged to the ducal counselor Jeronimus Lauweryn. Lauweryn had purchased several individual houses on (present day) Keizerstraat, Voochtstraat and Korte Maagdenstraat (see map, Fig. 58b) and had been undertaking renovations (supervised by Anthonis I Keldermans) to create a single residence.[368] This conglomeration of individual buildings would now be remodeled to form the new Regent's residence, the Palace of Savoy.

That Margaret would have her own residence was decided from the outset, but the question is why? There may have been a question as to whether the old ducal palace was large or grand enough to accommodate all the needs of Margaret's court. But Margaret could not take up residence in the Palace of Savoy during its long renovations and so the Old Palace continued to be sufficient for many more years. The rationale behind the new Palace may have been much more long term, considering ideas of magnificence and image more so than practicalities. Maximilian and Margaret appear to have decided to

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[366] The size of the council room is evidenced by its transformation into a theatre in the 19th-century. Weightman,124.

[367] Weightman, 124-25.

[368] R. Meischke & F. van Tyghem, "*Huizen en hoven gebouwd onder leiding van Anthonis I en Rombout II*," in Keldermans. Een architectonisch netwerk in de Nederlanden, eds. H. Janse & J.H. van Mosselveld (Bergen op Zoom, 1987), 142.

continue to consolidate the ducal/Imperial presence in Mechelen, as begun under Charles the Bold. Mechelen would become the seat of the Habsburg government and while the old Ducal Palace would continue as the residence of the four children, state affairs would be administered from the personal residence of the Regent. The creation of a new and splendid Palace was a noteworthy event that could mark the beginning of Margaret's Regency, as well as adding to the prestige of the House of Habsburg-Burgundy. While augmenting the architectural presence of the dynasty, it would also articulate architecturally the concept of an adjacent but independent sphere of regently power, literally creating the architectural space of Regency. It is unrecorded whether the Palace was Margaret or Maximilian's idea. Regardless, it would be Margaret who would orchestrate the designs and construction and it was her reputation that was promoted and embellished, as evidenced by the name of the new residence, the Palace of Savoy.

a. The Building

The creation of the Palace of Savoy (Figs. 60 a, b and c) is not nearly as well documented as Brou.[369] The first building campaign on the newly acquired structures began in 1508 under the supervision of Mechelen's master builder, Anthonis I Keldermans, who had also worked on Margaret of York's Palace. The Keldermans family, in their role as city master builders, guided the Palace's construction. Anthonis I died in November 1512 and was succeeded by his son Anthonis II, who in turn, was succeed in 1515 by his brother, Rombout II.

Further plots on Korte Maagdenstraat were purchased in 1509 by the city of Mechelen to be incorporated into the Regent's residence. Work began on the south

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[369] The main sources on the Palace of Savoy are as follows: Quinsonas, vol. 2, 1860, 301-25; Mechelen City Archives, B6378: Bloome L. (?), Grondplan van het gebouw als rechtbank van eerste aanleg (begin XX); E. Picard. Palais de Justice de Malines: Ancien palais de Marguerite d'Autriche (Malines, 1886); F. Steurs, Het Keizerhof en het Hof van Margaretha van Oosterijk te Mechelen (Mechelen, 1897). Steurs became the principal source for later studies, although several errors have been noted (see Biekorf, no. 87, 1987, p. 389-92) and several of Steurs' conclusions have been disputed. Recent studies include: H. Hitchcock, Netherlandish Scrolled gables in the 16th and 17th centuries (NYU Press, 1978); Bouwen door de eeuwenheen: Inventaris van het cultuurbezit in Belgie [Architectur/deel 9n. Stad Mechelen, Binnenstad] (Ghent, 1984), 296-69; Meischke & van Tyghem, 142-47; J. Grootaers, "Aspecten van het burgerlijk interieur te Mechelen ca. 1480-1530, Hof can Margareta, Hof van Cortenbach," in De Habsburgers en Mechelen, 39-47; and Eichberger & Beaven and Eichberger (1996), which both consider the original interior layout. Eichberger has also carried out a recent study on the Palace itself that will be published in 2002. See Eichberger, "A Noble Residence for a Female Regent. Margaret of Austria and the Construction of the Palais de Savoy in Mechelen," in Helen Hills (ed.), Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe (London: Ashgate, forthcoming).

(Voochtstraat) and west (Korte Maagdenstraat) sides. The corner house on the Voochtstraat was renovated to include a large ground floor hall and a chapel. This work neared completion in 1511-1512.[370] In 1512-13 work began on Margaret's library on a lot obtained through the purchase of a house on Voochtstraat. Work also began on the east part of the wing on the Voochtstraat for what might have been bath or oven space.[371]

When Rombout II took over in 1515, he began work on the middle part of the Voochtstraat wing creating an entrance with a new staircase (still extant today. Fig. 61). A relatively simple portal opened to a grandiose staircase that led to the second level. There were many bills of payment to Rombout during 1517-1518, including several payments for blue and white stone. Bills for the stairwell continue until 1519-1520.[372] A document notes a payment of two pounds to Rombout II in 1520 for "diverse patterns," probably related to the treasury room in the west wing.[373] In 1526-1527, other documents note a long list of materials received to be used in the construction of a gallery. The plan was to make a gallery the length of the interior of the south wing but the work was never finished and the remaining material was not used until 1609.[374]

It is unclear when work began on the Renaissance styled north side (Keizerstraat) of the Palace. F. Steurs suggested that by the 1520's, there was simultaneous work on the middle, east and north wings and that the north façade was probably finished in Margaret's lifetime. This would give Margaret credit with one of, if not the, first Renaissance styled buildings in the Netherlands. Steurs' theory is based on his interpretation of a document noting the delivery of blue stone by Pieter de Prince for the "*voyen*," which Steurs believed to refer to the north façade's balcony.[375] This theory was generally accepted until recent studies noted that "*voyen*" could also refer to a hallway, a railing or a balustrade along a hallway or a rail on a staircase. This, along with a re-examination of documentation relating to construction, style and function, has brought Steurs' analysis into question.[376]

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[370] Meischke & van Tyghem, 142-144.
[371] Meischke & van Tyghem, 144.
[372] Meischke & van Tyghem, 144.
[373] "*...diverssche patroonen...* ." Steurs, 64. Meischke & van Tyghem, 144.
[374] Meischke & van Tyghem, 144-146.
[375] Steurs, 61-63.
[376] Scholars have noted that most documentation does not indicate simultaneous work on several fronts and that the only support for this theory is Steurs' interpretation of the blue stone for the north facade. Meischke

Meischke and van Tyghem have suggested that only the Late Gothic southern side of Margaret's Palace was renovated during her lifetime. These scholars state that the principal house bought from Lauweryn on Keizerstraat still stood as an individual house during Margaret's lifetime. Margaret's Palace would have therefore consisted of the Late Gothic residential complex to the southwest, backed by a palace courtyard adjoining the courtyard of the (one would assume, Late Gothic) Lauweryn's house. The Palace would have lacked provisional buildings, such as a kitchen, stables, and servants quarters. The neighbouring Ducal court would no doubt have provided many of these services and it has been suggested that the Laweryn's house may have also accommodated some of these functions.[377]

If this is the case, the north facade is not the first example of Renaissance architecture built in the Netherlands. However, this does not rule out the possibility that it was the earliest plan for Renaissance styled architecture in the region. Considering the reputation of Margaret's court as the earliest receptor of Italian Renaissance design in the north, it is not impossible to imagine her court as an early source of "antique" architectural design.

When did Margaret take up residence in the Palace of Savoy? The Palace was completed piece by piece and was probably not finished during Margaret's lifetime. Some areas of the southwest wing must have been completed to the point of being suitable at least for storage as an inventory of the Palace of Savoy is extant, dated July 17, 1516. However the inventory is not specific as to the location of most objects, reflecting the temporary nature of the storage and display of items at this point.[378] A second inventory was completed in 1523-1524 that gives detailed references to the location of objects and to the living quarters of the regent, suggesting that Margaret was in residence at least from that time onwards. It has been suggested that it was Margaret's move into her new

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& van Tyghem suggest that Steurs' interpretation was an attempt to date the Renaissance influenced west façade to within Margaret's lifetime. Meischke & van Tyghem, 144.

[377] Meischke & van Tyghem, 146.

[378] Only two rooms are referred to: "*le petit cabinet de deçus l'oratoyre*" and "*...la librairye de Madame,*" both of which were in the southwest wing. Most items are listed under a heading of type, not location (i.e., "*tableaux et statues*"). In particular, no location is given for tapestries or textiles, which would have been hung in functioning room. Noted in Eichberger & Beaven, 228, n.29. The inventory is found in: Finot, 208-12 & Le Glay, vol. 2, 468-489.

Palace that initiated the second inventory so soon after the first.[379] So the southwest wings could have been ready for habitation by the early 1520's.

b. Original Appearance

The present Palace of Savoy (Figs. 60 a, b and c and 62 a and b) is clearly not the same building as that of Margaret of Austria's residence. Further work continued during the Regency of Margaret's successor, Mary of Hungary, although Mary chose Brussels as her prime residence. No known image exists from this period. Then on August 7,1546, the Palace was damaged by the explosion of the Sand Gate, which had been filled with 2000 tons of gunpowder. This major explosion destroyed most of the parish of St. Peter's, the area of the royal and noble palaces. According to Quinsonas, the only buildings left standing were the church of St. Peter's, the hotel Hoogstraten, and the court of the Emperor (Old Ducal Palace) and the palace of Margaret of Austria. Quinsonas states that the two royal courts were buried in debris and were probably uninhabitable.[380]

On March 19, 1547, Mary of Hungary sold the Palace of Savoy to the town of Mechelen, with the condition that they repair it for use as the hall of the Grand Council. However, only minor repairs had been made by 1561. On 24 July 1561, Regent Margaret of Parma gave the town permission to sell the building to Cardinal Granvelle, the first Archbishop of Mechelen. In 1609, the town bought the Palace back from inheritors of the Cardinal and installed the Grand Council in the Palace, where it remained until its dissolution. In 1796, the city law courts were installed here and it remains a Courthouse today.[381]

The early nineteenth-century's interest in historical architecture drew attention to the Old Palace and drawings from this period are the earliest known records of its appearance (Figs. 63 a, b, c and d). The drawings show a simple structure with little ornament. The north façade is notably lacking in ornament (considering its present form) and retains a strong appearance of a conglomeration of individual buildings. There is no

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[379] Eichberger & Beaven, 228, n.30. A further support to this theory is found in Margaret's itinerary. Margaret often spent time in other parts of the Netherlands but a large amount of time was spent away from Mechelen just prior to the 1523 inventory. She was away from Mechelen from June 13, 1521 until January 8, 1523, except for two brief visits (once for 2 days, once for 13 days). Bruchet & Lancien, 231-246. The 1523 inventory was begun on July 9, 1523. Margaret's absence may have allowed her staff to complete her move to the new residence.

[380] Charles V moved his private council to Brussels at this point, which supports this idea. Quinsonas, 305.

[381] Quinsonas, 306. Meischke & van Tyghem, 146.

second story balcony, just what appears to be a typical Netherlandish loading door. The south façade has a much more unified appearance, reflecting its completion in a single building campaign and intended function as principal façade (a fact more evident in the drawing than today where closely built residential houses obscure its vista).

The Palace also drew the attention of restorers who wished to recapture its former grandeur. In 1843, architects F. Berckmans and F. Bauwens made a plan for a general restoration. Several disputes arose over the renovation but decisions seem to have been made to remove the original oak furnishings, create a new division of rooms, to separate the front court and the interior garden, and create a porter house to the east of the front court. It is unclear how much, if any, of this was carried out.[382]

The whole project was handed over to the State in 1876-79, which carried out a major restoration campaign headed by L. Blomme. The "restoration" involved gutting the interior, reconstructing the facades (in particular the north) and constructing a new neo-Renaissance building on the northwest corner.[383] A year before Blomme's work began, the Romantic draughtsman J.B. de Noter drew an image of the conjectured original appearance of the north façade (Fig. 64). Adding significant ornament, unifying its appearance, de Noter's image also surmised the presence of a second balcony from the presence of worn-out and cut-off supports under the pilasters of the upper face. De Noter's suppositions were generally accepted as accurate, and influenced Blomme's work on the north facade.[384] Today, the extensive restorations and the lack of documentation relating to it have meant that the restorations' accuracy cannot be verified.

Modern scholars seriously question the present restoration and subsequent dating of the Palace, particularly the north façade. Meischke and van Tyghem point out that the second floor door, that added to speculation of a second balcony, could simply be a "*hijsdeur*," a door to pull up goods. They also note that the second level seems to be of an earlier date than the upper façade. The early nineteenth-century speculation of a balcony led to the late nineteenth-century reconstruction, which in turn provided Steurs with support for his theory for the construction on the north façade in the 1520's.[385] So there is

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[382] *Bowen door...*, 1984, 263.
[383] *Bowen door...*, 1984, 263.
[384] Meischke & van Tyghem, 146.
[385] Meischke & van Tyghem, 146.

significant confusion in art historical scholarship as to the original appearance of the Palace. Therefore, the following discussion of the original appearance of the Palace of Savoy, particularly the north façade, must be considered speculative at best.

(1) Exterior

The south façade was the principal façade in Margaret's lifetime. Its style is in keeping with the Late Gothic architecture of the Burgundian Palaces of the Netherlands, from the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels to the Old Ducal Palace one block away. With brickwork, cruciform windows, applied turrets, stepped dormer windows, and an impression of a larger structure formed from several smaller surrounding courtyards, the south-west of the Palace of Savoy is comparable to most Ducal residences in the Netherlands.[386] Considering its close proximity to the Old Ducal Palace and the ducal church of St. Peter's, Margaret may have envisioned the Palace of Savoy as the eventual core of a massive palatial complex, similar to Coudenberg. With extensive residences, support buildings, church, chapels and courtyards, the complex would basically be the self-sustaining town of the ruler and her court within the city. Its traditional style reflects the fact that, as Margaret's household, the Palace of Savoy should be consistent with other branches of the familial House.

The north façade is of a later style, reflecting the influences of the Renaissance in the Netherlands. In particular the center building with its tripartite façade, balconies and scrolled gables has led to serious debates over the date of the first appearance of this style in the Netherlands. Taking into consideration the debates over the original appearance, the serious gaps in documentation and the uncertainty in dating, we can still make a few suppositions, at least about Margaret as its patron. If we consider the present facade to be a possible reconstruction, even if this façade was not completed in Margaret's lifetime, it is still possible to imagine that it was she who commissioned the designs. Margaret, as evident at Brou, kept close watch over her architectural projects and it would be doubtful that she would commission plans for half a palace, especially after properties had been purchased for a whole. As well, her court was also one of the first to utilize the new "antique" style in various media.[387] Margaret's reputation among art historians as a

[386] On Netherlandish palaces see, de Jongh, 107-125.
[387] Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 229.

progressive patron has no doubt aided scholarly suggestions that the Renaissance façade was completed by 1530, perhaps more so than the often-questionable facts. Nevertheless, Margaret's cultured court and patronage activities alone support the possibility that the Renaissance design of the north façade was her commission, regardless of its completion date.

(2) Interior

Although the original layout is unknown, a guess can be made using existing information about the palace and the traditions of Palace architecture in the Netherlands. The 1523-24 inventory of the Palace of Savoy named several rooms and their contents, although giving no indication as to the rooms exact location in the Palace. A study by Dagmar Eichberger has used the inventory, along with documented information on the typical layout of Burgundian palaces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to deduce the functions of these rooms.[388] Eight rooms noted are: a chapel, a library, the "*premiere chamber*," the "*riche cabinet*," the "*second chamber a chemynee*," the adjoining "*petit chamber*," the "*cabinet empres le jardin*" and a treasury room for jewels, gold and silver.

The chapel and the "*premiere chamber*" (that Eichberger identifies as a reception hall and portrait gallery[389]) could be the chapel and large ground floor hall mentioned as finished in 1511-12.[390] The reception hall most likely had a very high ceiling taking the equivalent space of two floors. Johan Grootaers notes that there were probably administrative offices in a basement below the reception hall.[391] The "*riche cabinet*" contained but two chairs, one table and rich tapestries and Eichberger suggests it too was a reception room, perhaps off the larger for more confidential discussions.[392] The library is clearly the library begun in 1512-13 in the south wing. That the south and west wings were finished in around 1520 suggests that the remaining rooms were also located there. The "*second chamber a chemynee*" is identified as Margaret's bedroom and the adjoining "*petit chamber*" as her study.[393] Margaret's rooms were noted as being behind the library

[388] Eichberger & Beaven, Eichberger, 1996.
[389] Eichberger & Beaven, 229.
[390] Meischke & van Tyghem, 144.
[391] Grootaers, 40.
[392] Eichberger & Beaven, 229, n.34.
[393] Eichberger, 1996, 259.

and not far from the stairs.[394] This indicated Margaret's chambers to be on the second floor in the southwest corner with the library to the north. The "*cabinet empres le jardin*" (room next to the garden) was probably on the ground level.[395] The treasury, still identifiable today, is located on the west side on the second floor. There was also note of guest and/or servants' quarters in the west wing as of 1509 and in the north as of 1517.[396]

So the first floor of the southwest wing contained the reception hall, chapel, and most likely, the "*riche cabinet*" and the "room next to the garden." The second floor held Margaret's bedroom and study, the treasury and library. The first floor would therefore have held the more public rooms that served as spaces for political affairs, receptions, feasts and displays of lineage and connections. The second floor, accessible by a ceremonial grand staircase in the south wing, contained Margaret's more personal chambers, open to a more select public. They would nevertheless have also served in reception and display, in particular the library, which many visitors (including Albrecht Dürer) note as having visited, often in Margaret's company. Besides the obvious functions, Margaret's personal chambers were where Margaret worked, received her councilors and visitors and carried out personal worship.[397] The rooms were no doubt arranged to allow easy access to the covered passageway leading to the church of St. Peter and Paul, across the Korte Maagdenstraat (see below).

The demarcation of public and more private space appears to have revolved around the person of the Regent. There were varying degrees of privacy applied to different part of the palace, a practice common to Burgundian courts.[398] In ducal residences there was often a sequential distinction between rooms for official functions and for more private ones, shifting from public to more and more select areas. A hierarchy of servants, locks, keys and the architecture itself ensured the policing of these (written) rules.[399] A hierarchy existed establishing who had access to Margaret's person

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[394] Grootaers, 42.
[395] This room contained a wide variety of items from tableware (silver and otherwise) to clocks to New World coral to small religious figures. Michelant, 98-111. The exact function of this room is unclear although it might have partially served as storage or been related to a dining hall.
[396] Grootaers, 40.
[397] Margaret's bedroom alone contained 33 religious works of art from devotional diptychs to books of hours. There was also an altar and cushion for prayer. Eichberger, 1998, 305-307.
[398] de Jongh, 260.
[399] For a transcription of Palace documents relating to Household conduct, see Quinsonas, vol. 3, 280-328. For a summary, see Bruchet, 1927, 72-76.

and parts of the palace. The layout of the Palace would have reflected this hierarchy, helping to delineate the public from private space and the conduct of those in each space.

The interior is very much in keeping with that of other Burgundian Palaces: a large hall (for public audiences and fests), with the ruler's personal chambers (bedroom, study) nearby, rooms for staff and servants, and galleries which were often part of public ceremony. The Palace of Savoy was meant to impress with a grand display of architecture and ornament, but it was also designed to house and organize government, court ceremony and hierarchy.[400] This may have proven a challenge through years of renovation and construction, and Margaret's court organization would have evolved along with the structure itself. Margaret designed a building to represent her rule and managed this residence with similar principles as she ran her government and her life: with practicality, versatility and flexibility within a defined structure.

4. St. Peter and Paul's

Margaret also renovated the parish church of St. Peter and Paul, which was located between the Palace of Savoy and the Old Ducal Palace. The church's north side stood opposite the Old Palace and its choir faced Margaret's Palace on Korte Maagdenstraat where it was joined by an aboveground passageway. The church's refurbishment and adjacent position further supports the idea that there was a plan to create a ducal/Imperial complex. The Church was already associated with the House of Burgundy long before the creation of the Palace of Savoy and had been the site of many state religious ceremonies, such as Margaret's marriage (by proxy) to Don Juan in 1492.[401]

The church was originally built in the fifteenth century as part of a female religious house (as reflected in the present name of the street where it stood: *Maagdenstraat*). Quinsonas states that there was a cemetery next to the church, which Margaret's palace overlooked.[402] The church was destroyed in 1782.[403]

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[400] The Dukes of Burgundy had modeled their residences on those of the French Kings, particularly Charles V. Mary Whiteley, "Royal and Ducal Palaces in France in the Fourteenth and Fifteen Centuries: Interior, Ceremony and Function" in Guillaume, 54. On the room layout of Burgundian 15th- and 16th-century ducal residences, see de Jongh, 115-121.

[401] Debae, 1987, XII.

[402] Quinsonas, 322. The cemetery became the place of a livestock market in the 19th-century. Today, the "*Veemarkt*" ("livestock market") to the northwest of the Palace, may be its approximate location.

[403] De Boom, 111.

It is not clear if the passageway connecting the Palace of Savoy to St. Peter and Paul's was built during Margaret's renovations or was there from the time of purchase.[404] A late eighteenth-century image of the church (Fig. 65) shows the enclosed passageway with a pointed roof and windows, attaching the choir to the west façade of the Palace.[405] In another image (Fig. 66), the passageway is shown looking north-east and shows the passage connecting to the Palace just to the north of the west façade gable.[406] Quinsonas notes that the passageway went into the church to the Regent's personal tribune from which one could descend to the choir by stairs. The tribune opened on to the choir and on to a lateral chapel.[407] The concept of a private passage and tribune/oratory is similar to that found in other churches, such as Brou, reflecting these structures' aristocratic functions.[408]

The church became much associated with the Regent whose Palace it adjoined. Following the details of her will, Margaret's entrails were buried before the church's main altar and were marked by a copper plaque laid in stone. Many provisions were made to preserve her memory. A mass was said every day, a copper chandelier kept lit in her memory and December 1 was marked as the day of her death with prayers and services.[409] Charles V also erected a memorial to his aunt in St. Peter and Paul, near the 'très Ste-Sacrement,' close to the stairs from Margaret's tribune. In a letter from Antoine de Lalaing to Charles V, dated April 20, 1535, Lalaing describes the monument as, "a beautiful representation in alabaster of Madame praying, presented by St. Margaret, with works surrounding where one sees the coats of arms of 4 areas of Madame: Austria, Portugal, Burgundy, and Bourbon with her epitaph below."[410] The monument was destroyed along with the church; however, an engraving (Fig. 67) shows Margaret as a widow in a monumental Renaissance frame covered with Margaret's motifs.[411]

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[404] Quinsonas states (giving his source *La Chronique Flamande* by Azévédo) that the passageway was part of the package purchased by Margaret's functionaries in 1507. Quinsonas, 303-04. No other sources mention this information.
[405] Found in Marcel Kocken, *Gids voor Oud en Groot Mechelen* (Antwerp & Rotterdam, 1989), 67.
[406] Kocken, 73.
[407] Quinsonas, 312 (*).
[408] Jean Lemaire also wrote that Margaret attended her brother's memorial service in 1507 "secretly" in her oratory in St. Rombouts, Mechelen. Hare, 109-110.
[409] Quinsonas, 313 - 315.
[410] Quinsonas, 314. The Latin epitaph is recorded on 313. The reference to Portugal is actually more of a reference to Charles' and his marriage to Isabella of Portugal.
[411] Kocken, 82.

B. Grand Council Hall

Another commission in Mechelen was the Hall of the Grand Council of the Netherlands.[412] The Grand Council was the supreme legal body of Burgundy and Margaret clearly had intentions to make a building of sufficient magnificence. Margaret began plans around 1525. In 1526, part of the town's Cloth Hall was destroyed to make way for the Grand Council Hall.[413] Around this time Rombout II Keldermans was commissioned by Margaret to design the massive structure. His designs for the north wing are preserved (Fig. 68). The wing was to have a gabled façade on Mechelen's main square (west) with the main length of the body following along *Befferstraat* (north) reaching to just one block from St. Peter and Paul's Church (see map, Fig. 58b). The structure was long and large with an arcaded first floor, a multi-windowed second and a long sloping roof with dormer windows and gables suggesting a third level. The principal façade was tripartite with a presentation balcony and windowed triangular gable, topped by tracery, finials and turrets linked by a triangular line echoing the gable. Late Gothic Brabantine tracery ornaments the entire structure: applied to surfaces, forming balustrades, hanging from arches and free-standing on the principal gables and the peak of the long roof. This ornate jeweled box was practically continuous with the nearby Palaces, physically binding the chief governing body of the Netherlands to its rulers.

Work began on the north wing and continued after Margaret' death, supported by Mary of Hungary and Charles V. The Grand Council was transferred to Brussels (the principal capital after 1531) after Margaret's death; however, work continued until the 1547 explosion of the Sand Gate. Today's hall (Fig. 69) provides only an idea of the intended work, as it was completely rebuilt from 1902 to 1913. Although the architect, P.H. Van Boxmeer, followed Rombout II Keldermans original designs, the end result is a neo-Late Gothic structure.

Small portions of the original work remained visible in late nineteenth-century photographs (Fig. 70). The ghosts of the arcade arches with tracery Brabantine bell arches are visible, as are applied pilasters and tracery medallions. The medallions are noted as

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[412] See F. van Tyghem, "Bestuursgebouwen van Keldermans in Brabant en Vlaanderen," in Keldermans. Een architectonisch netwerk in de Nederlanden, eds. H. Janse & J.H. van Mosselveld (Bergen op Zoom, 1987), 123-129.

having held the coat of arms of Charles V, Margaret of Austria, Burgundy, Austria and the city of Mechelen.[414] Comparisons are possible with the many civic structures built by the Keldermans, such as the Ghent town hall and the King's House (commissioned by Margaret's father, Maximilian) in Brussels.[415] There are also comparisons with Margaret's mausoleum in Brou with the repetition of the tripartite form, an inventive use of Brabantine tracery and concepts, and the use of balconies and passageways.[416] With the use of Brabantine forms she followed an understood mode of architectural expression of authority, adding to it her own preferences for precise but elaborate ornament and her own symbols.

The plans for the Grand Council Hall would have furthered Margaret's intentions to mark Mechelen as a ducal/Imperial city. Charles the Bold's 1474 plan to make Mechelen the capital of Burgundy found partial fulfillment under his granddaughter's rule. Giving weight to both her Burgundian and Habsburg heritage, Margaret's architectural plans were also meant to "Imperialise" the city in the name of the Burgundian Habsburgs. She chose the designs of a respected local architect in the style of Late Gothic Brabant but ensured the arms and symbols of her own House overlaid the traditional Burgundian forms, linking the Hapsburgs with the architectural traditions of Burgundy. The Grand Council Hall was not a stylistic revolution, but it did symbolically link the Burgundian Brabantine Late Gothic style with the new Habsburg dynasty.

Margaret left the architectural landscape of Mechelen greatly altered. Her Palace and adjoining church suggest just the beginning of a major complex devoted to the House of Habsburg as the rulers of a new Burgundy. The planning and beginnings of the new Grand Council Hall so close to her own residence indicated Margaret's intentions of binding that Council closer to its rulers by physical proximity as well as by housing them in a hall built to her specifications. The Grand Council Hall was a Habsburg hall built by that House's Mechelen representative. Along with smaller commissions for churches and

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[413] Documents from 1526-1527 refer to payments to Rombout II for work in relation to the Clothmaker's Hall. Meischke & van Tyghem, 144.
[414] Van Tyghem, 126.
[415] Van Tyghem, 105-115.
[416] With a presentation balcony on the second floor, a system of passageways must have been planned for the Grand Council Hall's interior.

religious Orders,[417] Margaret's plans would have refurbished the city of Mechelen as her own residential wing of the House of Habsburg, and the capital of Habsburg Burgundy.

II. The Quest for Sainthood: Margaret's Religious Patronage

Religion was a significant aspect of Margaret's life. A ruler of a region highly influenced by growing Protestantism, Margaret never wavered in her full support of the Papal Church. The Habsburgs viewed themselves as the protectors of the true faith and as important participants in papal elections (even to the point of considering themselves as potential candidates). Margaret directly used her influence to support the elevation of Adrian of Utrecht as Bishop and then Pope. Adrian himself wrote to Margaret to thank her for his bishopric, stating that he owed his position to her influence.[418] On Adrian's death, she campaigned for Habsburg ally Thomas Wolsey, who was defeated by the Medici Pope Clement VII.

Despite a preference for moderation in most matters Margaret dealt harshly with Protestants and approved the burning of several heretical monks in the Netherlands and supported the Inquisition in her Savoyard territories.[419] Margaret clearly had a sense of her own religious authority as she personally instructed all religious houses within her jurisdiction in the proper modes of worship. In a circular letter of 1526, she recommended that only wise, tactful and enlightened orators be allowed to preach, reminding them to speak prudentially and never to mention reformers or their doctrine. She forbade all meetings where the divine office was reduced to a reading from the bible. Margaret wrote, "These meetings aim to alienate the people from the reverence due to the sacraments, to the honour which belongs to the Mother of God and the Saints, to prayers for the dead, fasting and other precepts of the Church."[420] Not to mention undermining the authority of the formerly "Holy Roman" Empire.

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[417] Margaret also left her mark on the church of St. Rombout's in which she commissioned stained glass windows with images of herself and Philibert and a lavish new tomb for the church's patron saint. She also founded an Order of Poor Clares and a Brotherhood of the Virgin and St. Sebastian in the city. de Boom, 112-113, 143.

[418] Tremayne, 192.

[419] Bruchet, 1927, 138.

[420] Tremayne, 247-48. Margaret also imposed various fines on those convicted of reform practices. Those who did not pay were banished. At first Margaret dealt moderately with the reformers but, as the protest continued to spread, she issued an edict ordering all who had books by Luther or his followers to turn them in or face confiscation or even death.

Her own piety, particularly pronounced after her widowhood, combined with the traditions of Habsburg-Burgundian religious patronage, led Margaret to commission, support or provide works of art and devotion for a variety of churches and religious communities. Churches in the Low Countries were a matter of great civic pride and a combination of clerical, urban and royal patronage could be found in most churches.[421] Margaret's commissions can be found in many churches throughout the Low Countries. Her projects, from stained glass windows to holy relics, promoted Habsburg connections to the Holy Church and Margaret's personal piety. These small but strategic commissions claimed the site for the patron, linking Margaret and her dynastic House in the worship and devotions of the spectator.[422]

Margaret commissioned many projects for stained glass windows in several churches (although many are now known only through documentation). Van Orley created a plan for windows in St. Rombout's in Mechelen which included images of Margaret and her late husband Philibert.[423] Van Orley also designed stained glass windows for the choir of St. Gudule, also including a donor portrait of Margaret.[424] Another project was for windows in Notre-Dame de Sablon, including portraits of Margaret, her father, brother and sister-in-law.[425] These images would be for prominent places in the church, interweaving dynastic images with religious figures, further emphasizing the holy nature of Margaret and the House of Habsburg's rule. Coats of arms and insignia could also promote this theme. For example, Margaret donated rich tapestries from Enghien with her coats of arms to the church of St. Gommaire in Liège, as well as churches in Poligny and Ghent.[426]

An intriguing commission is a tomb for Margaret's brother, Francis, who was born on September 2, 1481 and died a few months later.[427] Almost 45 years later, on March 3, 1525, master stonemason André Nonnon of Liège entered into a contract with Loys van Boghem to provide black Dinant marble for a tomb for Francis designed by van

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[421] Blockmans & Prevenier, 1999, 222.
[422] E. Welch has noted how small but distinctive commissions presented the patron's authority through visual controls, such as arms, mottoes, or portraits, with the result of appropriating the object as their own. Welch, 6.
[423] De Boom notes a drawing of the proposed project in the library of Valenciennes. de Boom, 143, n.1
[424] Made sometime before 1524. Exposition..., 1983, 55-56.
[425] de Boom, 143, n.1.
[426] de Boom, 111; Delmarcel, 100.

Boghem.[428] Francis' tomb was executed by Guyot de Beaugrant and was placed in the ducal chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Palace of Coudenberg. Both the Palace and the tomb were destroyed in 1731. De Boom notes that the gisant was of "a child of eighteen months" (although Francis would have been four months old at his death) with a pillow beneath his head and a lion at his feet.[429]

Little is known of Francis himself other than he was named for Maximilian's ally, Francis, Duke of Brittany.[430] The only image including this child is a drawing in Josef Grünpeck's "Historia Friderici et Maximiliani," which shows Maximilian, Mary and their three children, Phillip, Margaret and baby Francis (Fig. 71).[431] Why would Margaret commission an elaborate tomb for a brother who died before her second birthday? The Habsburg's strong emphasis on family and dynastic display could be a partial answer. Her grandfather, Frederick III, had a tombstone made to memorialise his dead brothers and sisters in the St. George chapel at Wiener Neustadt. Perhaps an aging Margaret also wished to memorialise her forgotten sibling. However, what possible dynastic or political point could be made by a tomb to this long dead child? As it was located in the ducal church within the Palace walls, its audience would have been the court. Margaret was the last of her family generation and by 1525, Charles and the next generation were very much focused on the future and their multi-regioned Empire. Could she simply have desired further memorials and prayers to her own more Burgundian-centred generation of the House of Habsburg?

Margaret owned many reliquaries and other holy objects that she either kept herself or gave as gifts to family, important dignitaries or religious groups.[432] As a sign of her devotion to the Order of the Annunciates, she owned a chain of pearls belonging to Jeanne of Valois, founder of the Order. She presented a reliquary of St. Elizabeth that had belonged to the House of Habsburg since it had been "discovered" by Frederick III, to Charles V's wife, Isabella of Portugal.[433] Margaret gave a number of religious objects to

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[427] Hitchcock, 24; de Boom, 110-12.
[428] Bruchet, 1927, 221, n.1.
[429] de Boom, 110-11. Hitchcock describes the tomb as being of "more or less Renaissance design" but gives no source for this information. Hitchcock, 24.
[430] Tammusino, 23.
[431] Reproduced in Tamussino, no page number. From the State Archives of Vienna.
[432] At her death, her will distributed those objects she possessed in a similar manner. Baux, 345-54.
[433] de Boom, 112.

Brou, including reliquaries of the Holy Cross and the Holy Shroud, thus supporting Brou's development as an important pilgrimage site.[434] The cult of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, a popular focus of devotion with the House of Burgundy, was also promoted at Brou with a large retable in Margaret's chapel.

Margaret also strongly supported the cult of the Holy Shroud, a prized relic owned by the house of Savoy since the fifteenth century. In 1509, she had one of her goldsmiths, Lievan van Lathem, create a splendid reliquary to house the Holy Shroud of Christ for the Sainte Chapelle in Chambéry.[435] Margaret also commissioned a large altarpiece with the Virgin Mary for the Sainte Chapelle.[436] Closer to home, she provided a rich endowment to St. Rombout in Mechelen to create a lavish tomb for St. Rombout.[437]

Following in the traditions of her family, Margaret was also a strong supporter of for canonization of St. Colette, the reformer of the Poor Clares. Charles the Bold, Maximilian, Mary of Burgundy and Philip the Fair had all promoted this saint and in 1508 Margaret renewed their campaign writing to several religious leaders to seek her elevation to sainthood.[438]

Margaret also founded and supported a variety of religious Orders. She established a brotherhood of the Virgin and St. Sebastian in Bresse in 1505 and others later in Mechelen. She supported a monastic hospital in Louvain and the Black Sisters of Binch. She also founded Orders of the Poor Clares in Bourg-en-Bresse, Saint-Omer, Bruges and Mechelen.[439] Her will lists several Orders and religious groups in Brou, Bourg, the Franche-Comté and the Netherlands that received her patronage in return for their prayers and devotions to her and her family.[440] Margaret's closest affinity, however, was clearly for the Order of the Annunciates.

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[434] According to her will, she provided St. Nicolas with "*toutes les sainctes relicques... tant du fust de la saincte croix, du sainct suaire, ossements de saincts et sainctes et tous aultres images de saincts et sainctes...*" Baux, 352.
[435] Margaret and Philibert had been present at its translation to Chambery in 1502. Bruchet 139-140. This is the relic now known as the Shroud of Turin.
[436] Bruchet, 1927, 371, Pl. XLIV.
[437] De Boom, 112.
[438] Huizinga, 217. Bruchet, 136-37, 353.
[439] De Boom, 113.
[440] Fully reproduced in Baux, 345-67.

The Convent of the Annunciates[441]

After Philibert's death Margaret refused to marry again and stated her desire to leave secular life and enter religious life. This preference was generally known at the time. In 1507, Margaret's councilor Mercurino de Gattinara wrote Margaret of his conversation with an envoy from the English court in which he informed the envoy that Margaret refused to re-marry and was much more inclined to enter religion. Gattinara stated that if it weren't for her role as regent she would have already entered a convent.[442] This plan would be stated many times throughout Margaret's life, but although she made elaborate preparations for her retirement, she never did. She never considered joining an established convent but planned to create her own religious community that reflected her personal and religious sensibilities. This was originally to have been in Brou where, from her earliest plans, Margaret had included her own quarters for her retirement. And, until 1515 this seems to have remained her intention. But sometime after Charles came of age and Margaret was removed as Regent, she began to consider other plans.

In March 12, 1515, a male Order of the Franciscans left their monastery located just outside the "*porte de Asnes*" of Bruges and moved within the city walls. Margaret's role in their departure is unrecorded but around the same time, she petitioned Pope Leo X to change the designated Order of the convent (as she had done in Brou) to the Order of the Annunciates, a contemplative Order founded fifteen years earlier in Bourges by Jeanne de France (1464-1505).[443] A papal bull of April 30, 1516 approved this and changed the name to the Convent of the Seven Sorrows.[444] Eight sisters of the new Order arrived in Bruges on November 24 of the same year. As the old monastery was in ill

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[441] Information on Margaret and the convent is found in: Quinsonas, vol. 2, 327-65; Schrevel; van den Busche; Parmentier; de Boom, 112-14; items donated to the convent after Margaret's death are noted in Michelant, 13; and Hörsch discusses the Convent and provided a list of several original documents in the Bruges State Archives. Hörsch, 149-158.

[442] The conversation, which was regarding Margaret's proposed marriage to Henry VII, is recorded in a letter from Gattinara to Margaret, dated December 1. de Boom, 113.

[443] Jeanne was the deformed daughter of Charles VII and had been repudiated by Louis XII, when he married Anne of Brittany. It was a contemplative order. At Jeanne's death, the order was taken over by her mentor, Gilbert-Nicolas. In 1514, they became associated with the Franciscans. Further orders were founded at Bruges and Bethune (1517), Louvain (1530) and in the Midi of France. G. & M. Duchet-Schaux, Le Ordres Religieuse, Guide Historique (Paris, 1993), 177-78.

[444] Schrevel, 110. The founding of the Convent is recorded in "*L'institution de l'ordre des Annonciates, & la fondation de ce cloistre à Bruges, en 1517, par Marguerite d'Autriche*," which is transcribed in Quinsonas, vol. 2, 343-350. Quinsonas does not give a date for the document, saying only that he had found

repair, they were temporarily housed by the Franciscan sisters of the hospice of St. Elisabeth in Bruges.[445] Margaret enlisted her master mason, Loys van Boghem, and the sculptor Conrad Meit to help in the renovation of the convent.[446] The exact nature of their work is unrecorded but we do know that by February 2, 1518 the convent was sufficiently repaired to receive the "*Soeurs Rouges*."[447]

The old convent had been a ducal foundation, originally founded by Isabelle of Portugal, widow of Phillip the Good.[448] Margaret laid claim to jurisdiction over the convent on the basis that she and her nephew Charles were the "heirs of the good duke Phillip ...."[449] It was this Burgundian convent that began to figure into Margaret's changing plans for her retirement. It is unclear when the decision was taken but in a letter from Margaret to "Mere Ancille," Mother Superior of the Convent, probably written in the later 1520's, Margaret refers rather mysteriously to "her intention," which will be explained to Mere Ancille by an envoy and a further memorandum. She elaborates enough to ask that this "intention" not be "talked about, and for good reason...," although not stating what this was.[450] A memorandum survives in which Margaret instructs an envoy concerning what he is to say to Mere Ancille;

> First, that I wish above all to put my religious (community) in such a state that they will never be in great poverty, but will be able to live without begging; and I wish to know...if more money is needed, and if so, how much, that they may not be stinted; for with God's will I will see to all; and every other thing that they desire, they must let me know, *for I intend to make there a good end*, with the help of God and our good mistress, His Glorious Mother. Amongst other things say to Mere Ancille, my good mother, that I beg her to make all my good daughters pray for *the purpose which I have always told her*; for the time approaches, since the Emperor is coming, to whom, with God's help, I will render a good account of the charge and government which he has pleased to give me; and this done, *I shall give myself up to the will of God and our good Mistress.* Begging you my good

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it in "*la bibliothèque de Bourgogne*" in Brussels. The latest event referred to is the last year that Margaret's "*anniversaire*" was celebrated by the cloister in 1632.

[445] The 34 Franciscan nuns of the Hospice were soon after given papal permission merge to with the Annunciates Order. Schrevel, 111.

[446] According to Schrevel, although he gives no supporting documentation. Schrevel, 111.

[447] Known as such because of the red scapular they worn in remembrance of Christ's passion. Schrevel, 111, n.2

[448] Quinsonas, 345.

[449] Quinsinas, 345.

[450] Baux, 9-10. English translation in Tremayne, 285.

> Mother, my friend, that I may not be forgotten by yours, and always remain your good daughter, Margaret [my italics].[451]

Margaret's intent was to retire to the Convent of the Annunciates upon leaving her role as Governor-General. A reference to her devotion to this Order is found in her tomb effigy at Brou, in which Conrad Meit portrays the lower figure of Margaret's tomb in the simple robes of the "Soeurs Rouges." Meit made the figure sometime after 1525 and this could be considered as a further indication that her intentions were formed or forming by that date.

More than her devotional preference would be served by this change of plans. Instead of going to distant Brou she would remain in the Low Countries, close to the royal court where she could easily be at hand if her council was required. The independent minded city of Bruges would also be reminded of their Imperial suzerainty by having such an important resident just outside the city walls. And on a personal level, Margaret clearly had a warm relationship with the Order of the Annunciates, at very least with the Mother Superior. Her earlier desire to be in Savoy, close to her late husband, appears to have lessened over the years. She would still be buried with Philibert, but she would retire in the land of her birth and rule, among an Order of her choosing.

In a document about the foundation of the Convent, the reasons for her choice of the Order of the Annunciates are presented as the fame of the Order, the saintly life of its founder, Jeanne de Valois, and Margaret's relation to Jeanne and the house of Valois through her mother.[452] Margaret's choice of an Order so associated with the French royal house seems unusual in terms of politics (for although connected through her Valois Burgundian blood, the French were Habsburg adversaries for most of her life[453]), but on a personal level, Margaret may have felt some affinity to its royal founder. Margaret would have known Jeanne as her sister-in-law from her years at the French court and she shared with her the experience having been repudiated by a French King who married Anne of

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[451] Italics my own. Baux, 9-10. English translation by Tremayne, 285-86.

[452] The document states that Margaret was "*...cousine de la dicte feue dame Jehanne, comme de sa mère est aussi du sang royal de France & d'icelle maison de Valois....*" Interestingly, no mention is made Margaret's French marriage. Quinsonas, 344.

[453] On Margaret's hatred of the French, see de Boom, 70-71.

Brittany. The Order's religious sensibilities must have appealed to Margaret as well as its association with royalty and great piety.

Since the Convent of the Annunciates was destroyed in the late sixteenth century, most information regarding the convent comes from documentation.[454] After the sisters moved in, work continued and new structures were added. Most significantly, next to the church, Margaret had built a house for her residence after her retirement from government.[455] In a letter from Margaret to, "*nos très chiers and bien-amez Jehan de Greboval, conseiller de l'Empereur and receveur général de son domeyne de Flandres and maistre Robert Hellin, receveur des renenghes de flandres ou parties de Caffel*," dated December, 1524, Margaret writes;

> ...we are desirous to have built, constructed and erected a '*corps de maison*' in our convent of the Order of the 'Ave Maria' at the city of Bruges, according to a certain plan that we have had made, that we have showed you, and that we need to commence and to appoint some good people...[456]

The letter continues to tell the two men to chose workers to complete the work, obtain the materials, and organize their payment. Margaret expresses her confidence in their loyalty and diligence to complete the edifice according to the plan. She says to choose materials that seemed the best to them which would keep our best interests in mind, staying in budget and completing the building to perfection.[457]

There is also a list of receipts and expenses related to the Convent.[458] The short list of receipts mentions large sums received from Margaret's treasury towards the

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[454] On March 27, 1578, the Magistrate of Bruges "ordered destroyed, in the next 20 days, all churches and cloisters standing near the town, such as the church of the Holy Cross, St. Catherine, the Chartreuse cloister and that of the Annunciation." The destruction was related to the improvements to the fortifications of the town during war. In 1584, the conflict ended and the order returned and they repaired the monastery "as best they could." In 1620 a new convent was built. It was ordered destroyed in 1784. Quinsonas, 347-351.

[455] "*...la maison qu'elle avoit faict bastir pres l'eglise du dict cloister, pour sa demeure lorsqu'elle auroit quitte le gouvernement des pas-Bas & Flandres...* ." Quinsonas, 347. The building is also referred to in the accounts of the construction of "*...la nouvelle maison que ladite dame a fait batir, construire & édifier en son couvent de l'ordre de l'Ave Maria hors la porte de Asnes.*" Quinsonas, 354.

[456] The letter is included in the "*Compte de la construction du Convent des Annonciates Hors la Porte des Anes-Lez-Bruges*" dated 12 December, 1524. Transcribed in Quinsonas, 352-54.

[457] Quinsonas, 353. Tremayne makes the intriguing statement that "it is said" that Margaret drew part of the plans for a church in Bruges. Tremayne does not elaborate, give a source, or name the church. Tremayne, 279. I have found no other reference to this suggestion. Could it refer to the Convent of the Annunciates? Considering Margaret's lifelong involvement in architectural patronage, it is tempting to take this statement as evidence of the truly in-depth involvement of Margaret in her architectural projects. However without further support, an undocumented statement from 1908 cannot be the basis for further speculation.

[458] Transcribed in Quinsonas, 355-361.

construction.[459] It is known that Margaret paid for all, either directly or through the *octroi* (city tolls) of the city of Bruges. The founding document states that the "*richesses and marchandises de la ville de Bruges venaient à fort décliner and s'amoindrir de jour à aultre*" and so the city will not maintain the Order, as they did with other cloisters in the city, but it will be maintained, at her request, by Margaret.[460] She would provide for the sisters, maintain the costs of the cult and holy services (which was to come from revenues from the *octroi*). She gave the cloister 350 florins, and 500 florins for "*l'entretainement des ornamens de l'église.*"[461] Therefore, the city would receive the spiritual benefits of the Red Sisters at Margaret's expense. However, this also meant that the city had no control over the monastery as it was outside its financial (as well as physical, being outside of the walls) jurisdiction. Although the goodwill of the citizens of Bruges was desirable, the Convent was ultimately about Margaret and her Imperial House, as reflected in the endowment of 100 livres Margaret gave the Order to pray for the souls of House of Burgundy and Austria.[462]

The list of expenses gives some information on what exactly was built. The master mason, Cornille Zoete of Bruges, was paid to make several items.[463] He completed a "*chapelle de Espaignartz selon l'accord par eulx fait à madite dame.*"[464] A Spanish chapel in the heart of the Burgundian Netherlands reflected Margaret's personal ties to her nephew, Charles, Emperor and King of Spain and the growing influence of Spain in the Habsburg Empire. Zoete also made a new "*gloriette*, according to the plan" for the chapel. The note mentions a rather large payment for stones and bricks indicating that this was a relatively important construction, perhaps a sort of tower or spire.[465] There is also a later note for money paid to a "*couvreur d'estain pour couvert la faulx cappe de la gloriette.*"[466]

Zoete was also paid for construction of a large wall, to "free the house...starting from the old wall of the cloister at the entrance and there extending just to the corner of

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[459] Quinsonas, 355.
[460] Quinsonas, 345.
[461] Quinsonas, 346.
[462] Quinsonas, 350.
[463] As van Boghem was in Brou except for yearly visits to the Low Countries, we must assume any input he might have had was in a consultant manner. Perhaps, Zoete was a colleague of van Boghem?
[464] Quinsonas, 356.
[465] The sum given is "*vj xx* (six twenty) *livres*" Quinsonas, 356.

the Spanish chapel, in a length of *xij verges* and *x piés* and *xij piés* high above the ground..."....and to make a door "against and joining the said chapel, make a *chambrette* of a length of *xiiij piedz*, a width of *x piedz*, *x piedz* high off the ground, with a chimney and window."[467]

The major scale of the project is also made clear by the long list of workers involved: wrought iron workers, nail makers, slate roofers (for Margaret's house and the Spanish chapel), lead workers, stained glass makers, a painter (Jehan le Glercq) to paint all the house, windows, etc. with green oil paint, a "*tailleurs d'image*," a gardener, carpenters, and others.[468]

The only known image of the convent is found in an aerial view map by Marc Gerard from 1562 (Fig. 72). The convent is only partially visible. An enclosed courtyard contains a single nave church with one side aisle and a spire. Could this be the Spanish chapel? Next to the church is a two-storied structure with dormer windows and two flanking turrets, resembling the larger princely residences of the region. This could be the building designed as Margaret's residence. Its position close to the church suggests the possibility of a walkway between the two structures, as Margaret had constructed at Brou, the Palace of Savoy and in Cambrai for her negotiations with Louise of Savoy in 1529.

Margaret provided several liturgical garments and objects to the foundation, as well as commissioning a large altarpiece (believed to be the triptych the "Death and Assumption of the Virgin") from van Orley for the main altar of its church.[469] There is also a list of several items held in the convent before its destruction in 1578.[470] There are several precious religious objects, each noted as being a gift from Margaret, such as a little book of St. John the Evangelist, a rosary of engraved pearls once belonging to Jeanne de Valois, a silver spoon, a cross, a gold medallion and Margaret's own silver-encrusted drinking glass, which the sisters used in their religious services. There are also several images of Margaret herself, each depicting aspects of her piety and nobility. One painting of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows pictured Pope Leo X and other princes of the church

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[466] Quinsonas, 359.
[467] Quinsonas, 356-57. My translation.
[468] Quinsonas, 358.
[469] Noted in Eichberger, 1998, 299. The painting is dated August 11, 1520. On the altarpiece, see Friedländer, plate 76 & 77, 59.
[470] Quinsinas, 348-49.

on their knees to the right and Charles V, his royal household, Margaret of Austria and her ladies of honour with eight nuns of the Annunciates on the left. The document notes that there is writing in "beautiful letters" but does not elaborate. Four other portraits are listed: a portrait of Margaret on wood with the words "Madame Marguerite"; Margaret on her knees before an altar in devotion with the arms of Burgundy and Austria in the four corners; Margaret dying in the presence of her ladies of honour and her confessor, a "*Père Récollet*"; and Margaret on a parade bed, with the coats of arms of the Empire, Portugal, Tyrol, Castille and Burgundy before her. As well, Charles V commissioned a monument in the Convent in memory of his aunt a year after her death, which presented Margaret with her coats of arms, kneeling before the Virgin and Child with her patron saint.[471]

Margaret's image appears to be a part of the Sisters' everyday worship and her generosity and clearly represented piety give the impression of a saintly, noble woman. It is almost as if Margaret had included herself as part of the Order's devotions. This would not be unprecedented as Margaret belonged to a House that believed they were the protectors of the true faith and God's representatives on earth. Her father put great effort into detailing the hagiography of the House of Habsburg, amassing a list of over 100 saints in the family and he even planned to join the list himself.[472] Margaret clearly shared her father's saintly goals.

Margaret wanted to be remembered for many aspects of her life, her holiness primary among them. The Convent of the Annunciates was to be a spiritual and architectural remembrance of Margaret's Imperial sanctity. The Sisters' prayers and good works would keep her spirit alive and the Convent would be a physical manifestation of Margaret's virtue. The importance she placed in this is made clear in a letter Margaret wrote to Charles V's secretary, Jean van Coudenberghe. In January of 1517, Charles V ordered Van Coudenburghe to write a history of the origins and development of three churches in the Netherlands under his patronage. On March 20, 1518, van Coudenburghe received a chastising letter from Margaret in which she notes that although he had written of the

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[471] It was destroyed in the 18th-century and is known only through an engraving. Reproduced in de Boom, facing 114, plate III. Also mentioned by Quinsonas, 350-51.

[472] de Boom, 66. Maximilian also had plans for a gigantic woodcut series of these Habsburg "saints." Wheatcroft, 95,100. Maximilian once wrote to Margaret to inform her of his plans to make himself Pope and in a jocular fashioned warned her that she should prepare herself to worship him! The letter, dated Sept. 18, 1512, is transcribed in: Le Glay, vol. 2, 37-39. Also see note 74 above.

Order of the Seven Sorrows and had mentioned her brother Phillip's involvement with the Order,[473] he made no mention of herself, who had as much, if not more, than others been devoted to the Order. She continues, "and that I am of that house and family of princes, we desire that our name be associated, in your work, with those of the kings, our brother and nephew...we want also, and this would be very pleasing to us, that you include the convent of the Seven Sorrows, that we have founded in Bruges, near the Donkey gate, as a center from where this religion shines forth."[474]

Although never retiring to the Convent, upon her death, Margaret was originally buried there. Margaret's elaborate funeral procession traveled from Mechelen and buried her body before the main altar of the Convent in January 22, 1531. Her body was later moved to Brou, upon that structure's completion in April 1532. A part of Margaret would remain in the Convent of the Annunciates, however, as Margaret's heart had been transferred to the Convent in February 1532 at the request of Mother Superior Ancelle, and kept like a relic of the Order's sainted patroness.[475] With her patronage of the Order and the inclusion of her name and image throughout the convent, Margaret ensured her memory. Her sanctity would not be forgotten by the Sisters who continued Margaret's negotiations for her saintly place in history, long after her death.

Conclusion

Margaret's religious commissions reflect not only her piety, but also an understanding of the interconnectedness of religious, politics and image. Even in her most pious commissions, Margaret's secular life was present, whether in the form of a portrait, inscription, coat of arms, or even a meaningful location. Her patronage of religious works of art, Orders, Houses and potential saints was to sanctify her familial House and her own person, in life and in death.

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[473] Phillip had founded an order at St. Sauveur, Bruges. de Boom, 114.

[474] Schrevel, 110, n. 3. Van Coudenburghe understood the error of his omission and later wrote Charles explaining his intended alterations to his text, "...it is just that the name of her serene highness, the Lady of Austria find here [in van Coudenburghe's text] its place in the splendors of the Virgin Mother, not only as a member of the "*confrerie*," or because she is the sister of Phillip your father, and moreover your aunt and the Emperor's daughter, but also because, the first of your family and the first of your "nation," she has founded and supported a monastery famous in its honour of the seven sorrows of the Virgin mother." Van Coudenburghe also noted that moreover, Margaret also expressed her devotion by patronage of several other commissions devoted to the Virgin.

[475] The heart had originally been buried with Margaret's mother, Mary of Burgundy, at Notre-Dame in Bruges. Quinsonas, 347.

Margaret's secular commissions also participated in the support of the House of Habsburg. Margaret altered the architectural landscape of Mechelen to reflect its position as the chosen centre of the Burgundian Netherlands and her plans reflected its (unfulfilled) potential as a capital within the Habsburg Empire. After Margaret's death, Brussels became the seat of the Habsburgs in the Netherlands, but one wonders if Mechelen had maintained its primary position, would Margaret's reputation as an architectural patron be even stronger? Her plans for Mechelen might have been realized and better documented. Although some buildings were never fully finished, and others completely or partially destroyed, the existence of the plans (however fragmentary) tells of the breadth and scope of Margaret's architectural activities. She was (at the very least, in planning) one of the most prolific architectural patrons of her time.

Her commissions were part of a contemporary image of authority and status as well as a campaign for historical remembrance. Margaret's patronage tells us that she wished to be recalled as a pious and as an imperial princess who helped establish the Habsburg Dynasty. By refurbishing Mechelen to be a Habsburg capital, she ensured her own memory in the shaping of that capital. Religious commissions gave visible proof of her own and Habsburg privileged links to the deity, an important emphasis in an era of challenged religious authority. Through her commissions, an image emerges of a woman of political acumen, sincere devotion and family loyalty who wanted to be remembered for her role as a saintly founder and protector of her family Empire.

Chapter 4:
Widow, Princess, Saint and Goddess:
The "Self-portraits" of Margaret of Austria

Margaret of Austria had many roles in her life: born daughter of an Emperor and a Burgundian heiress, she was, successively, queen of France, Infanta of Spain, Duchess of Savoy, an independent widow, and finally Regent and Governor-general of the Netherlands. After gaining independent authority following her final widowhood at age twenty-four, Margaret was in control of her personal image. She commissioned many portraits of herself in which she appears in a variety of guises, from pious widow to muse-like goddess to a saint. Each image was clearly thought out in terms of image and audience, reflecting both Margaret's personal wishes and political needs. This chapter will consider these "self-portraits," their form and placement and how, taken as a whole, they reflect how Margaret wished to be perceived by her contemporaries and by history.

The Widow

Margaret's official portrait as the ruler of the Netherlands was that of a widow (Figs. 73, a to e). Her court artist, Bernard van Orley, portrayed her in a simple widow's cap and sombre dress. Following the example of her ancestors and contemporary rulers, Margaret commissioned a large number of copies of her official portrait. Several copies survive showing small variations in the position of the hands and the objects they hold.[476] Accounts from the 1520's show that Margaret gave copies of this portrait to at least nine people associated with her court while others were sent for diplomatic purposes to other European ruling families. For instance, one is found in the inventories of Henry VIII, most likely the result of the negotiations of the potential marriage of Margaret and Henry VII.[477]

Margaret herself had an extensive portrait collection. In the principal reception hall of her residence, the Palace of Savoy, Mechelen, there were thirty portraits of Margaret's family, ancestors, and other rulers connected to her by blood or marriage.[478]

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[476] For example, in one she fingers beads, in another she holds an unseen pendant, an other her hands rest before her. See M. Friedländer, Early Netherlandish Painting vol. VIII (Leyden and Brussels, 1972), plate 126.

[477] Eichberer & Beaven, 228; F. Baudson, Van Orley et les artistes de la cour de Marguerite d'Autriche. exh. cat. (Brou, 1981), 16-17.

[478] Listed in the inventory of the Palace of Savoy of 1523-24. See Michelant, 66-71.

The collection was designed to symbolically support Margaret' rule, presenting a display of the importance of Margaret's family and its extensive network of alliances.[479]

A significant omission from this display is Margaret's own official portrait. In fact, almost the entire matriarchal line of Margaret's heritage is omitted.[480] Her father and grandfathers are represented, but neither her Burgundian nor Habsburg grandmothers are presented.[481] Even her mother, Mary of Burgundy, who had been the sole heir of Charles the Bold, and Margaret's direct link to her Burgundian heritage and thus her rule of the Netherlands, was not represented.[482] Her omission may reflect the fact that Mary of Burgundy's inheritance had been challenged on the basis of her gender and was only partially saved by her quick marriage to Margaret's father, Maximilian. Authority was viewed as embodied in a male leader so, unsurprisingly, Margaret's reception room focuses strongly on the male bloodline. By choosing to omit her own image as well as that of her mother, Margaret demonstrated her understanding of these gendered roles and avoided, at least symbolically, the sticky issue of a woman and political authority.

Margaret's official portrait as a widow also addressed this issue. Margaret's male relatives presented themselves as powerful knights and commanding leaders. Margaret could not use this vocabulary of male authority, so she created a parallel image of virtuous female authority: the noble widow. Margaret's governance could then be seen as within the idealized norms of female behaviour, for she is acting not through her own desire for power, but as dutiful daughter[483] and a loyal wife.[484]

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[479] This conclusion is the result of an examination of the portrait collection of the reception room ("*premiere chamber*") by Eichberger and Beaven, 1995, 229-238.

[480] Two unusual exceptions are Isabella of Portugal, third wife of Philip the Good and Philip's illegitimate daughter, Mme de Charny. The next generation is however represented, for example: Margaret's married nieces, Eleanor and Marie; Anne of Hungary (the wife of Margaret's nephew, Ferdinand I); Catherine of Aragon and her daughter, Mary Tudor. Michelant, 67-70.

[481] Neither Margaret's Burgundian grandmother, Michele of France, nor her step-grandmother, foster-mother and namesake, Margaret of York are represented. Eichberger & Beaven, 230, n.51. Neither is Eleanor of Portugal, her Habsburg grandmother.

[482] Mary of Burgundy is portrayed in the Library however. Eichberger & Beaven, 243.

[483] Her father also emphasised her gender correct behaviour, presenting her as the virtuous daughter in his own propagandistic commissions. In Der *Weisskunig,* (c.1515), Margaret is always loyal, obedient and capable. i.e. as a dutiful bride of three successive political alliances) and as guardian of her nieces and nephew. These images are found in Hare 16 (Margaret given to King of France), Baudson, 1981, 113 (given to Don Juan), and Poiret, 2000, 18 (as guardian).

[484] Writings of the time speak of the virtue of a woman devoting herself to her husband's memory and not remarrying. For example see Juan de Vives's *De institutione feminae Christianae*, first published in Antwerp in 1524. Eichberger & Beaven, 241.

On the rare occasion when the Regent Margaret was not portrayed as a widow, it is her relation to male rulers that is stressed. In 1519, Margaret's father, Maximilian died and her nephew, Charles was elected Emperor largely thanks to Margaret's efforts. Subsequently, Margaret was restored to full powers as Governor-general of the Netherlands. To commemorate the events, a coin was issued portraying Margaret in profile wearing an Imperial crown encircled by the inscription: MARG. CESARV. AUSTRIEA – UNICA. FILIA. ET. AMITA (Margaret of Austria – Only Daughter and Paternal Aunt of Emperors) (Fig. 74).[485] In this tumultuous and, ultimately, triumphant year for herself and her family, Margaret is presented as close as she ever comes to an image of full authority. Although by now the last living member of an earlier generation and by virtue of not only longevity but ability the senior representative of the Habsburgs, the inscription nevertheless describes her in terms of her relation to male rulers.

The same inscription also accompanies Margaret's widowly image, such as a terra cotta medallion that presents Margaret in three-quarter profile wearing a widow's cap (Fig. 75). The circumstance of its creation are unrecorded but medallions were generally meant to commemorate the sitter and convey their aspirations or accomplishments.[486] As the inscription tells us that the widow portrayed is the only daughter and aunt of emperors, it is clearly meant to state the sources Margaret's authority, through her father and nephew, with her widowhood as a characteristic of this authority.

Margaret's devotion to her husband was reinforced by the multiple pictures of Philibert displayed in Margaret's residence, which itself was named in reference to her status as dowager duchess of Savoy. There were three portraits of Philibert in the library, one in the reception hall, one in her bedroom and a wooden bust in her personal study.[487] Beyond the support to her authority, her sincere devotion to Philibert, as well as her continued (and disputed) control of several Savoy territories, made the emphasis on her marriage desirable.[488] This may help to explain the surprising sole representation of Margaret in the public chambers of the Palace of Savoy: a marble bust by Conrad Meit

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[485] On the reverse is Margaret's coat of arms, half Austria, half Savoy, with the Austrian eagle. Baudson, 1981, 118.
[486] On medallions see Stephen K. Scher, The Currency of Fame, Portraits Medals of the Renaissance (New York, 1994), 13-15.
[487] Eichberger & Beaven, 241.
[488] On Margaret's dispute with Philibert's successor, see Bruchet, 1927, 91-142.

that portrays Margaret, not as a widow, but as a young woman with her husband, each gazing towards the other (Fig. 76a and b).[489] In 1517, Antonio de Beatis, an Italian diplomat in the entourage of the Cardinal of Aragon, described the busts as displayed in the library;

> And in marble there is the head of the Duke of Savoy, her deceased husband, who is shown as a very handsome young man, as he is said to have been, and of her serene highness herself, when she was young, done with great skill and of naturalist proportions.[490]

De Beatis identifies Philibert, not by name, but by title and his relationship to Margaret, suggesting that the bust was pointed out to him or at least was labelled as such. Many other dignitaries, artists and scholars are also noted as visiting the library. Margaret herself is recorded as having personally shown the room's treasures to Albrecht Dürer.[491] Whether de Beatis was shown the library by Margaret or one of her household, it is clear that Margaret's sad loss of this "handsome young" husband was common knowledge. As the busts were made at least 10 years after Philibert's death this singular image of a young, handsome pair coupled with the more common image of her as a widow, would reinforce the image of Margaret's devotion to her last husband and her present status as a widow.

Meit made several pairs of busts of the couple for Margaret, in both wood and marble. Philibert is portrayed in a similar manner in each. However, in another surviving pair, Margaret is portrayed as a widow (Fig. 77). It is unknown where these busts were displayed. Two small wooden busts of Margaret and Philibert are listed in the inventory of Margaret's study but no indication is given of Margaret's appearance.[492] That the busts were kept in her personal chambers, as well as a painted portrait of Philibert, suggests that Margaret also viewed these images as personal souvenirs.

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[489] Only wooden copies of the pair survive in the British Museum, London. The gaze of the figures echoes Meit's later work at Brou, in which the heads of the funeral effigies of Margaret and Philibert turn to look at each other.

[490] Quoted in Eichberger & Beaven, 239. Margaret first requested a "*portraiture au vif en pierre de Philibert*" from Meit in 1512. Baudson, 1981, 96. A pair of busts is listed in the library in the 1523-24 inventory and one could assume they are the same as those seen by de Beatis. Michelant, 58.

[491] Dürer recorded that "Dame Margaret showed me all her beautiful things… ." Albrecht Dürer, Sketchbook of His Journey to the Netherlands 1520-21 (New York, 1971), 44.

[492] Michelant, 94.

But her image was chiefly for public consumption, and the widow's image is found in a variety of commissions. In the stained glass windows of the choir of the court associated, parish church St. Gudule in Brussels, Margaret is portrayed as a donor kneeling with her patron saint, St. Margaret, in a rich architectural framework (Fig. 78).[493] Margaret commissioned the image sometime before 1524 from Nicolas Rombouts based on designs by Bernard van Orley. Placing her image in a prominent, public space was a way of appropriating the structure as part of her personal image.[494] The devout widow pictured in the holiest part of the church associated the church, worship and Margaret, reinforcing her own virtuous image as well as Imperial desires to link church and state further. There are also records of other portraits of Margaret in the stained glass of a variety of Netherlands churches, although none survive.[495]

So successful was Margaret's public image as a devout widow that her subjects created similar reflections of their ruler. For instance, the tapestry of the Legend of Notre Dame de Sablon (Fig. 79) (1516-18), designed by Bernard van Orley and destined for the ducal church of Notre-Dame de Sablon in Brussels, was commissioned by Francois de Taxis, the Imperial Postmaster.[496] In it, the widow Margaret leads her nieces and nephew in worship of the Virgin and Child, a strong Burgundian image reflecting the devotion of Margaret and her family to the Cult of the Virgin.

In Devotion

The widow is also found in Margaret's more private commissions, particularly those with a religious theme. Small devotional diptychs feature prominently in the personal collections of members of the Habsburg-Burgundian dynasty from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century,[497] and Margaret was no exception. In her

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[493] The window was made sometime before 1524. The position of the donors is similar to the windows in the choir at Brou. Exposition..., 55-56.

[494] The concept of the "appropriation" of an extant structure through a carefully chosen commission was often discussed in the graduate seminars of Hans Böker. Also see Evelyn Welch, who discusses the Medici's appropriation of buildings and people through the use of imagery and insignia. Welch, 6.

[495] De Boom makes note of two commissions by Margaret for stained glass, now lost: a drawing in the "library of Valenciennes" of Margaret and Philibert by Bernard van Orley, which may have been a project for the stained glass of St. Rombouts, Mechelen; and stained glass windows for Notre-Dame de Sablon, Brussels, of herself, Maximilian, Philip the Fair and his wife, Juana. de Boom, 143, n.1. Her appearance in each is not indicated. There is also an image of Margaret as widow in the choir windows at St. Wandru, Mons, but it is unclear whether she was responsible for these windows.

[496] Baudson, 1981, 86-89.

[497] Eichberger, 1998, 291.

personal chambers in her residence Margaret kept eleven diptychs, several with donor portraits of family members, including herself.[498]

One surviving diptych by Bernard van Orley portrays Margaret as widow, kneeling in prayer before the Virgin and Child (Fig. 80). She turns a page of a prayer book with one hand and places the other hand to her chest. The patterned tablecloth, window frame and landscape connect the two pictures. At the end of the Christ child's hands is written "veni" and in response, the word "placet" ("it is agreed, it is good") is written above Margaret.

The image was kept in Margaret's bedroom, one of 33 religious works of art in the chamber.[499] There was also an altar and a cushion for kneeling during prayer, indicating that Margaret used her personal chambers for private devotions.[500] The verbal interaction between Margaret and the Virgin has been suggested to refer to Margaret's desire to retire as a nun to the Convent of the Annunciates in Bruges, which Margaret had founded in 1517.[501] Margaret had indeed contemplated retiring to a nunnery after Charles V came of age in 1515, but there is no evidence to connect the painting to this intention. The painting nonetheless reflects Margaret's privileged piety and how she wished to contemplate herself in relation to God.

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[498] Margaret had eight diptychs in her bedroom and three in her study at the Palace of Savoy. It was fashionable from the fifteenth century for nobles to have life-like portraits in devotional icons. Eichberger, 1998, 294, 300-1.

[499] This painting has been identified the following entry in the 1523-24 inventory: "*Receu puis cest inventoire fait ung double tableau; et l'ung est Nre Dame habillée du bleu, tenant son enffant droit, et en l'aultre Madame à genous, adorant ledit enffant.*" Michelant, 87. M. Laskins Jr. & M. Pantazzi, eds., Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa: European and American Painting, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts, vol. 1/1300-1800 (Ottawa, 1987), 211. There has been some disagreement as to this identification. Eichberger suggests the diptych described in the inventory is a diptych in the Ghent Beaux-Arts by the Master of 1499. Eichberger, 1998, 295. The Ghent image (Fig. 4) presents a youthful Margaret kneeling before an open manuscript, with her hands held in prayer, gazing toward the Virgin and Child on the left panel. She is dressed not as a widow, but as a wealthy princess, with her pet dog and monkey, before a fire in a richly decorated room. Her coat of arms is placed on the mantelpiece and the arms of Savoy cover the floor. The date of this painting is not precisely known. But Margaret's youth, the prominence of the arms of Savoy and her courtly dress suggests an early date, perhaps even before Philibert's death. The left wing was painted after the right so perhaps Philbert's death interrupted its completion. As the above inscription indicates the picture entered the collection after 1523-24, it seems unlikely that this image, which was perhaps made twenty years earlier, should have just entered her collection.

[500] Eichberger, 1998, 305-07. Margaret had a number of images of herself in her bedroom: Margaret praying with the "Emperor moderne," a portrait in tapestry, a portrait by Jacopo de Barbari, and another as a youth with her brother. Michelant, 85-87. The last is the only extant image and it presents Margaret as a young princess (London, National Gallery).

[501] The suggestion is put forth by: de Boom, 142; Baudson, 1981, 18; and Laskins & Pantazzi, 211-12.

This confidence in her own holiness is reflected in other commissions where Margaret steps beyond the role of mere worshipper and takes on sainthood herself.[502] Margaret inherited the incomplete Sforza Hours from Philibert upon his death in 1504.[503] Margaret commissioned her painter, Gerard Horenbout, to complete the manuscript sometime around 1521. The "Visitation" includes a portrait of Margaret in the guise of St. Elizabeth (fol. 61r) (Fig.81a). Margaret wears her signature wimple and her face is easily identifiable by a comparison to other portraits. In fact, many female figures throughout Horenbout's work resemble Margaret. In the "Presentation at the Temple' (fol.104v) (fig.81b) an elegant candle bearer in the foreground resembles Margaret as do others in this very courtly scene, reminiscent of such ceremonies as the baptism of Charles V in 1500, at which Margaret was the godmother.[504] The Virgin herself looks remarkably like Margaret with golden hair, round face, heavy lidded eyes, largish nose, and a small mouth with the characteristic Habsburg larger lower lip. Horenbout deviated from the classical looking Virgin of the earlier images by the Italian illuminator Giovan Pietro Birago, clearly complimenting his patron by modeling saintly figures upon her. These images emphasize an imperial sense of importance and status, a theme less prominent in her more simple, public image in the Netherlands, suggesting not only Margaret's sense of her own importance, as well as an understanding of what image was appropriate for what audience.

Hidden Images

These very saintly allusions are also found in more public commissions, but in a manner only discernible to a certain audience. For example, a portrait of Margaret's late husband, Philibert of Savoy (Fig. 82) made in the 1520's for Margaret by another of her court artists, Jan Mostaert, contains a miniature portrait of St. Margaret on the insignia on

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[502] This is not the first instance of this type of imagery. In a lost double portrait with her second husband, Don Juan of Spain, both are portrayed in the guise of their patron saints, St. Margaret and St. John. It is listed in Margaret's study in the Palace of Savoy. Michelant 93. There are also several images of St. Margaret in her collections, for example, see Michelant, 88, 91.

[503] The Hours had been begun for Philibert's aunt, Bona of Savoy (d.1503), wife of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan. The illuminator was the Giovan Pietro Birago, a Milanese priest. The widowed Bona returned, with the unfinished manuscript, to Savoy in 1495 and upon her death in 1503, it passd to Philibert. See M. Evans, The Sforza Hours (London, 1992).

[504] Another figure may be meant as an allusion to Margaret. Behind the Christ child stands an elderly woman in a widow's wimple. This could be Anne the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, and a widow herself, who is described as being present at the presentation in Luke 2.36-38. I thank Professor Faith Wallis for this suggestion.

Philibert's hat, a clear allusion to his saintly wife.[505] Two versions of this portrait are listed in the Palace inventory, although the insignia is not mentioned specifically, one in the première chambre and the other as the first listing in Margaret's bedroom.[506] The locations indicate that the image was both for Margaret's own pleasure and as part of her public image.

Margaret portrays herself as the personification of Charity, the greatest of the theological virtues, in two altarpieces by Bernard van Orley. The Calvary Altarpiece[507] (Fig. 37aandb) and Rotterdam Altarpiece[508] (Fig. 83) both present a dramatic crucifixion as the stage for an image of Margaret emerging from the clouds below Christ's right arm. She wears her signature widow's wimple and is draped by four nude children, representing Margaret's nieces and nephew, whom she raised and cared for after her brother's death. In the Rotterdam crucifixion, she even holds a martyr's palm, indicating her sacrifices in her charitable role. The intended location of the Rotterdam piece is unknown but the Calvary Altarpiece is recorded as commissioned by Margaret in the late 1520's for one of the chapels of her mausoleum at Brou.[509]

These laudatory self-references may stem from a desire to make a record of her regency for Charles V. When Charles came of age in 1515, accusations of corrupt governance were laid against Margaret, which she strenuously fought. She was eventually re-instated as ruler of the Netherlands, but many of her commissions nevertheless emphasize her good governance and show the importance she placed on being well remembered.

Another example of this is found in the chimneypiece in the Liberty of Bruges (Fig. 84a) that Margaret commissioned to commemorate the Treaty of Cambrai that she had negotiated with Louise of Savoy in 1529.[510] The centre piece of the work is a free-

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[505] E. Van Loon-Van De Moosdijk, "Sinte Margriet: een parel van een vrouw" (St. Margaret: a Pearl of a Woman), Antiek 30, n.6 (1996): 276-82. A 1521 record notes that a gratuity was given to Mostaert in return for this portrait that he had presented to Margaret on New Year's day. Eichberger, 1995, 227.
[506] Michelant, 67, 83.
[507] See: Poiret, 1994, 47; & Friedländer, plate 88, 81, 102. Friedländer's image does not include the two allegorical figures in the clouds, indicating the images were painted over at some point.
[508] The image is discussed briefly in, Baudson, 1981, 12; and Friedländer, 72.
[509] The painting was incomplete upon Margaret's death and on Charles V's order, it remained in the Netherlands after it was completed. It is suggested that it was for either the Gorrevod or Montécuto chapel. Poiret, 1996, 47.
[510] The Burgomasters and Aldermen of Bruges had originally commissioned the work on the occasion of the Treaty of Madrid in 1526. The work was re-commissioned by Margaret after the treaty of Cambrai in

standing sculpture of Charles V, surrounded by coats of arms and flanked by equal sized statues of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy (to his right) and Isabelle and Ferdinand (to his left), all dressed in contemporary costumes. At first glance, Margaret is not represented, which seems unusual, as it was her work that secured the treaty. However, hidden behind Charles's cloak is a small oval medallion with a portrait of Margaret in the guise of a classical goddess (Fig. 84bandc). The chimneypiece was a dynastic display for the prominent citizens of Bruges in which Margaret is commemorated simply as a negotiator for her nephew, the Emperor. However, by choosing to be portrayed in classical garb, she also suggests a muse-like influence over him and her importance in his Empire. This image, however subtly, insured this would not be forgotten.

Although Margaret's court at Mechelen was one of the prime receptors and disseminators of the Italian Renaissance in the North, this is one of the rare portraits of Margaret in a classical manner.[511] In the majority of Margaret's images a "modern" style is used, suggesting Margaret's understanding of the artistic vocabulary best used to portray oneself in public, to a select audience and to oneself.

There are a few classically styled images that have been suggested to represent Margaret. The Altarpiece of the Life of St. Jerome (1518) (Fig. 85) depicts a scene on the interior wing of the illness of St. Jerome. Françoise Baudson has put forth the suggestion that the image is in fact a reference to the death of Philibert le Beau, based on an image from Jean Lemaire's *La Couronne Marguerite* (1504-05, Vienna BN) (Fig. 86).[512] In Lemaire's manuscript, a classically dressed figure of Hebe, goddess of Youth, stands before Philibert upon his deathbed. The altarpiece's image of St. Jerome's illness is comparable, with a classical female figure in the foreground, turning away from the

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1529. The chimney and its elaborate sculptural program was made by Guyot De Beaugrant in 1529-30 of polished black Tournai marble and carved oak, from designs by Lancelot Blondel. See Luc Devliegher, De Keizer Karl-schouw van het Brugse Vrije, Tielt (Belgium), 1987. It is also briefly discussed by Hitchcock. Hitchcock, 24.

[511] In the 1523-24 inventory, a portrait of Margaret (now lost) by her Venetian court painter Jacopo de' Barbari is found in Margaret's bedroom (Michelant, 85). Unfortunately the inventory entry gives no indication as to Margaret's appearance but its description as "very exquisite" and its location in her chambers indicates her appreciation of de' Barbari's Italian style. Born and trained in Venice, de Barbari came to Germany around 1500 where he was court painter for Maximilian in Nuremburg. From 1510 until his death in 1516 he was in Margaret's service. Besides her portrait, the inventory mentions four other paintings and several engraved copper plates. De Boom, 143-44.

sickbed to hide her grief. Baudson suggests that the classical figure is meant to represent Margaret in both the manuscript and the altarpiece. This is a rather doubtful suggestion, as other images of Margaret in *La Couronne Margaritique* do not resemble the classical figure. At best, it could be considered a symbolic allusion to Margaret's imperial or super-human like fortitude.

It is uncertain who commissioned the altarpiece. According to local tradition, Margaret was the painting's patron, although there is no evidence to support this assertion. It is known that in 1517 a chapel was dedicated to St. Jerome in the church of Notre Dame, Bourg-en-Bresse. Known as the Garin Chapel, it was named for a prominent Bourg family who were, most likely, the Chapel's patrons. The Altarpiece was probably intended for this Chapel. It would not be difficult to imagine that a prominent local family would make reference to the late duke and the dowager Margaret, who was at that time was the region's ruler and the patroness of Brou as well as the church of Notre-Dame. It would be a compliment to Margaret and an impressive display of Imperial connection for the Garin family. While highly unlikely that the Garins would have access to Margaret's personal manuscript, the artist could have been from Margaret's circle of artists and known of the work. Regardless, it is a very tenuous suggestion.

An unusual portrait has been identified as a portrait of Margaret as Mary Magdalene (Fig. 87).[513] The date is not recorded but it is believed to be by van Orley and therefore done sometime after he entered Margaret's service in 1518. Margaret may have been attracted to the Magdalene for her connetion to Burgundy, as she is supposedly buried in Vézelay. Mary Magdalene also had the special distinction of being equal to the Apostles, since she was the first to witness the Ressurection, and would therefore be an appropriate statement on Margaret's own worth. Additionally, the Magdalene was also associated with music and Margaret was a noted patron of music, employing many musicians and owning musical manuscripts.[514]

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[512] Baudson, 1981, 80. Also see: Ain sacre, Tresors peints sur bois (Belley, Palais Episcopal, 15 juin – 17 octobre 1999), 18-20; Les maîtres du nord à Brou: peintures flamandes et hollandaises du musée de Brou, exh. cat. (Bourg-en-Bresse: Musée de Brou, 1999), 38; and Debae, 1987, 50.

[513] Friedländer provides no information beyond the image and the identification as Margaret as Mary Magdalene. Friedländer, plate 140. The image is similarly identified in, De Habsburgers en Mechelen, 61; and by correspondence with the Alte Pinakothek in Munich which owns the painting.

[514] Poiret, 1994, 41-42. Debae, 1987, 151-57.

This portrait of Margaret also brings to mind a less holy, but very appropriate character, Artemisia of Caria. Artemisia built the mausoleum at Halicarnassus to honour her late husband and was the classical symbol of a widow's devotion to her husband's memory. She is usually depicted holding a cup or goblet, recalling how she drank her husband's ashes to make herself a living mausoleum for him. In relation to her commissioning of Brou, Lemaire had called Margaret a new Artemisia.[515] Van Orley's portrait may have been a similar reference, or perhaps even had two different perceptions, one religious, one classical, depending upon the humanist sophistication of the viewer. As the original location of this image is unknown, one can only speculate on the patron's intentions.

Margaret's public image, widow or otherwise, betrays very little intimate detail. However, aspects of Margaret's personal life are glimpsed in her personal manuscripts. Margaret commissioned *La Couronne Margaritique* (c.1505) from Jean Lemaire soon after she was widowed. It tells of Margaret's grief at Philibert's death and the classical personifications of Prudence and Fortitude that save the young widow from despair (Fig.10) Margaret gave the book to her brother Phillip in the presence of their father soon after it was completed, and its prominent theme of Margaret's bad luck in marriage was probably meant to support Margaret's refusal to remarry.[516]

The biographical *Changement de Fortune en toute prosperité*, was produced for Margaret by Michele Riccio between 1507-1509. It depicts the subjection of Margaret's life to the changes of fortune, from her mother's early death, her own misfortune with marriage and stillbirth of her only child.[517] One folio represents a scepter being pulled from the young Queen Margaret's hand by Fortune (Fig. 88a); later, the young, two-time widow slumps in despair (Fig. 88b). And finally, a sad young woman stands before a throne holding empty coat of arms (Fig. 88c) stating the open question of who will be her next husband? The images illustrate Margaret's personal motto, "Fortune infortune fort une" (roughly, "the changes of fortune make one stronger"), which she adopted after her final widowhood.

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[515] Cahn, 63.
[516] Pächt & Thoss, 87-91, illustrations, 186-195. Debae, 1987, 49-53.
[517] Pacht & Thoss, 81-84, illustrations, 168-195. Debae, 1987, 134-140.

In public, these personal lamentations were represented only in the much more formal images of Margaret's perpetual widowhood. This "editing" of images and impressions is present in most of her "self-portraits." Margaret's careful selection of certain images for certain audiences meant that often only a small and appropriate facet of her life was displayed in any one image. It is only in her portraits in her mausoleum at Brou, that the manifold layers of Margaret's life were openly displayed.

Brou

The Monastery of Brou is a special case. Brou was ultimately more about posterity than the present. It was designed as Margaret's eternal memorial and in it she freely mixes the personal with the political, creating a composite portrait of herself for history (fully discussed in Chapter 2).

The original impetus for Brou was as a mausoleum for Margaret's husband, Philibert of Savoy. The main entrance of the church (Fig.18) presents sculptures of Margaret and Philibert in prayer, with Margaret in widow's garb, reflecting the original conceptual theme of the building: a husband's mausoleum built by a devoted wife.

As one enters the church through the nave, the first glimpse of the choir gives a perfectly framed image of Margaret's honouring of her husband with Philibert's tomb central and framed by colourful stained glass (Fig. 31). Yet as one enters the choir, a more complex picture begins to emerge. The choir stained glass presents Margaret and Philibert facing each other, surrounded by a wall of their dynastic coats of arms (Fig. 47). In personal image, Margaret and Philibert are equally represented, yet in terms of heraldry and symbolic representation, the scale tips towards Margaret. Philibert's ancestral coats of arms are designed to show Savoy's links to the Habsburgs and thus give the impression of Philibert as a subject of his wife's family. The architectural frames of the windows, which are sculpted with marguerites and several shields with Margaret's motto "Fortune Infortune Fort Une," further support Margaret's primacy. Below, supporting the windows, undulating niches present Margaret's motto in large letters, discernable from the choir stalls, repeated over and over (Fig. 35). No symbolic reference to Philibert is included. Coupled with the spectator's knowledge of patronage of Brou, the contemporary or informed viewer would primarily perceive an image of a good and noble

wife, and only secondarily, the husband who was honoured. It is a subtle distinction, but one that becomes more evident as other images in the church are considered.

The suggestion of Margaret's primacy becomes a certainty as the beholder looks north and is confronted with the obvious culmination of the entire building: the tomb of Margaret of Austria (Fig. 54). Margaret could have followed the contemporary practice and made a double tomb and laid centrally with Philibert but instead, chose to be memorialized as an individual.[518] Although off to the side, her tomb is nevertheless conceived in a manner that declares Margaret's centrality and importance while maintaining her appropriate role as deferential wife. Profuse, stylized micro-architecture draws the viewer's attention to Margaret's double effigy as a crowned, Imperial princess and a simple, pious, sleeping woman in the costume of a Sister of the Annunciates, an Order for which Margaret founded a convent in 1517. Margaret is portrayed in relation to her family and her piety in her life after she was widowed. Only the tilt of her head, which looks toward Philibert, ties her image to that of her husband.

The tomb leads the viewer's eye north to Margaret's Chapel. On the east wall, the Retable of Seven Joys of the Virgin presents Margaret as a widow, kneeling beside an open tomb, witness to the miracle of the assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 45). Her piety, virtue and close association to the holy figure are highlighted.

The stained glass of its north wall (Fig. 43) also links Margaret with the Virgin. Kneeling below an image of the Coronation of the Virgin, Margaret, pictured as a young princess, wears a cloak of the coats of arms of Austria, Burgundy and Artois. The white stripe on red of the Austrian crest could easily be mistaken for the white cross on red of Savoy worn by Philibert kneeling opposite, suggesting the subtlety employed in the program's iconography. A casual glance would see a woman wearing her husband's arms. Only the attentive viewer would recognize her independent display. Margaret gazes upward, regarding an Imperial-like coronation of the Virgin Mary, who, as in the Sforza Hours, resembles the youthful Margaret. Her celestial crowning by Imperial-like Christ and God, alludes to a plethora of general allegories, such as Imperial desires to link church and state and the Houses of Habsburg and Burgundy's close association with the cult of the Virgin. But in context, its principal allusion is to the celestial coronation of an

[518] See above Chapter 2 on tombs.

Imperial princess (who never received a terrestrial crown) in recognition of a life well lived.

Margaret's private oratory is located next to the chapel and from it one can see the chancel with a perfectly framed view, not of Philibert, but of Margaret herself (Fig. 41). In fact, neither Philibert's tomb nor image can be seen from her oratory, an indication of the ultimately self-referential nature of the building.

Interestingly, the only direct reference to her regency is her tiny portrait as Charity found in the Calvary Altarpiece (Fig. 37), which was most likely meant for a secondary chapel. This small, portable and less prominently displayed image suggests that Margaret's motherly role to her brother's children (who all referred to her as the only mother they ever had), although personally meaningful, was of less import in her grand design of presenting a laudable and virtuous dynastic memory.

Thus Philibert's apparent centrality, first glimpsed from the nave, is firmly supplanted by a consideration of Margaret's portraits throughout Brou (on her representation through in style and architecture, see Chapter 2) which record her deeds and merits in life, for her own consumption as well as history's.

Conclusion

All of Margaret's commissioned portraits revolve around ideas of politics, piety, family and a strong desire to be well remembered. Her father, Maximilian had emphasized the importance of remembrance and the need to create memorials to oneself.[519] Margaret shared his sentiments, once declaring that she feared "to be lost and forgotten to the world."[520] And indeed, she could have been, for if we consider the primary roles of a royal daughter, that is to create lasting marriage alliances and produce heirs to continue the dynasty, Margaret is clearly lacking. Although her whole life was spent working for the advancement of the House of Austria, in dynastic terms she was

[519] Found in Maximilian's allegorical prose autobiography, *Weisskunig*. Larry Silver, 1990, 293. Also see above page 33.

[520] This sentiment is recorded in a letter from Sept 16, 1507 that Maximilian wrote to his recently widowed daughter. In this letter, he encouraged her to marry Henry VII of England for "by this marriage, you would leave the prison that you fear to enter...you would govern England and the House of Burgundy and you would not be placed out of the world, like a person lost and forgotten, as you have declared to us before." Le Glay, vol. 2, 11-12. Margaret refused to marry again declaring that she had three times been married and each time was the worse for it. de Boom, 61.

superfluous: childless, unmarried and a ruler only by appointment with all her lands and titles returning back to her family upon her death.

Her remembrance would be based on her own actions and reputation, so she created an image to promote and record her virtues. She carefully mediated each image to its audience. To family, confidants, and herself, all aspects of her multifaceted life are represented: she is an Imperial princess, queen, duchess, widow, a victim of fortune, a muse-like goddess and even a saint. To the people of Savoy and to posterity, she is a blessed Imperial Princess who created a masterpiece to commemorate not only her relationship with Philibert, but also the deeds and merits of her own life. To her subjects in the Netherlands she is a well-connected ruler in the guise of a devout widow, tempering the language of masculine authority with feminine virtues. She could not use the visual vocabulary of a knight or warrior but she could use that of an exemplary female family member. By presenting herself as selflessly acting for the betterment of her family, she sought to place her name in a line of great Habsburg rulers, as demonstrated in a manuscript of the genealogy of Charles V made for Margaret by her secretary Jean Franco.[521] Charles impressive lineage reaching back to antiquity is recounted with 27 medallion portraits of many mythic and actual ancestors. The only female discussed and pictured is Margaret (Fig. 89), dressed as a widow, holding a marguerite and her coat of arms. Margaret definitely knew her own value but understood that others, and history, might not. Margaret's portraits reflect her desire to be remembered and her great diplomatic skill in subtly negotiating a place for herself in her own time as well as her place in history.

[521] The manuscript is noted as a late addition to the 1523-24 inventories at the Palace of Savoy. Debae dates it from 1527-30. Debae, 1987, 156-158.

Chapter 5:
Collecting a New World:
The Ethnographic Collections of Margaret of Austria

Margaret of Austria's collections extended well beyond the parameters of Western Europe. Her life coincided with the discovery of the Americas and the voyages of exploration by men like Columbus, Cortez and Magellan. Items from new and exotic lands came back to Europe and were displayed and coveted as representations of previously unknown worlds. The New World (or the Americas) became a major component (both physically and symbolically) of Margaret's family's Empire and Margaret incorporated the images and artefacts of the Americas and other found lands into her patronage and collections. In her residence, the Palace of Savoy in Mechelen, among her masterpieces of western art, Margaret possessed one of the earliest assemblages of artefacts of the New World.[522]

Decades before the emergence of the *Kunstkammer*, curios from new found lands were exhibited in various rooms of the Palace of Savoy and recorded as treasures, rarities and wonders. Their location in the palace indicates that these curios also had a more pragmatic function as a representation of Habsburg dominion in the New World. This chapter will examine Margaret's relationship with the new found lands and the manifold functions of Margaret of Austria's collection of New World artefacts, considering how ideas of collecting, image and worldview were being transformed in the early sixteenth century.

Margaret had witnessed the voyages of Columbus. Her second marriage to Juan, the heir of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, meant that she spent from March 1497 to September 1499 in Spain. Isabella and Ferdinand had laid claim to sovereignty over the new land founded by Columbus just a few years earlier, and Margaret, as the wife of the future King of Spain, would have seen herself as the future Queen of this New World. Columbus had returned from his second voyage to the

[522] On Margaret of Austria's ethnographic collections see P. Vandenbroeck, "Amerindian Art and Ornamental Objects in Royal Collections: Brussels, Mechelen, Duurstede, 1520-1530," in America, Bride of the Sun exh.cat., (Antwerp: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 99-119; and D. Eichberger, "*Naturalia* and *artefacta*: Dürer's Nature Drawings and Early Collecting," in Eichberger & Zika, 24-25.

"Indies"[523] in the spring of 1496, after founding the first colonial city, Isabela in Hispanola (present day Haiti). He brought with him New World treasures including birds, plants, trees, masks and gold as well as native people, some of whom served at court.[524]

Juan died in October 1497. Margaret remained at the Spanish court and gave birth to a stillborn child a few months later. During this period Columbus prepared for his third voyage to the New World and when he departed in April 1498, he named one of his ships the *Margarita* in her honour.[525] When Margaret left Spain for the Netherlands in September 1499 she carried with her gifts from her marriage, including large quantities of gold, some of which may have been from the Americas.[526]

Although Margaret's marriage ended, her brother, Philip the Handsome's marriage to Isabella and Ferdinand's daughter, Juana, was more successful and brought the Americas into Habsburg hands. Soon the idea of the New World began to be incorporated into Habsburg imagery. In 1507, the year Margaret of Austria became Regent of the Netherlands, her father Maximilian presented her with a beautifully illustrated *livres des chants*. The frontispiece pictured an enthroned Maximilian with young Charles before him and Margaret opposite with her three young nieces. It was an image made to commemorate the advent of Margaret's regency. However, it was not simply a traditional image of family and dynasty. For standing round the figures, with their hands uplifted to swear fealty to the new Regent, were the natives of the Americas, discovered just fifteen years earlier. This book with its image of the Habsburg's world Empire and Margaret's

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[523] The term "Indian" comes from Columbus' initial mistaken belief that he had landed in India. Until Magellan's trip round the world in 1522, the New World was considered part of the Asian continent. "Indian" is used to describe the Americas in the late 15th- and early 16th-centuries. The term "Calicut" is also used and both terms have led to some confusion in scholarship. Whether items described as from "the Indies" can be unequivocally be assigned to Asia or the Americas depends upon the details supplied in the description. C. Feest, "The Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe, 1493-1750," in Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750 (Chapel Hill & London, 1995), 334-35. J. M. Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach," in Levenson, 516. Warwick Bray, "Crop Plants and Cannibals: Early European Impressions of the New World," in The Meeting of Two Worlds, Europe and the Americas, 1492-1650 (London, 1993), 298. For Margaret's collections, the majority can be identified as from the Americas, as much were received directly from Charles V as gifts from the Hapsburg's new territory and many can be cross referenced with Cortez's original presentation to Charles. Vandenbroeck, 101-107.

[524] On Columbus, Spain and the New World, see J. A. Levenson, ed., Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration (New Haven and London, 1992).

[525] Tamussino, 65.

[526] The inventory of these goods is found in R. Beer, "*Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivo General in Simancas, Reg. 8347*," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* XII, (1891): CX – CXXIII.

place as one of its rulers became one of Margaret's prized possessions.[527] That same year the first map of the world showing the four continents, based on the recently published journals of Amerigo Vespucci, was produced and dedicated to Margaret's father, Maximilian.[528]

The New World also became part of Habsburg public display and ceremony. Margaret was a prominent participant in a grand procession through the streets of Brussels to mark Charles' succession to the Spanish throne.[529] The procession finished with a car decorated with a golden globe and the motto *Ulterius nisi morte*, suggesting the expanding global empire of the new king. As if to bring this notion to life, the car was filled with "Indians" from the Spanish Americas colonies. Although no image exists of this procession, an idea of its effect can be glimpsed in the woodcuts Hans Burgkmair made for Charles' grandfather, Emperor Maximilian I, around the same time. These images were part of a series of one hundred and thrity seven woodcuts from the *Triumph of Maximilian I.*[530] Conceived by Maximilian himself, the series consisted of a triumphal procession of all the peoples of the Habsburg Empire. Margaret sits with her family in the Emperor's chariot as they preside over the procession.[531] The warriors of "Calicut" (the Americas) appear just before the baggage train dressed in a rather European rendering of

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[527] This description of the manuscript is found in, E. E. Tremayne, The First Governess of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria, London 1908, 274. Tremayne states that the '*livres de chant*' is found in the Mechelen archives. Today, the Mechelen Archives own a choir book with a similar image but the people surrounding the Hapsburg figures are clearly representatives of different classes of European society. Tremayne may have misread the above image. Yet considering the number of representations of the New World in Habsburg imagery, the possibility of such an image existing is certainly plausible. On the Mechelen choir book see, H. Kellman (ed.), The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500-1535, Amsterdam, 1999, 112-113.

[528] The map, which coined the term "America," was produced by Martin Waldseemüller at the monastery of St. Dié under the patronage of Duke Rene II of Lorraine (1451-1508). 1000 copies were made by 1507. Hans Wolff, ed., America, Early Maps of the New World (Munich, 1993), 7,111,113.

[529] The procession is described in John M. Headley, "The Habsburg World Empire and the Revival of Ghibellinism," in Theories of Empire, 1450-1800, David Armitage, ed., (Aldershot, UK, 1998), 45-46.

[530] The series was conceived by Maximilian in 1512 and then devised in detail by Marx Treitz-Saurwein, his secretary. Burgkmair's woodcuts were produced in 1517-18. Massing, in Levenson, 516. The series was to consist of 200 odd images although only 137 were produced. For the entire series see, Stanley Appelbaum, The Triumph of Maximilan I (New York, 1964).

[531] This image was not among the 137 woodcuts completed in 1512 but a description of the scene survives in Maximilian's instructions to the artisans. See Appelbaum, 16. It was never produced as the series, the *Great Triumphal Chariot* by Dürer, published in 1522, replaced the dynastic chariot of Maximilian's offspring proposed in the earlier procession, with one filled with allegorical figures. Silver, 1990, 297.

native dress (Fig. 90).[532] In the baggage train are men, women and children of "Calicut" along with their native animals and produce (Fig. 91). Placed symbolically at the end, behind the European peoples of the Empire, the people of the New World are woven into the display of the Habsburg's domains.[533]

These images were but part of the Habsburg display of the New World. In Margaret's residence in Mechelen, Margaret assembled a unique collection of exotic artefacts from new found lands for display as well as for her own pleasure. Two inventories from the Palace of Savoy survive and both record numerous items from the New World.[534]

The first inventory is from 1516 and has two entries from the New World: "two boxes of cloth from the Indies" and "a pair of ladies' shoes from the Indies."[535] They are listed among paintings, statues, gold and ivory work, clocks, games and curios (such as branches of coral), suggesting that the New World items were valued in relation to their function in the Old World, functioning as decoration, as rarities and, as we shall see, as a display of a personal connection to the New World.

A second more detailed palace inventory survives from 1523-24.[536] This lists items according to location in the Palace, an important aid in understanding the display and function of these items. The infrastructure of palace architecture at this period was organized according to court ritual that dictated the level of public access to each room. A distinction was made between public and more private space, some rooms being used for formal, public functions while others were more intimate in character and for the personal use of the ruler. Apartments had a sequence of rooms that often had a rising level of

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[532] The "skirts" of feathers were in fact meant to be worn as cloaks, and the weaponry is a mix of European and native ideas. The images are not ethnographically accurate but are a mix of the European ideas of the "exotic." Massing, 516.

[533] Verses were also planned: "The emperor in his war-like pride, conquering nations far and wide, has brought beneath our Empire's yolk, the far-off Calicut-ish folk, therefore we pledge him with our oath, lasting obedience and troth." Appelbaum, 19.

[534] Inventories or catalogues of dispersed or destroyed collections are one of two main sources of information on early collecting (the other being the approximately 300 items that survive from pre-1750 collections). According to Christian F. Feest, the study of these lists, with a view to the history of ethnographic collecting, has been neglected in scholarship. Feest, 1995, 328-29.

[535] "*Deux boetes de toyle des Indes*"..."*Ungne perre de patins des Indes.*" Le Glay, vol.2, 479. Translation in Vandenbroeck, 105.

[536] The entire inventory is transcribed in Michelant, 5-78, 83-136; and Zimmerman, XCIII-CXXIII.

selective access.[537] Margaret's apartments in the Palace of Savoy are belived to have functioned along similar principles,[538] allowing a discussion of the extent and function of the display of the New World artefacts based on their location in the palace.

"La librarie"

Margaret's collection of New World items had grown significantly in seven years.[539] Many objects were from a gift of New World treasures Margaret received from Emperor Charles V on August 23, 1523.[540] The explorer, Hernando Cortés, had presented Charles with New World treasures received from the Aztec King Montezuma in 1519.[541] The collection created a sensation among contemporaries and was publicly displayed in Toledo, Valladolid and Brussels in 1520.[542] Charles then kept the most monetarily valuable objects (precious metal and stones) himself but sent a large variety of marvellous objects to Margaret.[543]

Cortés' presentation had included important ceremonial costumes used to impersonate four Aztec gods that had been given to him by Montezuma.[544] A number of pieces of these costumes, including silver leg guards, sandals and a mirror are found in Margaret's collection.[545] A silver moon disc and the quincunx Venus disc listed in the inventory are also believed to be from Montezuma.[546] Other items from Cortes' shipment are ceremonial "tiger" and wolves' heads and, possibly, two elaborate necklaces.[547]

Several other articles "from the Indies" are listed: twelve pieces of exotic fabric which were used for practical purposes such as curtains or bed hangings; twelve pieces of

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[537] de Jongh, 107-126.
[538] Eichberger & Beaven, 229.
[539]Items from or about the New World are listed in Michelant, 61-65,71-72, 90-92, 96-98 & 106; and Zimmerman XCIII-CXXII, CXIX-CXX. An English translation of most items is found in Vandenbroeck, 115-116.
[540] The gift was presented to Margaret via Monsignor de la Chaulx (Charles de Poupet), an important courtier of the Spanish-Burgundian court. Vandenbroeck, 104-05.
[541] On Charles' collections, see Vandenbroeck, 99-104, 110-117.
[542] A.A. Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World," in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., The Cultures of Collecting (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 194.
[543] Eleven Mexican items were also sent to Charles' brother, Ferdinand I in Nuremburg in 1524. Christian F. Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures. Aztec, Mixtec and Tarascan Works from the 16th century," Archiv für Völkerkunde 44 (1990): 34.
[544] Cortés'presentation also included items from other ceremonial exchanges, as well as from looting. Feest, 1995, 331.
[545] Vandenbroeck, 105 & 115-116, nos. 902 (mistakenly listed as 912), 913 & 925.
[546] Vandenbroeck, 105 & 115-116, nos. 942, 937.
[547] Vandenbroeck, 105 & 115-116, nos. 910, 911, 914, 915.

clothing for both men and women sewn with gold, fur and feathers; twelve shields, decorated with items such as turquoise, plumes, gold and gems; more leg-guards also decorated with precious materials, feathers and bells; seven ceremonial "helmuts" (head-dresses) elaborately decorated; as well as six arrows, four feather fans, three bracelets, two quadrans, another mirror, a staff, a sword, and a little vane.[548]

All of the above items are recorded as being kept in Margaret of Austria's library. The library housed her extensive collection of manuscripts, maps and genealogies as well as battle and religious paintings, sculpture, and twenty-three portraits, in various media, of Margaret's immediate and extended family.[549] The Library was a place of knowledge and could be arguably viewed as a paradigm of Margaret's world.[550] Habsburg-Burgundian history was plotted out in manuscripts, genealogies, maps, woodcuts, portraits and, now, with exotic items from their latest conquest, the New World.[551]

This display was meant for important visitors. The library is mentioned in several records of visits to Margaret's court and appears to have been accessible to diplomatic and official visitors, as well as distinguished artists and scholars such as Albrecht Dürer[552] and Erasmus of Rotterdam.[553] The collection was a physical manifestation of a concept of universal power and while the display of royal magnificence is an old tradition, the ethnographic and hierarchical recording of the known world suggests something more modern.

"La première chambre"

More artifacts appear in a room the inventory refers to as the *première chambre.* Based on its contents, the room has been identified as the Palace of Savoy's principal public reception hall. Displayed in this room were thirty portraits of Margaret's family

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[548] Vandenbroeck, 105-106, 115-116.
[549] Eichberger & Beaven, 238-241.
[550] D. Eichberger and L. Beaven have shown Margaret's collections in the library and "*première chambre*" to function as a display of dynastic connections to support Margaret's (and the Habsburg's) rule in the Netherlands. Eichberger & Beaven, 247.
[551] Included in the collections was a copy of Dürer's Triumphal Arch made for Maximilian I which presented an overview of the Habsburg genealogy designed to glorify the family. Eichberger & Beaven, 247.
[552] Dürer visited in June, 1521. His journal entry records, "Dame Margaret showed me all her beautiful things, among which I saw about 40 small panels painted in oil colours...And I saw many splendid things, and a splendid library." Albrecht Dürer, Sketchbook of His Journey to the Netherlands 1520-21 (New York, 1971), 44.
[553] Eichberger & Beaven, 239.

and allies, systematically plotting out Margaret's lineage, as well as her diplomatic and marital connections. As a thematic whole, the portrait collection functioned in the support and promotion of Margaret's, and the Habsburg's, rule in the Netherlands.[554]

Kept in this very public room was "a pair of leather shoes"...described as being "after the Turkish style."[555] There is an interest in the Ottoman Empire expressed in Margaret's collections. In the Library, we find a portrait of the "*Grand-Turc,*" the Ottoman Sultan, in both the 1516 and 1523-24 inventories.[556] An exotic item from the Near East is certainly a plausible item for display. Yet, it would seem unusual to present an item from a culture that was successfully threatening the Habsburgs on their eastern borders and defeated the Habsburg's ally, Louis of Hungary, in 1521 and 1526. Images of Habsburg opponents (such as the French and the Ottoman rulers) are indeed represented in the Library, but only allies are presented in the carefully constructed *première chambre*. Could the "Turkish shoes" be a misidentification of the shoes from the "Indies" of the 1516 inventory? Although unlikely as the term "Indies" is used to describe the Americas elsewhere in the 1523-24 inventory, it was not uncommon at the time to classify any non-European objects as simply being from elsewhere (i.e., not from Europe) and so terms were used that didn't necessarily relate to their place of origin.[557] Why else would shoes be displayed in a public reception room whose décor is organized to display the dynastic and political connections of the Habsburg Empire? Thus it is possible these shoes were from the Habsburg's New World domains rather than those of their enemies.

More certain is an item listed as "a roof made of white tree bark, painted with yellow and green [flowers], one end in green, 5 ells long and 1 1/8 ell wide, originating from the Indies, donated by Monsignor de la Chaulx."[558] This large object (roughly eighteen feet by four feet) is listed as being stored in a cupboard or chest along with

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[554] Eichberger & Beaven, 229-238.
[555] "*Deux patins de cuyr à la mode de Turcquie.*" Michelant, 71.
[556] In the 1516 inventory it is listed as "*ung petit tableau de la pourtraicture du Grand-Turc*" and in the 1523-24 inventory as "*celle du Grand-Turcq.*" Le Glay, vol. 2, 483. Michelant, 59.
[557] Exotic items were often generalised as "other" in early modern culture. Their origins were often lost as they changed hands or fell out of fashion. Feest, 1995, 335; and America, Bride of the Sun, 385.
[558] "*Item, une tois fête de pelure d'arbre blanche, paincte de fleur jaulne et verde, l'ung des boutz painctz de verd contenant de longeur, v aulnes et largeur, une aulne de cartier, venue des Indes, donné à Madame par Monsr de La Chaulx.*" Michelant, 72. Translation in Vandenbroeck, 115, n. 57. An "*aulne*" equals approximately 45 inches. The fact that this item is part of the inventory made in a period of a few months by the same men and described, as were the items from Cortez, as "from the Indies," suggests that the roof was, at very least, perceived as from the same place as the Cortez items.

several painted corporals and board games. This is an intriguing listing, as a painted roof, undoubtedly of high quality, would nonetheless have had a utilitarian function in its original context. Nevertheless it was deemed valuable enough to carry it across the Atlantic and to be given as an imperial gift. In the court of Margaret of Austria, it must have had a curio or perhaps, artistic value, to merit the transport and storage of such a large artefact. The fact that it was kept in the *première chambre*, allowing it to be easily accessed for display to an interested guest, must reflect its high curiosity value.

"La second chambre à chemynée"* and *"le petit cabinet"

Exotic artefacts are also found in more private areas of the palace. The *second chambre à chemynée* has been identified as Margaret's bedroom and the *petit cabinet* as her study. These rooms were most likely Margaret's personal rooms and open to only selected visitors.[559] These rooms are less symbolically structured in comparison with the *premiere chambre* and the library. They contain a number of religious objects suggesting Margaret used the space for personal devotion. There are also several portraits in a variety of media. The portraits are of a more personal nature and are mostly of immediate family, friends and herself.[560] There are also images that would have personal significance to her, but less importance in the contemporary political climate. For example, there is an early picture of herself and her late brother as children, and another of herself and her late second husband, Juan, in the guise of their patron saints.[561] There were also paintings that had no personal connection to Margaret but appear to have been kept for their artistic value.[562] So these rooms appear to reflect more closely the personal interests of the Regent.

In her bedroom are found two "world maps on parchment."[563] No date is mentioned but one could assume, given the clear representation of the New World in her collection, that these were recent maps of the four continents. This idea is supported by the fact that one of the maps is noted as being given by Margaret to her close advisor, the

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[559] Eichberger, 1996, 262-63.
[560] Eichberger, 1996, 263-67.
[561] Michelant, 86, 93.
[562] The "Arnolfini Wedding" by Jan Van Eyck was kept here and described in the inventory as "ung tableau fort exquis." Eichberger, 1996, 268. Michelant, 86.
[563] There are two entries of "Item, une Mapemonde en parchemin." Michelant, 90, 91.

Count of Hoogstraten, showing the map's value as a desirable gift, probably as a source of information or example of artistry.

In Margaret's study there is a book about the discovery of the New World.[564] As this book is listed in her study and not in the library, it is possible that she was reading it at the time of the inventory or, at the very least, had an interest in the subject. An interest in the exotic is further supported by a dead bird of paradise wrapped in taffeta and kept in a wooden box in the study.[565] The crew of the Victoria, the only one of Magellan's ships to return from the circumnavigation of the world, brought back five of these newly discovered birds in 1522. One is also found in the collections of Charles V.[566] Margaret may have simply had an interest in exotic animals as she had kept a pet parrot since her time in Spain[567] and she is portrayed in a diptych in her collection, as praying to the Virgin with a pet monkey by her feet (Fig. 4).[568] Yet, the bird of paradise, in relation to the rest of the collection and its location in her personal chamber, supports the idea of Margaret's particular interest in artefacts from new lands beyond their symbolic, imperial value.

Margaret's study also contains one of the earliest noted colonial artefacts (all other items were pre-colonial), a magnificently decorated "chasuble of Indian cloth...made to send to the modern pope."[569] As the inventory was made between July 1523 and April 1524, the "*pape moderne*" could be either Pope Adrian VI (Pope from January, 1523 to September 14, 1523) or Clement VII (Pope from November 18, 1523 to September 25, 1534). From the Low Countries, Adrian VI was the former tutor of Charles V and a staunch Habsburg ally. Clement VII had been supported by Charles V upon his election but less than a year later, Clement sided with the French. The Empire defeated the French

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[564] "*Item, ung aultre livre escript en latin, sus letre an mole, faisant mencion des Illes trouvées, couvert de satin de Bruges verd, et dessus ladite couverte est escript quatre lignes de lettre d'or, en latin*" Michelant, 92. The translation is: "Item, another book in Latin, printed, dealing with the Discovered Islands, covered with Bruges satin, and four lines of golden letters in Latin on it." Vandenbroeck, 115.

[565] "*Item, ung oiseau mort, appelé oyseau de Paradise, envelopé de taffetaf, mis en ung petit coffret de bois.*" Michelant, 96.

[566] Eichberger & Zika, 1998, 26. The term "bird of paradise" was coined in relation to the birds brought back by Magellan. Today birds of Paradise are found mostly in New Guinea and the south Pacific. The exact origin of Magellan's five birds is unknown.

[567] Bruchet, 52.

[568] On the painting see: Baudson, 1981, 54-55; and Eichberger, 1998, 294-95.

[569] "*Plus, une chasuble de toille des Yndes....fait pour envoyer au Pape moderne.*" Michelant, 97-98. Translated in Vandenbroeck, 107.

and Rome was sacked during the 1520's and only in 1529 did Clement reconcile with Charles, crowning him Emperor in 1530. If the coat was in Margaret's possession in 1523, then it most likely would have been made during Adrian VI's papacy and therefore intended for him. The fact that the Indian chasuble was never sent (it is later found in Charles V's 1536 inventory in Brussels[570]) supports the idea that its intended recipient was dead, and his successor unworthy of such an exceptional gift.

"Le cabinet empres le jardin"

Another room noted is the *cabinet empres le jardin*, a "room on the garden," which was probably on the ground floor.[571] "Two recipients, one of average size, both of a lovely kind of varnished wood, their edges gilded *a manches*, the bottoms painted gold and green, originating from the Indies" are listed in this room.[572] The "recipients" were most likely bowls or pots and they are listed among other "little items...without silver" such as tableware, game pieces and clocks. Several items, although often made of precious material or with great craftsmanship, seem quite utilitarian (i.e. goblets, bowls, spoons, etc.) and one could speculate that the New World bowls were incorporated into Margaret's table service.

Also found in this room is an extensive collection of corals. There were six pieces of natural coral listed in the 1516 inventory[573] and in the 1523-24 inventory, there are many corals of different colours, at least thirty-nine mounted on clay feet and several carved with religious scenes, such as the Passion and Saint Sebastian.[574] The significantly larger number of corals in the later inventory suggests Margaret's interest in exotic *naturalia* from far away lands and the wonders of nature, as well as man-made items.

The last item from the "Indies" mentioned in the inventory is a sack of loose pearls, which are noted as being given to "*la royne de Hongrie*" by Charles after Margaret's death.[575]

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[570] Vandenbroeck, 107.
[571] Eichberger & Beaven, 229.
[572] "*Item, deux escuelles, l'une moinne, toutes deux d'ung beau bois verniz, les bors dorez, à manches, les fondz painct d'or et de verd, venues des Indes.*" Michelant, 106. Translation in Vandenbroeck, 115.
[573] Le Glay, vol. 2, 478.
[574] Michelant, 108-109.
[575] "*...la reste des perles des Yndes en ung sac." In a second hand is noted, "A la royne de Hongrie par odonnance de l'empereur... .*" Michelant, 134. This may be a case where the "Indies" is in fact East India (see above note 523), as pearls were often imported from Asia. The pearls may have been for Anna, wife of

The Effect of the New World on European Consciousness

As of 1524 there are approximately one hundred and seventy artefacts from the New World in Margaret of Austria's possession, a surprisingly large and conspicuous number for an early sixteenth-century collection. Just a generation after its discovery, the Americas had made an impact on the European consciousness. Knowledge of the New World had been transmitted through publications on voyages of discovery, through woodcuts and engravings in published accounts, and through the artefacts, plants, animals and even the people of the new land brought back by explorers. Exotica was exhibited publicly and presented to royal courts. As early as 1502, "strange beasts" brought back by Portuguese seamen from the "New Indies" were exhibited in Antwerp.[576] And the famed exhibitions of 1520 in Spain and the Netherlands would have made information on the New World well known to the general population. Surprisingly, considering this is the first generation of the colonial world, there has been little study of the effect of the first artifacts of the New World on the European consciousness or of the first collections of these items.[577]

Fantastic tales of discovery would have astonished listeners, but it was the artefacts of this strange land that solidified their perception. The public exhibit of Cortés' treasures made an incredible impact on those who saw it. Peter Martyr, an Italian humanist, wrote, "I do not know how to describe the panaches, the plumes, the feather fans. If ever artists of this sort were ever ingenious, then these savages certainly are... .In my opinion, I have never seen anything whose beauty can more delight the human eye."[578] Albrecht Dürer visited the exhibit in Brussels and wrote, "I saw the things brought to the King from the new golden land ... I have never seen in all my life anything that has moved my heart so much ... and I have wondered at the *ingenia* of men of foreign lands. I cannot express the feelings I had."[579] A number of emotions seem to have been

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Margaret's nephew, Ferdinand I, or for the widowed Queen of Hungary, Margaret's niece Mary, who was appointed Regent of the Netherlands after Margaret's death.

[576] America, Bride of the Sun, 385.

[577] Christian F. Feest has noted this deficiency as well as the difficulty in the study of "a history of losses," that is, the loss of primary and secondary documents as well as the items themselves. Feest, 1995, 324-333.

[578] Peter Martyr was member of the Spanish "Council on the Indies." He had access to reports by Columbus and Cortes and met a number of native people. The above quote is his comment on Aztec manuscripts and picture writing, made in a report of Cortes' gifts to Charles V. Vandenbroeck, 99. Also quoted in Shelton, 195.

[579] Albrecht Dürer. Sketchbook..., 24-25.

provoked: awe, delight, wonder. The viewer's worldview was profoundly altered. This altered worldview not only included the marvel of a new continent and new peoples but also the awareness that is was under Habsburg auspices that this world was opened to them. Habsburg authority was presented as reaching beyond Europe to the Americas, reinforcing the concept of God-given, universal Habsburg authority.

No opportunity to promote Habsburg universality was overlooked. Reference to their involvement in the New World is found in several family commissions. Margaret's father, Maximilian I, commissioned several items with references to the "Indies." Besides the woodcuts mentioned above, Maximilian also acquired a number of tapestries in 1510 with images of the "history of men and wild beasts in the manner of Calcut."[580] A Brazilian Indian in a feathered kilt decorates the margins of a Book of Hours illustrated by Dürer belonging to Maximilian.[581] Margaret is recorded as buying a tapestry with "savages" in a Poissonier workshop in Tournai.[582] Her court painter, Bernard van Orley, may have incorporated "Indian" motifs into his works.[583] Another of Margaret's painters, Jan Mostaert, created a painting entitled *Conquest of the New World* (Fig. 92) that portrays nude "savages" in an exotic landscape, possibly representing Cortès' conquest of the New World.[584]

The value of New World artefacts is made clear by the Habsburgs' use of New World objects in diplomatic exchanges and royal presents. For example, in 1528 Margaret gave several of the most precious pieces from her collection to the Duke of Lorraine as part of a (successful) bid to win his loyalty to the Empire.[585] Artefacts and images of the New World were incorporated into Old World paradigms and became commodities and collector's items, reflecting the cultural transformations in the early sixteenth century.

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[580] America, Bride of the Sun..., 384.
[581] Bray, 316. Massing, 514-15.
[582] G. Demarcel, Flemish Tapestries, 2000, 100.
[583] Paul Vandenbroeck gives Van Orley's *Thomas and Matthew Retable* (ca.1512) in Vienna's Kunsthistorishces Museum as an example. Vandenbroeck, 109. The potential 'Indian' motifs are limited to small details, such as a feathered head incorporated into architectural detail. However, the Masons and Carpenters Guild, not Margaret, commissioned the painting, although it was destined for the royal church of Notre-Dame de Sablon in Brussels. "Bernaert van Orley, The Thomas and Matthew Retable," in Collections, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, <http://www.khm.at/khm/staticE/page236.html.> (30 January 2001).
[584] Reproduced in J. Delpech, "*Une grande dame et ses artistes*," *L'Oeil*, no. 53 (May, 1959): 23.
[585] Vandenbroeck, 106. She gave the gift to Anthony, son of Rene II, Waldseemüller's patron. The gifts are noted in the margins of the 1523-4 inventory. See Michelant, 61-64.

Margaret's collections reflect these transformations. Her significance as a collector has until recently been overlooked in scholarship on collecting.[586] Much of her political importance lies in her role in the expansion and transition of the idea of Empire from Maximilian I to his grandson, Charles V.[587] She connects two generations, and embodies the concepts of both the late medieval and early modern world.[588] Her collection of New World artefacts also reflects her position, and their display in her Palace reflects her importance in the development of a new way of collecting the world. While still within the paradigms of medieval propagandistic display, her collections are also about wonder, beauty and knowledge.

Most scholarly discussion on collecting has centered on the emergence of the *Kunstkammer,* or cabinet of curiosities, after the 1550's, which is seen as developing out of the earlier *Schatzkammer*, or treasury of the Middle Ages.[589] Treasuries were mostly comprised of dynastic goods (for example, regalia, jewels, reliquaries, insignia) which were kept in a secured room.[590] The *Kunstkammer*, on the other hand, was meant to contain a sampling of the world, representing both *naturalia* and *artefacta*, works of nature/God and humans, with antiques, exotica, rarities and art being kept in a special room for display.[591] As Margaret had a separate secured treasury in her palace, her displayed collections, of which many were seen as treasures, seem to suggest an early version of the *Kunstkammer*.

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[586] As late as 1994, Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann stated that collecting practices did not change from Maximilian I until Ferdinand I. Kaufmann, "From Treasury to Museum: the collections of the Austrian Habsburgs," in Elsner and Cardinal, 140.

[587] The Habsburgs had nurtured concepts of universal Empire since Frederick III. Through Maximilian's strategic marriage alliances of his children with the children of Ferdinand II and Isabella I, the patrons of Columbus, the Habsburgs had secured themselves dominion over the new fourth continent. Under Charles V, the dream of Empire became a reality with Habsburg domination of much of Europe and the New World. On Habsburg Imperialism, see John M. Headley.

[588] This may be the reason her role as patron, collector and as politician has been overlooked. She spans two periods of scholarship traditionally dealt with separately and she fits into neither category completely.

[589] On the development of the cabinet of curiosities, see Oliver Impey & Arthur MacGregor, eds., The Origins of Museums, The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe (Oxford, 1985); Kaufmann, in Elsner &Cardinal, 1994; Shelton; Bray; Feest, 1990 & 1995; and Eichberger, 1998.

[590] An image of a *Schatzkammer* is found in Maximilian's *Triumphal Arch* by Dürer. In a vaulted room with barred windows are found jewels, regalia (including the Order of the Golden Fleece), reliquaries, chests of coins and tableware. Curios like a "unicorn's" horn were also kept in the *Schatkammerz*. The accompanying text speaks of treasures given by God. Albrecht Dürer, Die Ehrenpforte des Kaisers Maximilian *I* (New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1970), folio 23.

[591] Feest, 1995, 326.

Just like the *Kunstkammer*, Margaret's collections contained both *naturalia* (such as the corals and the bird of paradise) and *artefacta* (such as Indian featherwork and European paintings). Exotica, rarities and art are all well represented and while there is no mention of antiques, there is an appreciation of the age of an object. For example, a painting by Van Eyck is described as "*fort anticque.*"[592] There is also a clear appreciation for artistry, regardless of origin. In both Mechelen inventories items from the New World are described in similar terms as European works of art. Terms like "*beau,*" "*fort bien fait,*" and "*bien ouvré*" are used for both European paintings[593] and items such as Indian featherwork clothing.[594] Some items from Margaret's collections, or at least very similar ones, are found in later Habsburg *Kunstkammern*, showing the criteria for collecting to be similar fifty years later. For example, in the late sixteenth-century, Ferdinand II's collections at Ambras, often cited as one of the first *Kunstkammer* in the north, had several corals on painted clay bases, very similar to those in Margaret's collections.[595]

Unlike the *Kunstkammer,* Margaret's collections were not kept in a room especially designed for a display of curios. However, obvious care was taken in the placement of these items. New World pieces were purposely blended into functional architectural space and mixed with Old World items, functioning not only as a display of power, but also of knowledge. As a powerful, imperial daughter with personal knowledge of much of Europe, there would be few to match Margaret in education and experience. The collection at the Palace of Savoy was indeed a sampling of the world, but it was of the world of Margaret of Austria, a world that was concerned with family, knowledge, beauty, artistry and power.

Most European objects in the public areas of the Palace of Savoy were arranged to display Margaret's and her family's dynastic connections and their right to authority. Margaret's ethnographic collections also participated in this display as a symbolic representation of Habsburg control of the New World. "Indian rarities" were de- and re-contextualized in a framework of Habsburg Imperial power and were used to help

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[592] Eichberger, 1996, 270.
[593] For example see, Michelant, 58, 86.
[594] Of forty-six items from the New World, four are described as such, suggesting discrimination between simple curiosity value and beauty and craftsmanship. Zimmerman, CXX, nos. 927, 932, 935, 936; and Michelant, 63-64.
[595] Eichberger, 1998, 215, n. 49; and Feest, 1995, 348.

construct a visual and immediate concept of the New World as a Habsburg domain. An image of worldwide Habsburg authority served both Margaret's family's Imperial goals and Margaret's own personal needs as ruler in the rebellious Netherlands, a region where Habsburg authority was almost continuously challenged.[596] Margaret of Austria's political skill was demonstrated in more than policymaking and diplomacy. She also used her personal residence as a display place for the images of the Empire. By including the artifacts of the New World with those of the Old, she blended the two together in a symbolic microcosm, where the Old and New Worlds were under strong and unchallenged Habsburg authority.

Margaret of Austria's collection was clearly not a *Schatzkammer*, but neither was it a full-fledged *Kunstkammer*. It lies somewhere in between. The arts of the New World would have had no place in the European frame of reference, but Margaret inventively incorporates them into her personal microcosm. Her collections lack the scientific classification of later collections but nevertheless show a more 'modern' value system based on curiosity, beauty, artistry, and rarity. They incorporate that very Renaissance idea that the collecting of splendid objects enhances the reputation and magnificence of a prince[597]...or princess.

But then, this was an age of transformations. In Margaret's lifetime, European attitudes towards the New World had changed from wonder, with a focus on trade and diplomacy, to imperialism, with paternalistic views of domination and subjection.[598] The actual and imagined processions discussed above displayed the collecting of not only artifacts but also of people. The discovery of the New World altered the European worldview and ideas of what was worthy of collection and display. But beyond the history of collecting, Margaret's collections participate in the first expressions of colonialism, displaying the superiority, ownership and domination of her own family. The transitions of the early sixteenth century in collecting and worldview, for better or worse, are all manifested in the ethnographic collection of Margaret of Austria.

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[596] For more on the first two generations of Habsburg's in the Low Countries, see Blockmans & Previnier, 1999, 174-241.
[597] Kaufmann, in Elsner & Cardinal, 1994, 140.
[598] Enrique D. Dussel, *1492. The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity* (New York, 1995), 31-35.

Conclusion

Margaret of Austria commissioned art and architecture that reflected her view of her place in the world. Her life revolved around events that were both monumental and personal, from the death and birth of kings to the discovery of the New World. As a youth, she was a political pawn but as an adult she forged a new, more powerful role for women in the House of Habsburg. Deserving through status and skill to be "Lady of the House," she nevertheless understood tact and diplomacy were necessary to attain and keep this role. She was a clever, even shrewd politician, adept at the delicate art of negotiation and creating consensus in one's own favour. She used these talents to help create the basis for the Habsburg Empire and to secure her own position within it.

Margaret's commissions reflect this exceptional life. As a patron she was as creative and ingenious as she was a diplomat. In her pioneering collection of ethnographic artefacts from the New World, she displayed an extraordinary ability to incorporate the New and Old Worlds, and to think originally in terms of what is beautiful, curious and worthy of display. As with all her collections and patronage, personal and political overlap and the wonder of the New World is used to promote her power in the Old.

Ever the politician, Margaret organized and manipulated her image as efficiently as she did her treaties. She was a noble widow to some, a muse-like goddess to others. Never letting her pride overwhelm her commissions, she maintained a general image of modesty, appropriate to her sex. Yet, using subtle references or even hidden images and never forgetting the importance of audience, she promoted her own consequence. As a total effect, surviving images reflect a negotiated balance between the modesty expected of a woman and the brilliance expected of a distinguished ruler, a sort of pictorial treaty between herself and her contemporary audience.

Both image and architecture supported her authority. The Palace of Savoy was the symbolic space of regency and a showroom for her family's and her own rule. Her refurbishment of the city of Mechelen, had it been completed, would have created an urban centre that functioned not simply as a political capital but also as an architectural memorial to, if not its founder, its greatest embellisher, Margaret of Austria.

The propagandistic bent of Margaret's commissions was not only terrestrial, but also celestial. As a ruling member of the most elite class, Margaret viewed herself worthy

to be portrayed with, or even as, holy figures. She created two entire religious communities whose primary purpose was to pray for her (and her House's) soul. She was unquestionably aware of her own importance but understood the appropriate manner in which to display it.

She saw her value in her fulfillment of duty as daughter, wife, aunt and dynastic House member. She celebrates her varied roles in all her commissions, for she wanted, above all, for these to be remembered. Brou, as her architectural autobiography, gives the fullest and most personal account of how Margaret wished to be recalled in dynastic memory. In image and architecture, she portrays herself as an unparalleled individual who dutifully and quite brilliantly executes every role demanded of her. That this was accomplished in what was ostensibly a memorial to a dead husband only reinforces Margaret's subtle sense of visual diplomacy. Brou, among all her commissions, is Margaret's ultimate diplomatic statement of her own worth to her time and to history.

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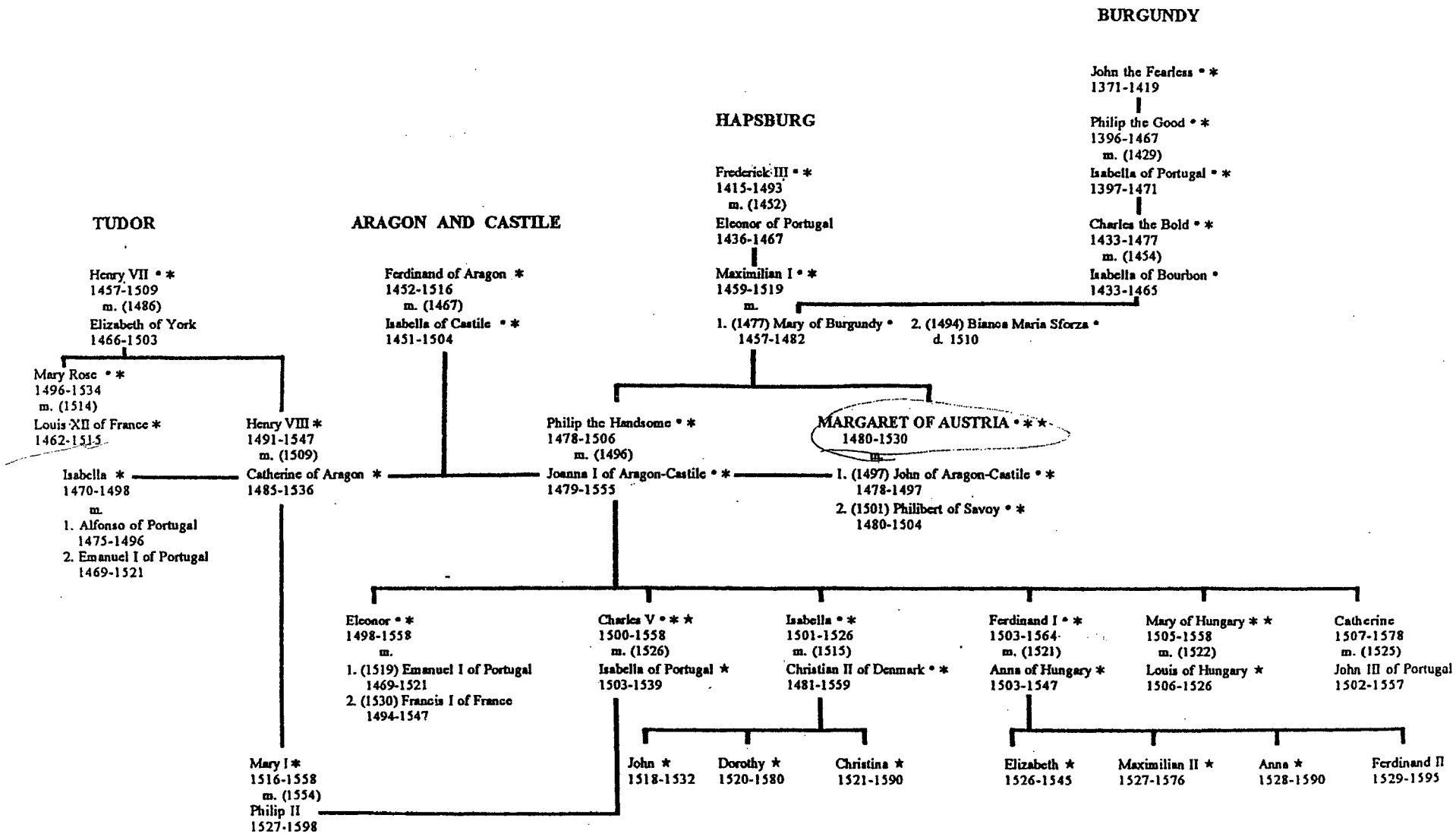
Figure 1


BURGUNDY
John the Fearless • *
1371-1419
Philip the Good • *
1396-1467
m. (1429)
Isabella of Portugal • *
1397-1471
Charles the Bold • *
1433-1477
m. (1454)
Isabella of Bourbon •
1433-1465
HAPSBURG
Frederick III • *
1415-1493
m. (1452)
Eleonor of Portugal
1436-1467
Maximilian I • *
1459-1519
m.
1. (1477) Mary of Burgundy • 1457-1482
2. (1494) Bianca Maria Sforza • d. 1510
TUDOR
Henry VII • *
1457-1509
m. (1486)
Elizabeth of York
1466-1503
Mary Rose • *
1496-1534
m. (1514)
Louis XII of France *
1462-1515
Henry VIII *
1491-1547
m. (1509)
ARAGON AND CASTILE
Ferdinand of Aragon *
1452-1516
m. (1467)
Isabella of Castile • *
1451-1504
Philip the Handsome • *
1478-1506
m. (1496)
MARGARET OF AUSTRIA • * *
1480-1530
m.
Isabella * 1470-1498
m.
1. Alfonso of Portugal 1475-1496
2. Emanuel I of Portugal 1469-1521
Catherine of Aragon * 1485-1536
Joanna I of Aragon-Castile • * 1479-1555
1. (1497) John of Aragon-Castile • * 1478-1497
2. (1501) Philibert of Savoy • * 1480-1504
Eleonor • * 1498-1558
m.
1. (1519) Emanuel I of Portugal 1469-1521
2. (1530) Francis I of France 1494-1547
Charles V • * * 1500-1558
m. (1526)
Isabella of Portugal * 1503-1539
Isabella • * 1501-1526
m. (1515)
Christian II of Denmark • * 1481-1559
Ferdinand I • * 1503-1564
m. (1521)
Anna of Hungary * 1503-1547
Mary of Hungary * * 1505-1558
m. (1522)
Louis of Hungary * 1506-1526
Catherine 1507-1578
m. (1525)
John III of Portugal 1502-1557
Mary I * 1516-1558
m. (1554)
Philip II 1527-1598
John * 1518-1532
Dorothy * 1520-1580
Christina * 1521-1590
Elizabeth * 1526-1545
Maximilian II * 1527-1576
Anna * 1528-1590
Ferdinand II 1529-1595

L'Europe à l'époque de Marguerite d'Autriche (1480-1530)

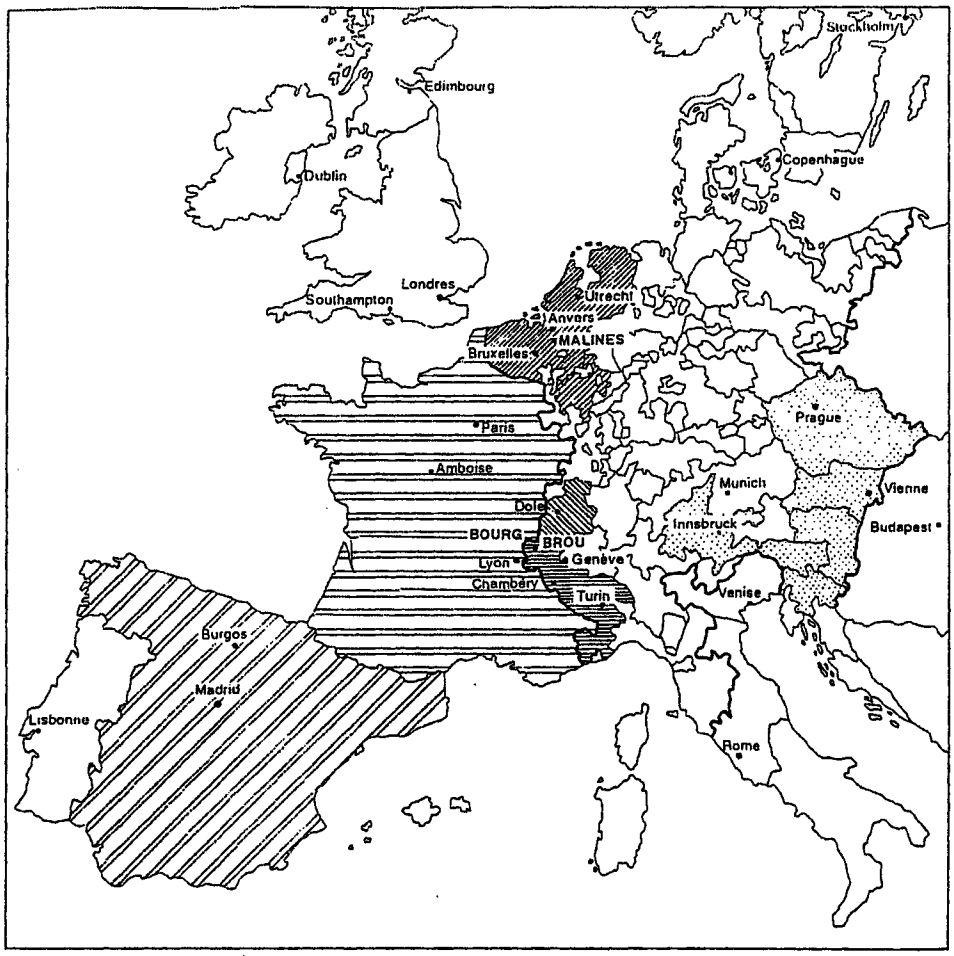
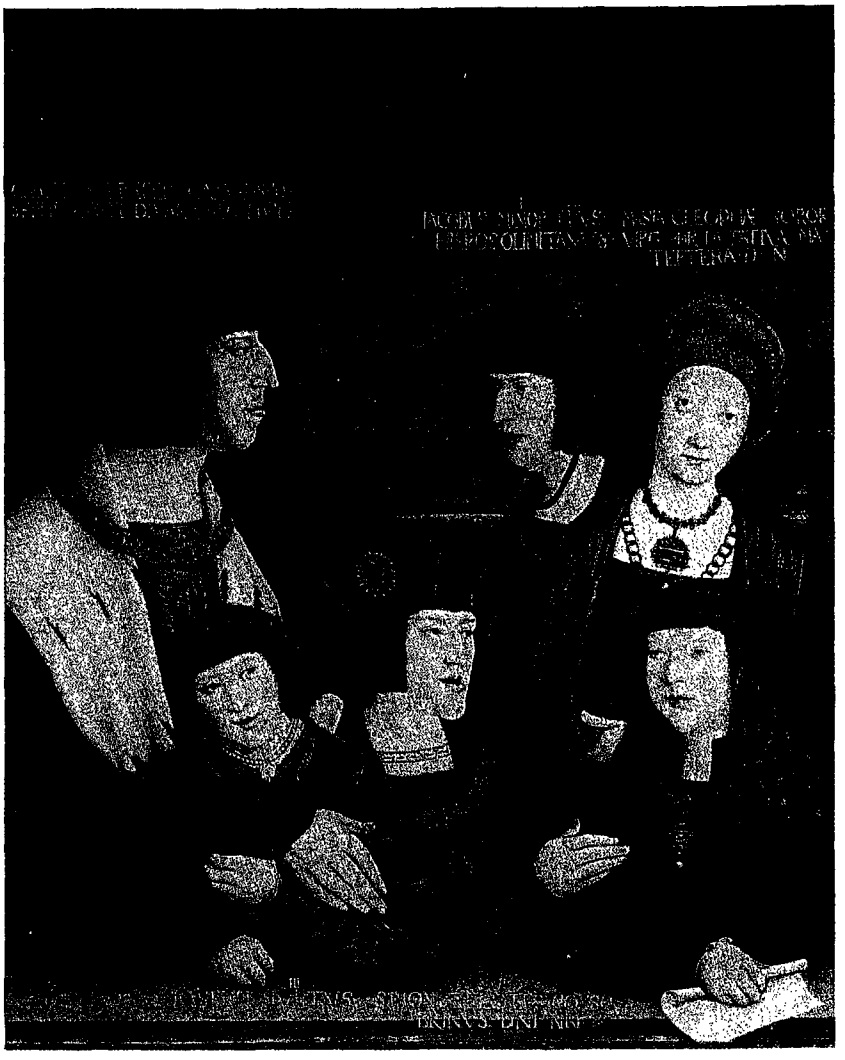


Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5



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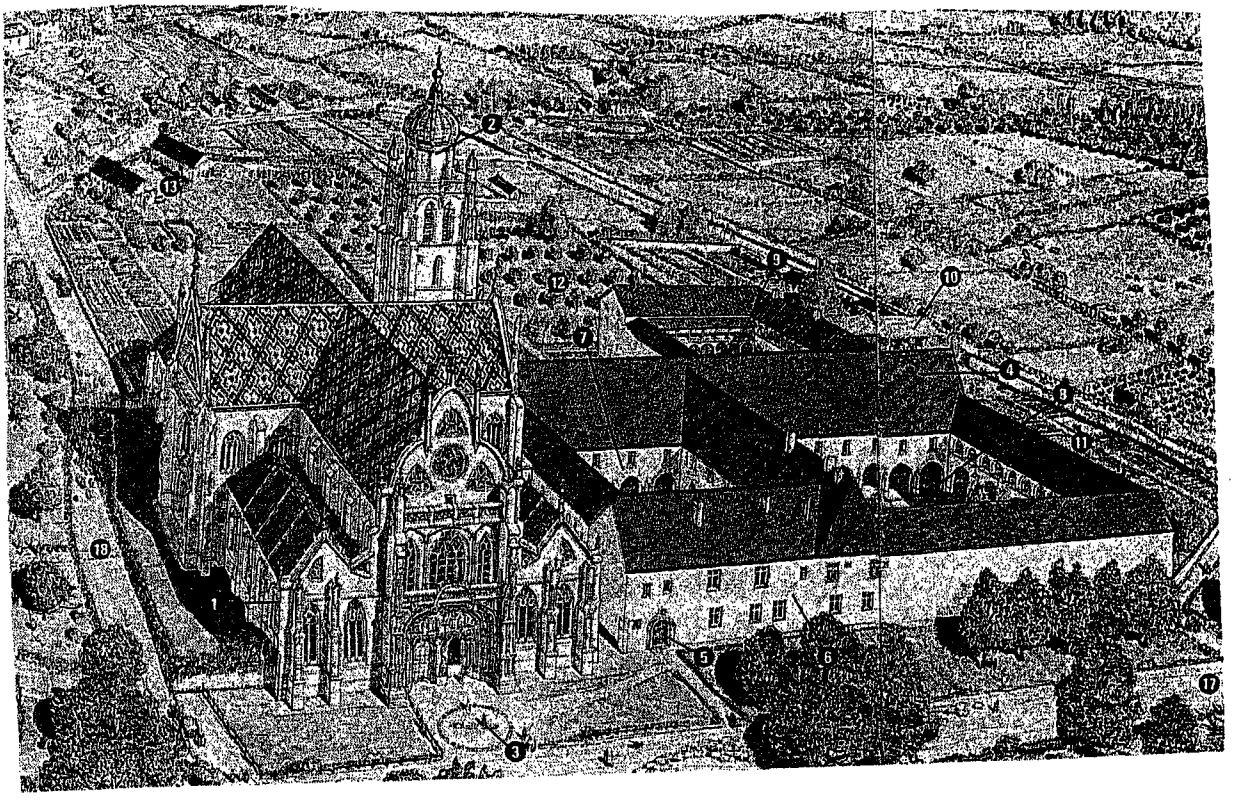

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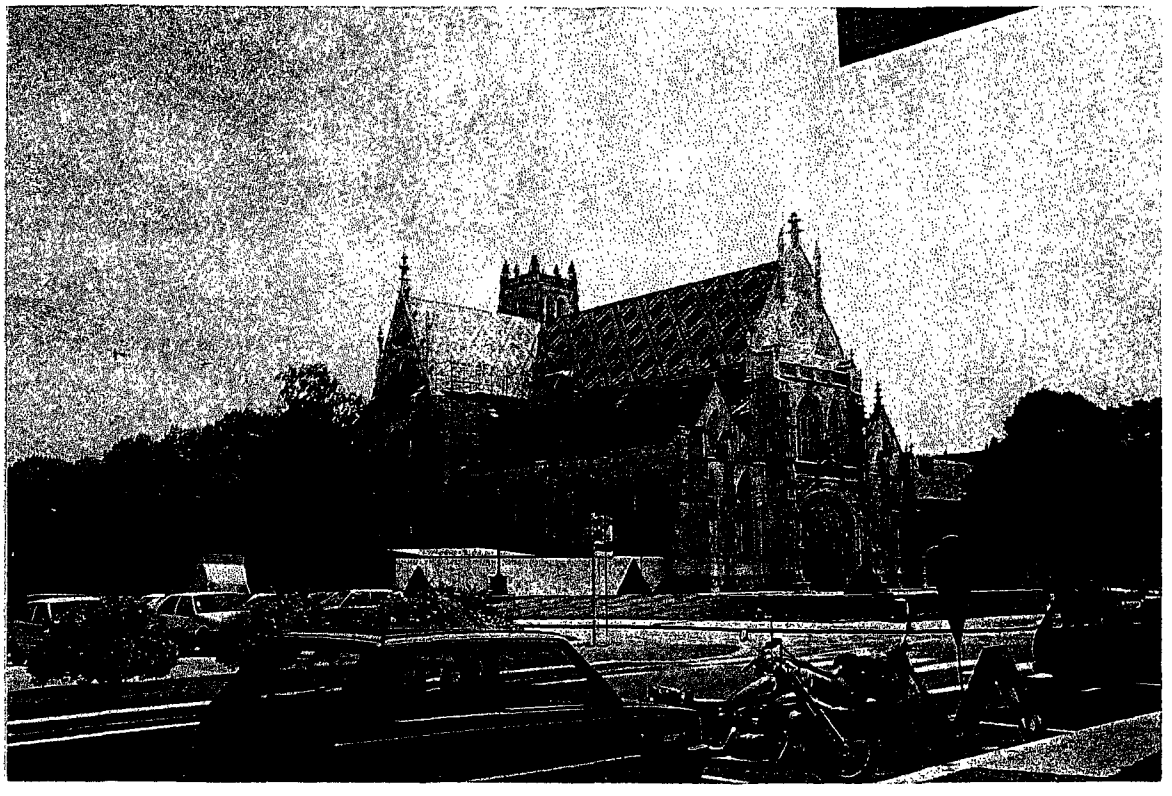
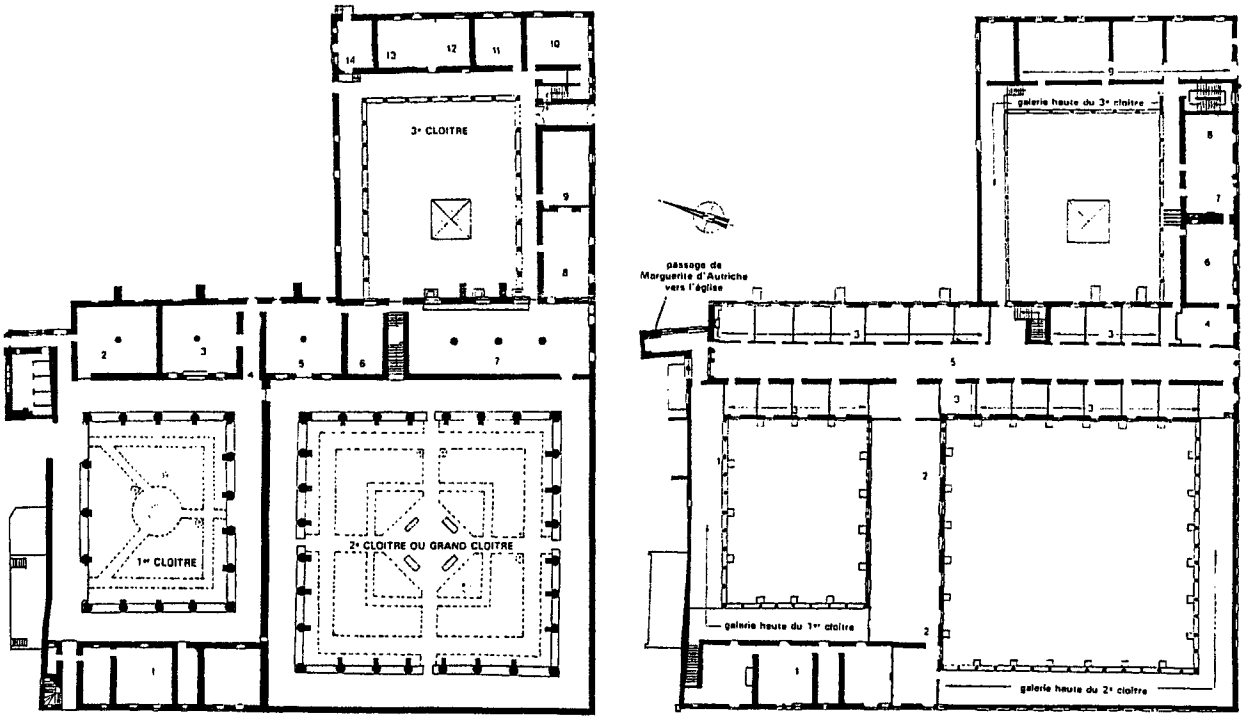


Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10



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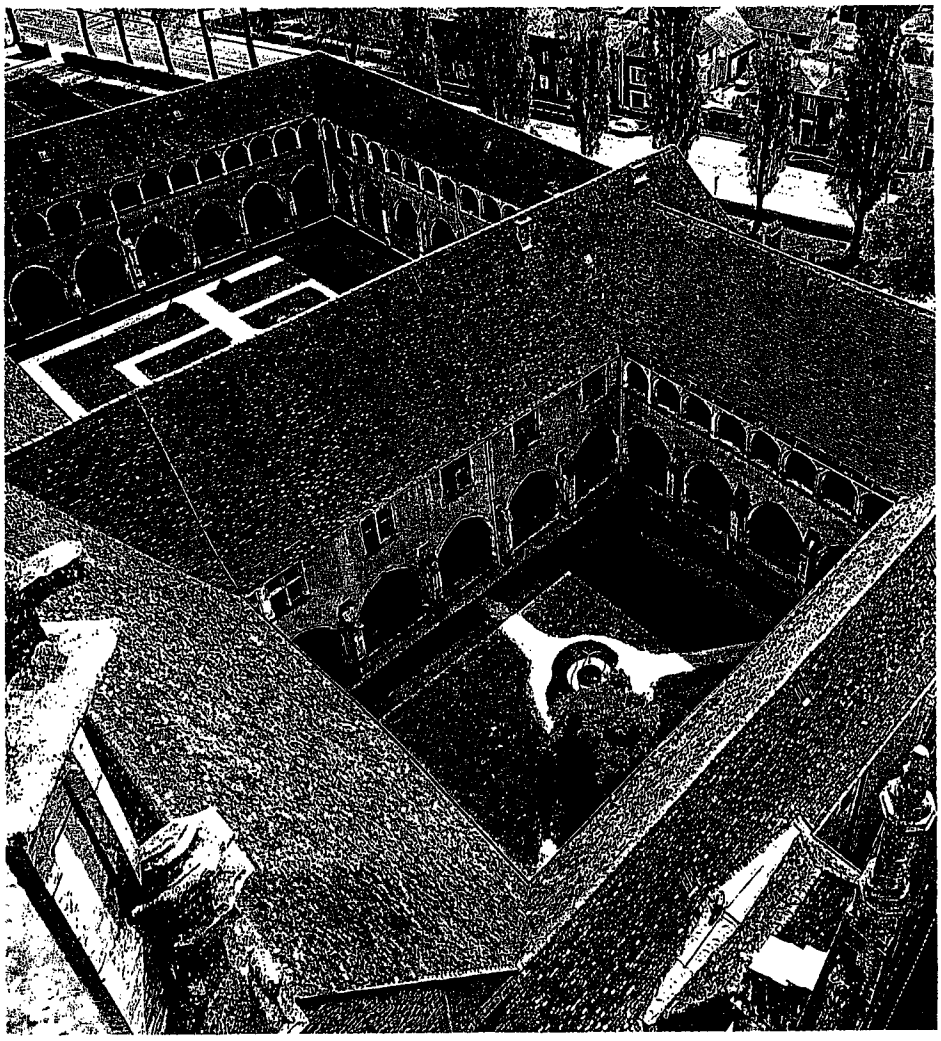
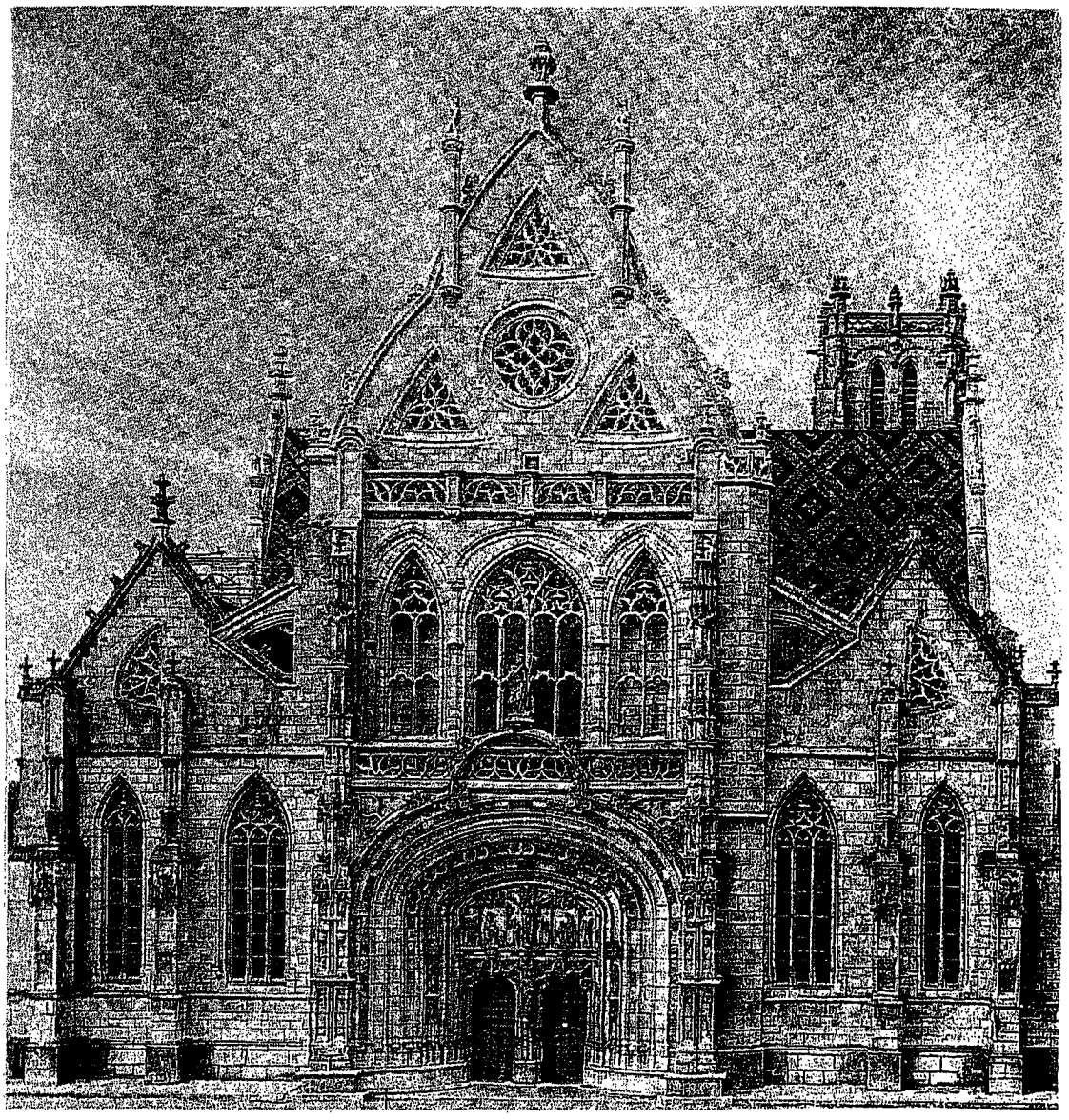


Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14



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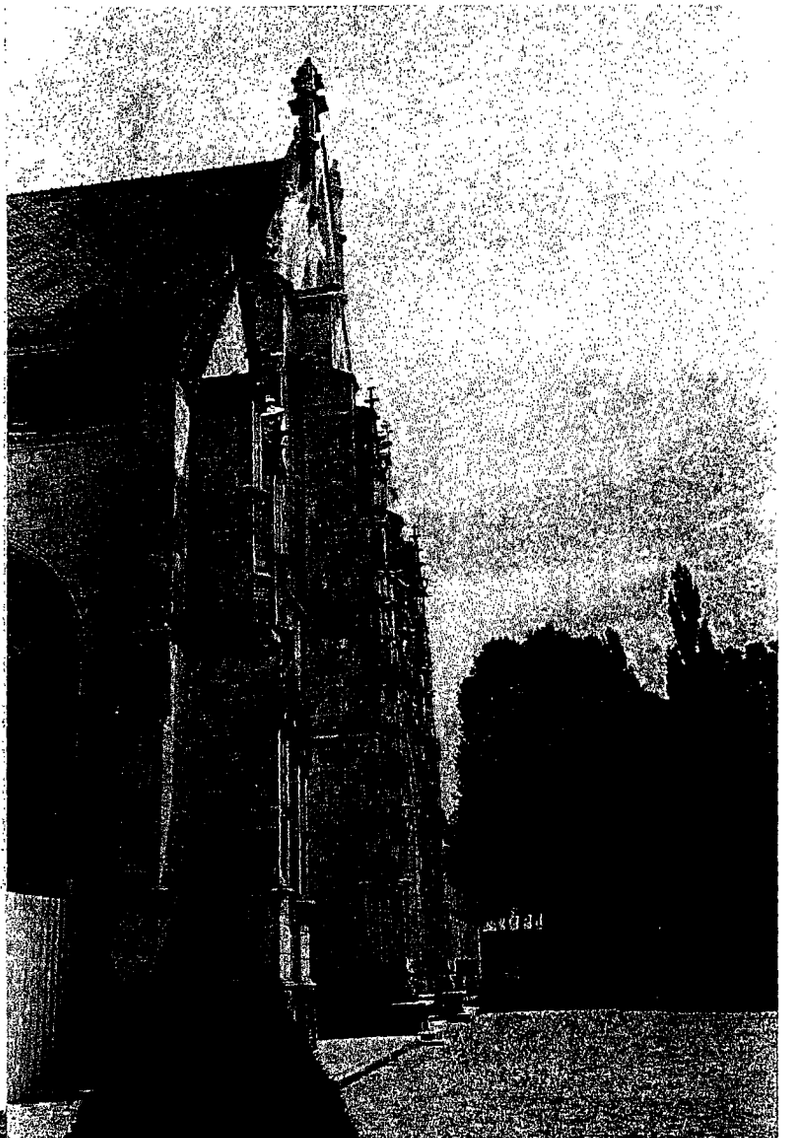

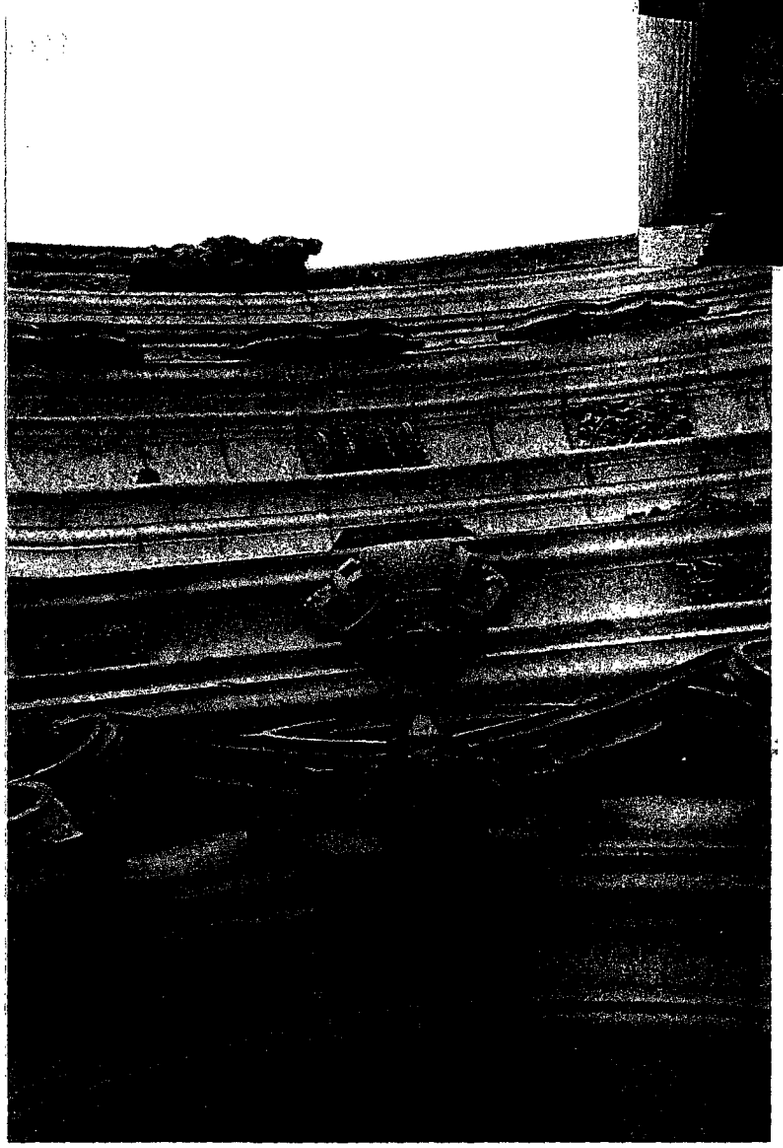

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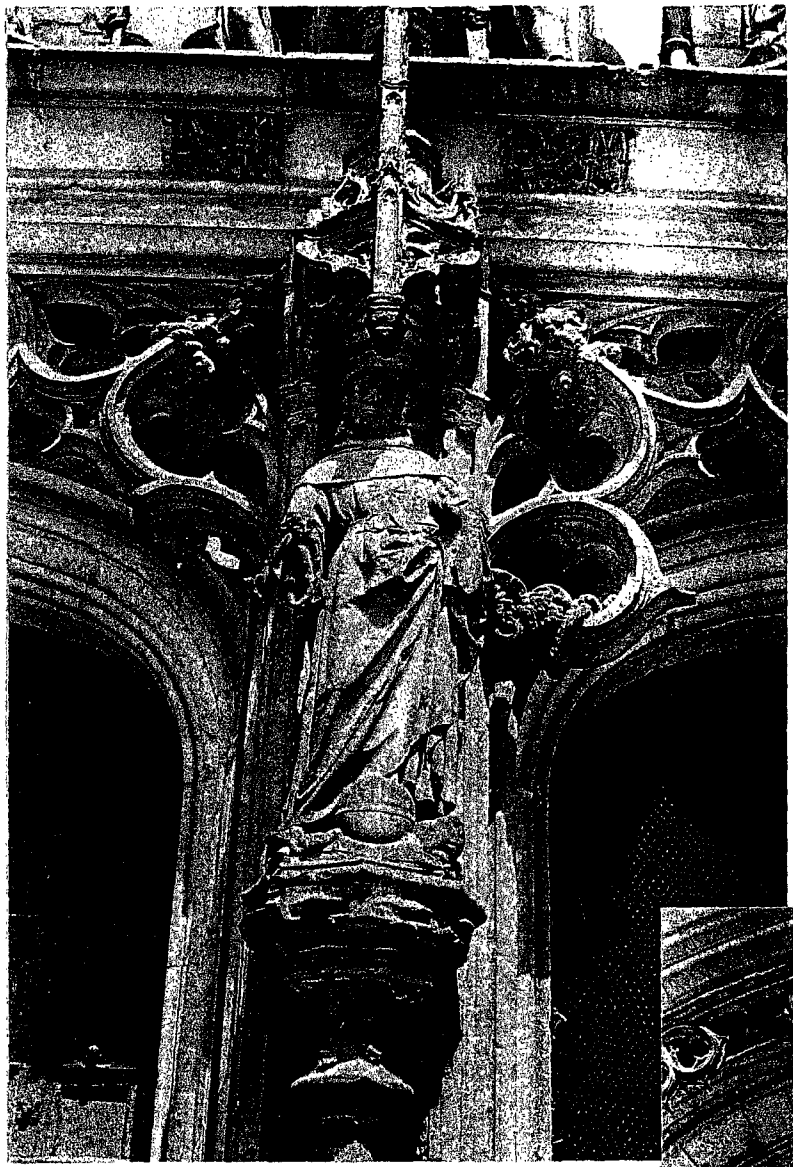


Figure17

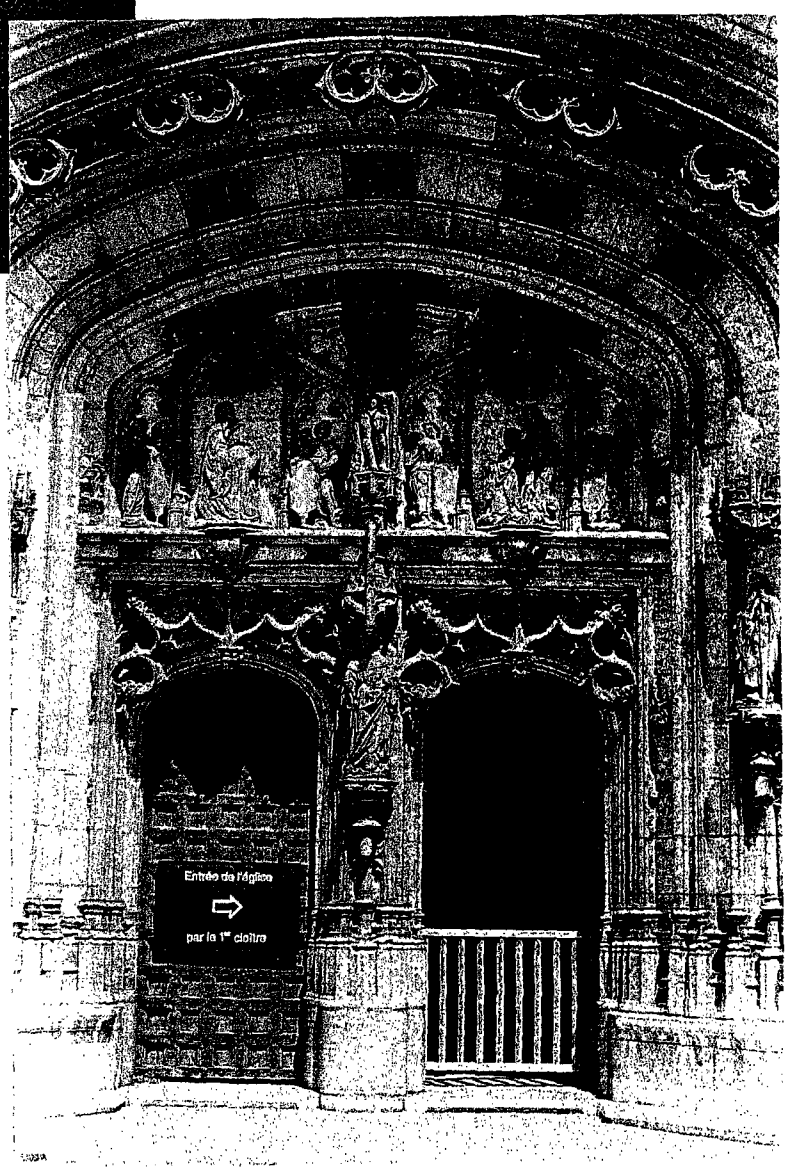


Figure 18

Figure 19

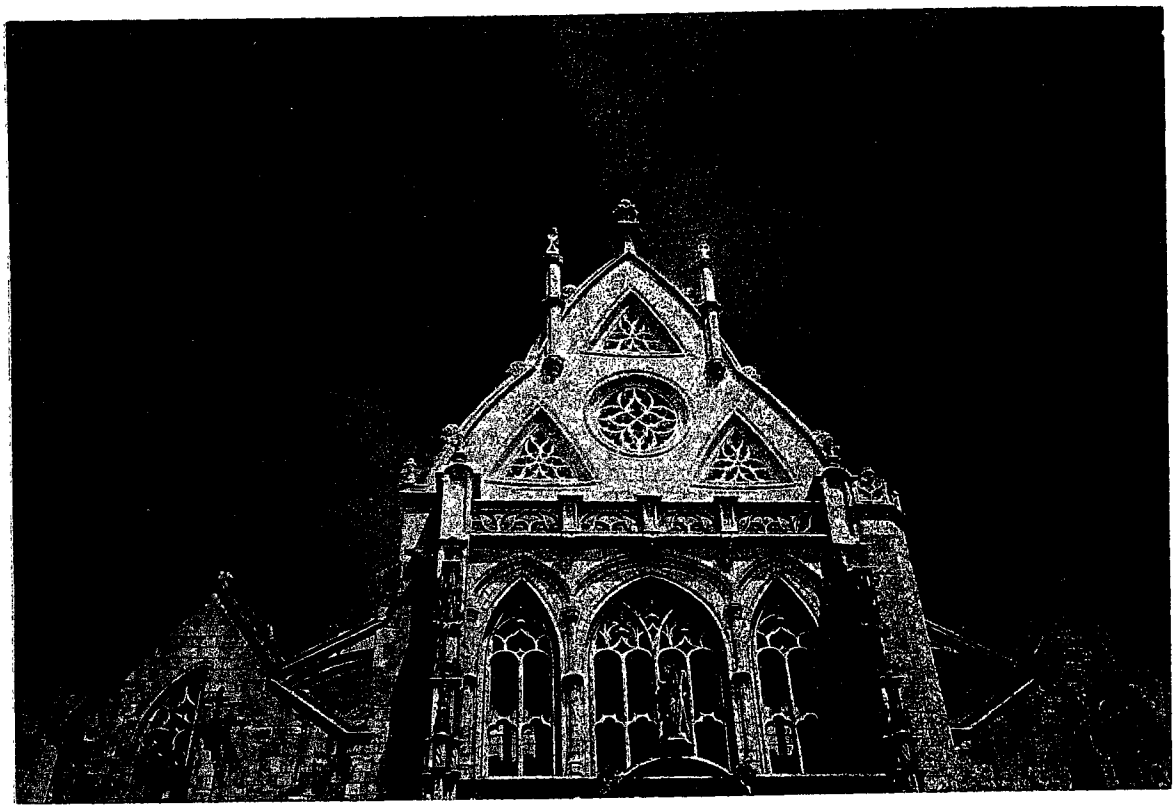


Figure 20

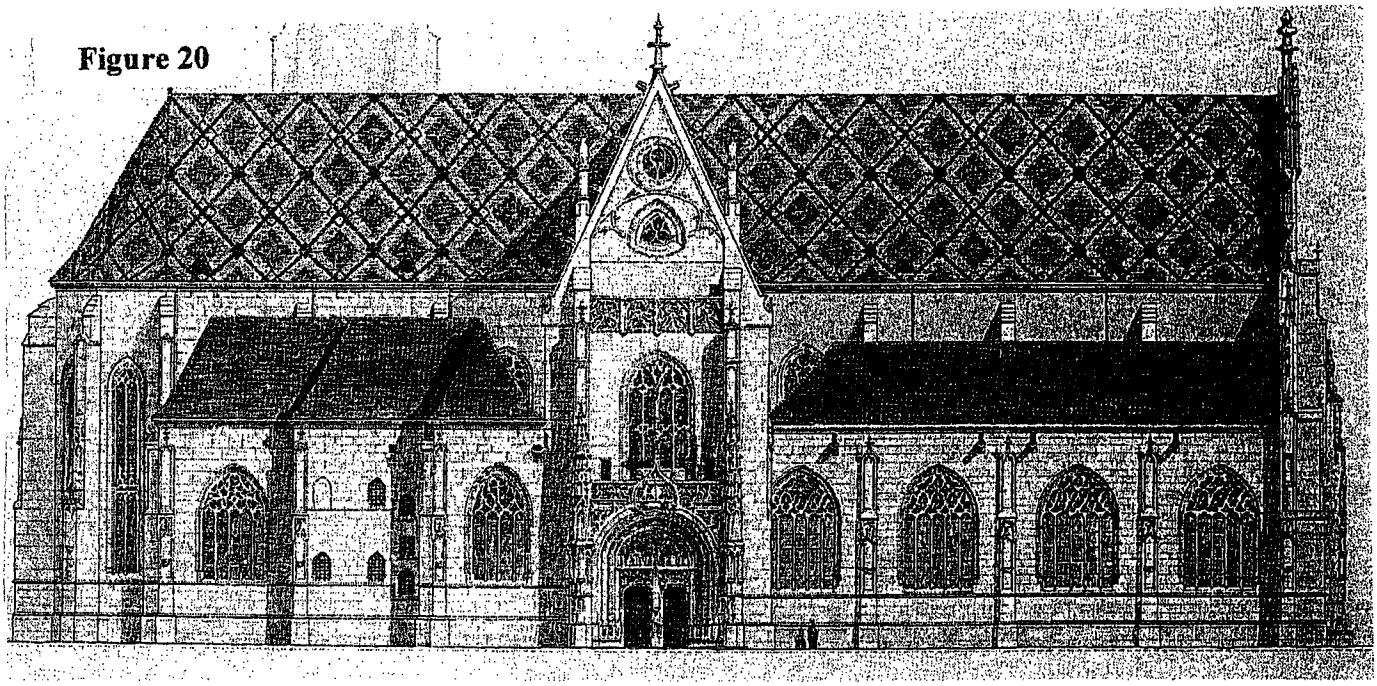
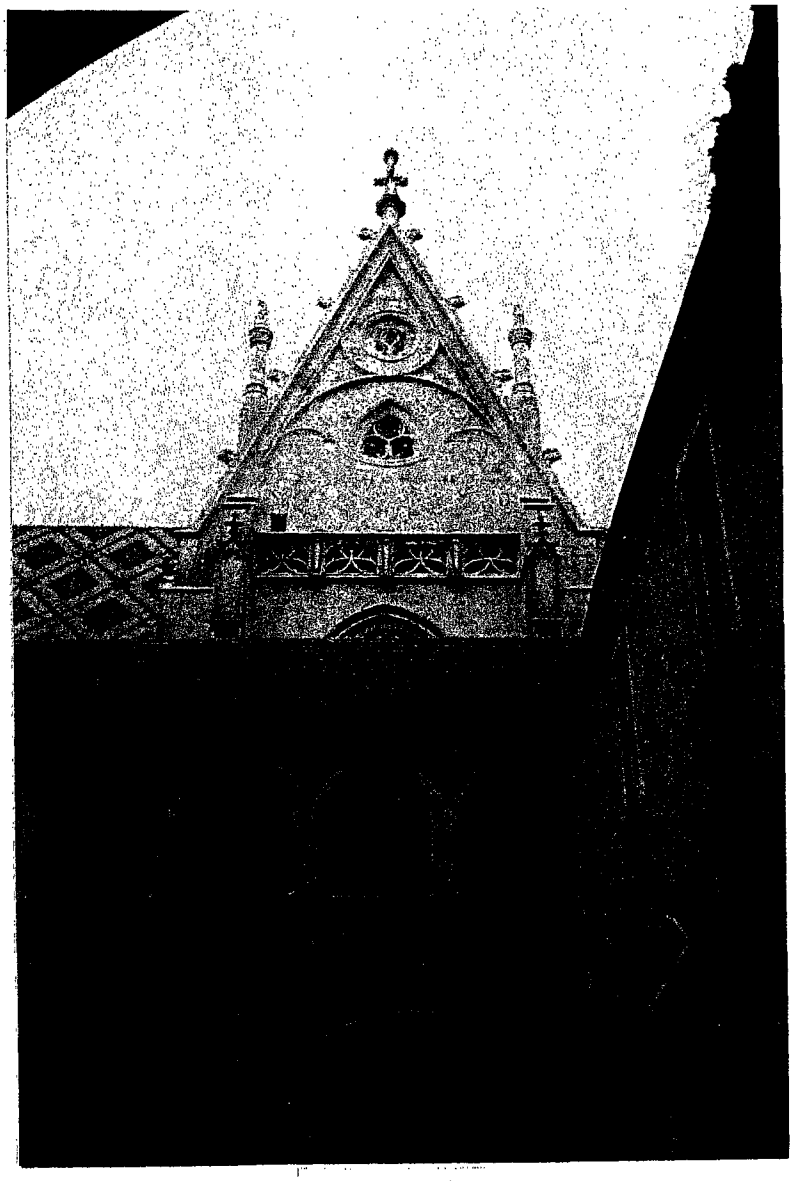


Figure 21



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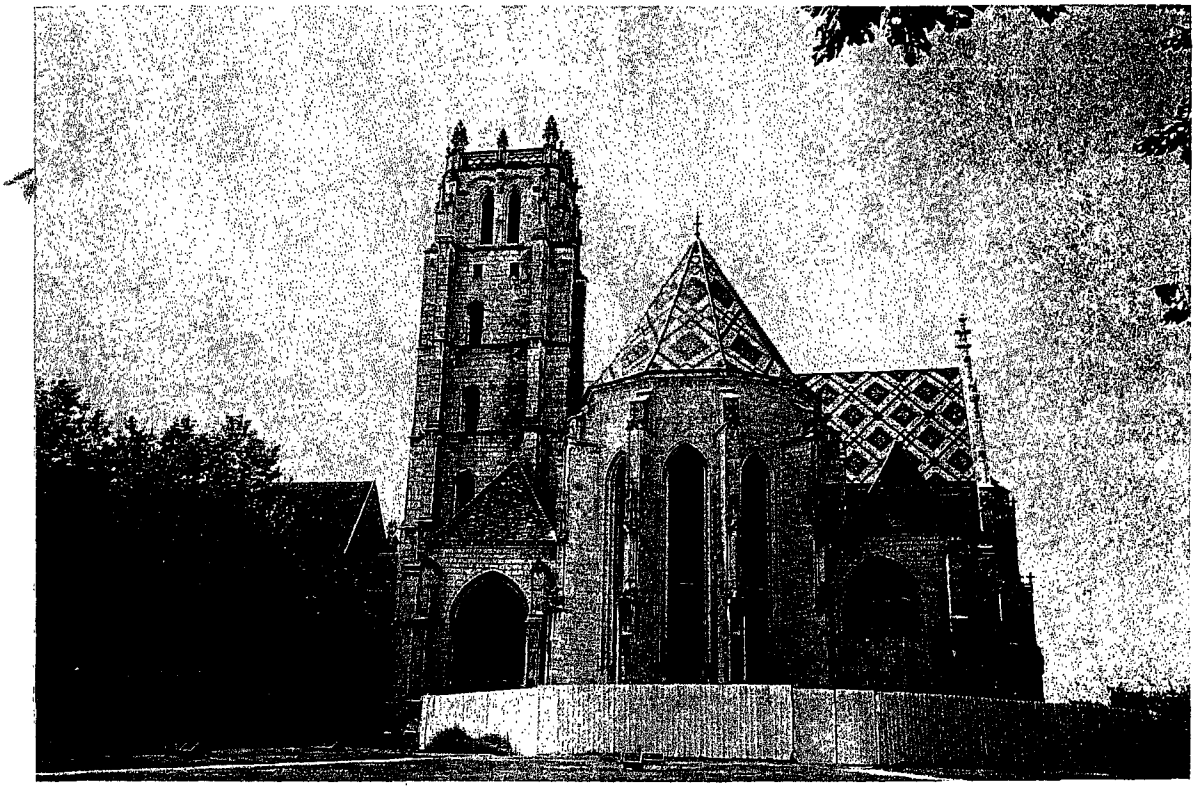

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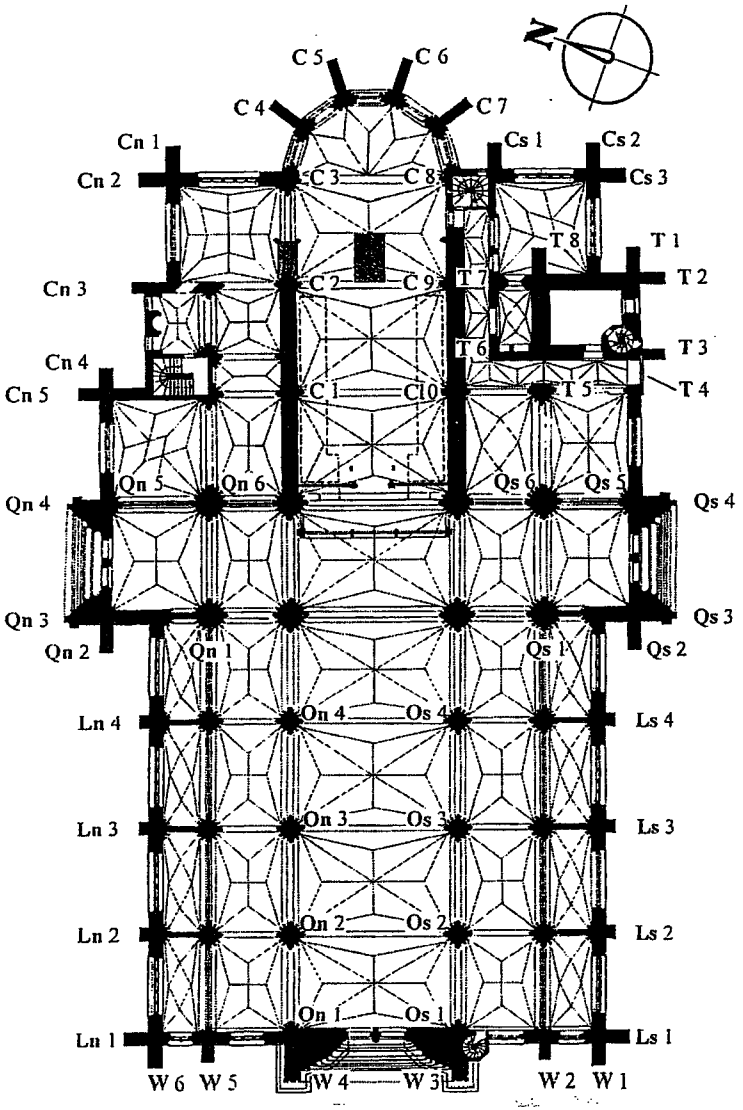

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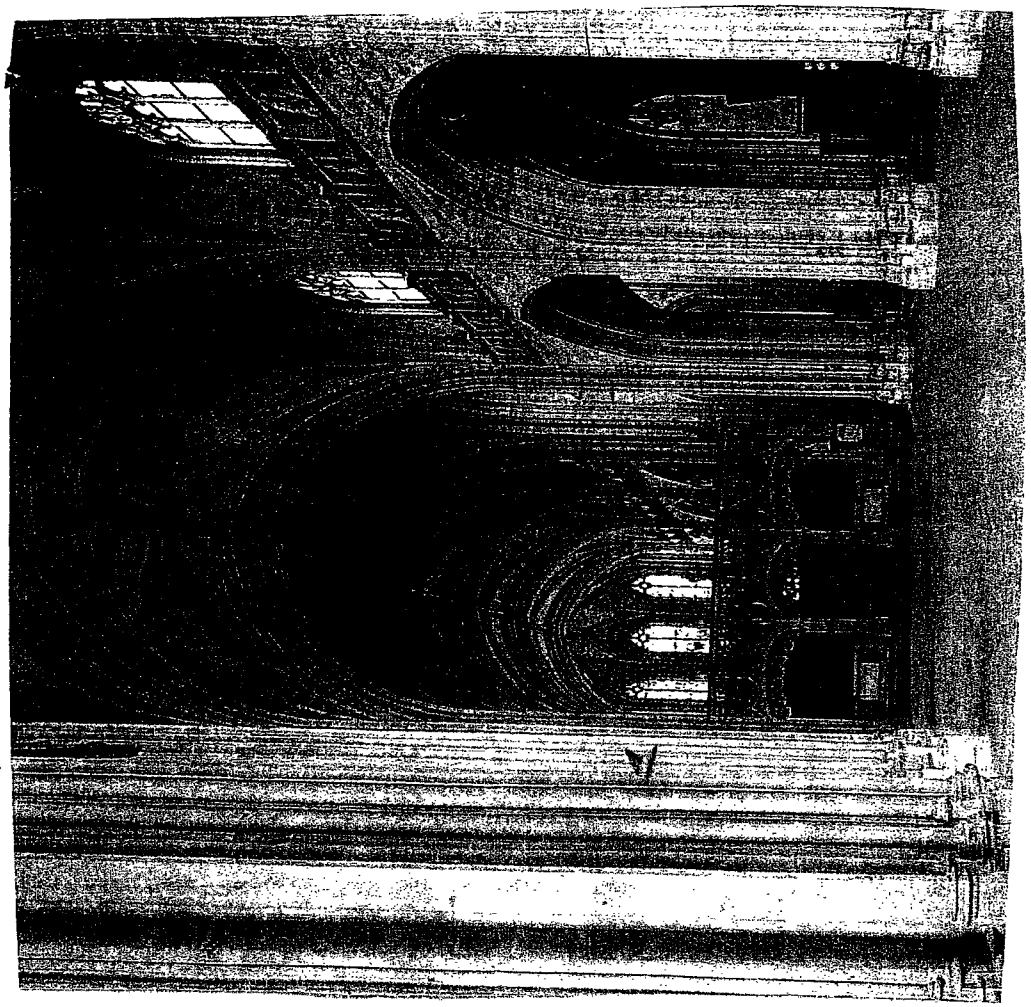


Figure 25

Figure 26

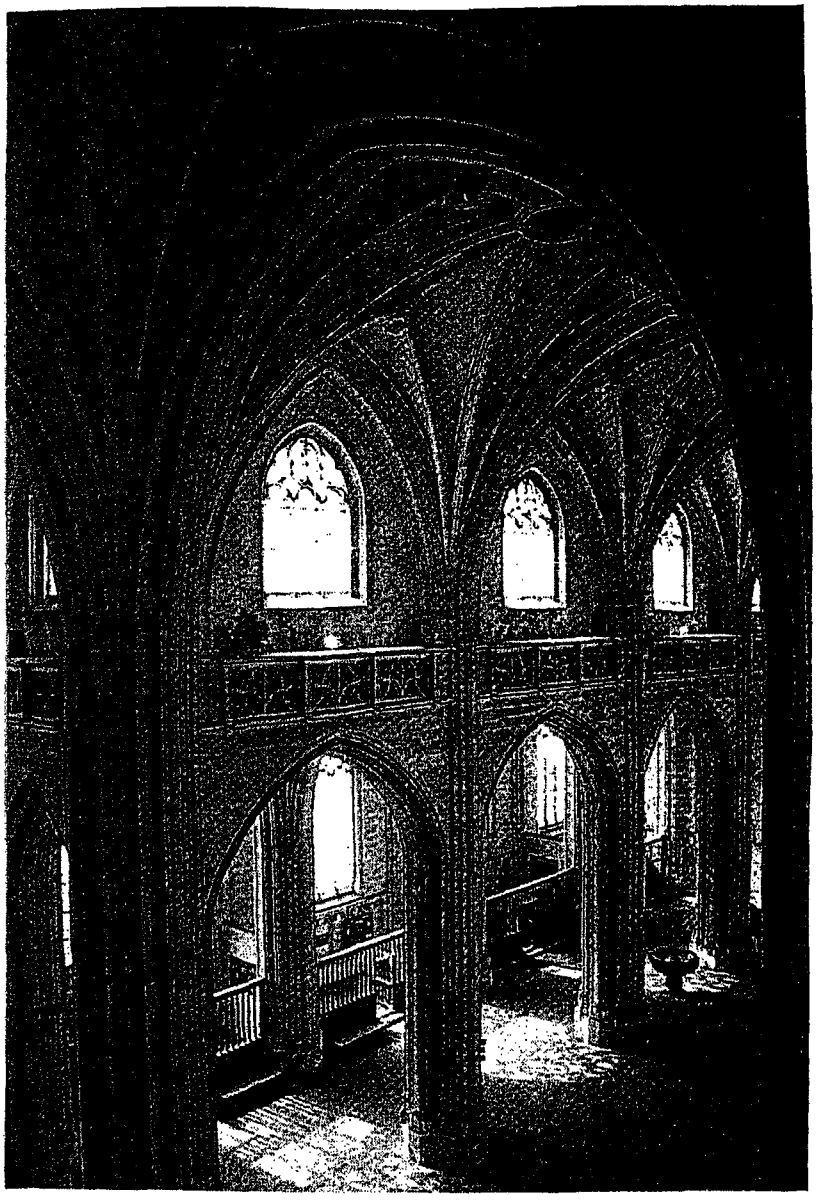
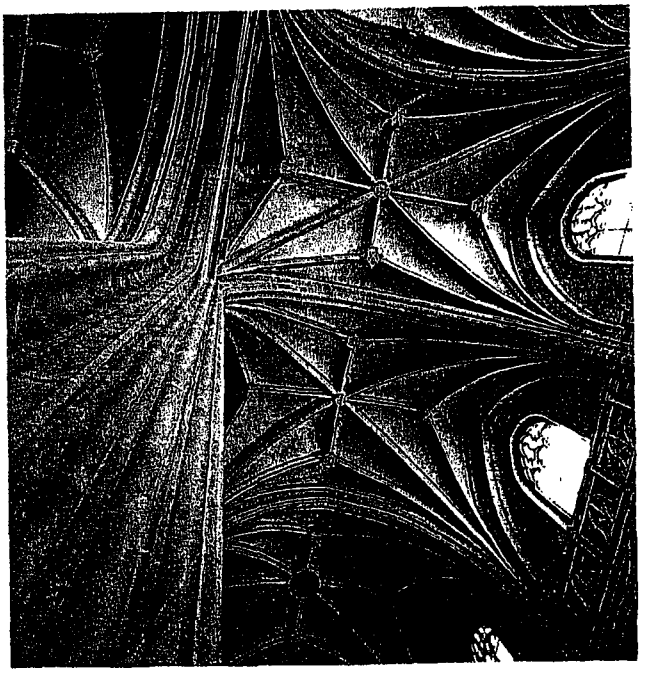


Figure 27



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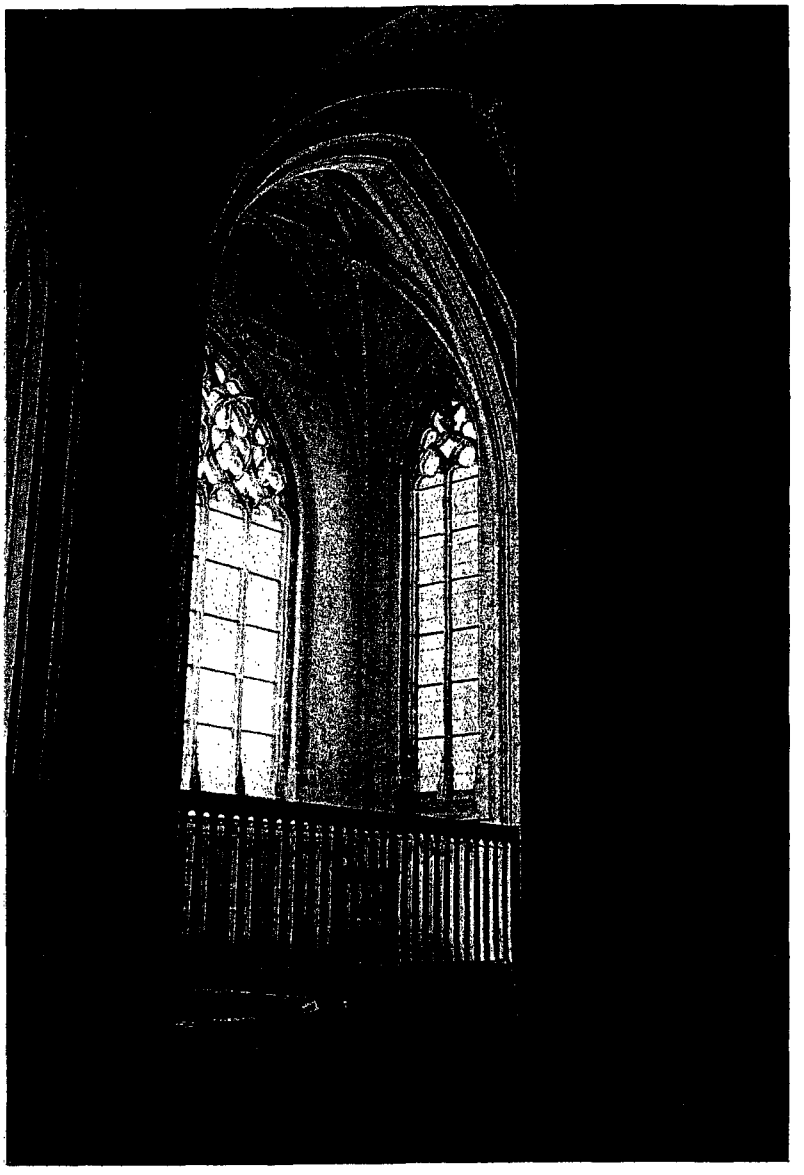


Figure 29

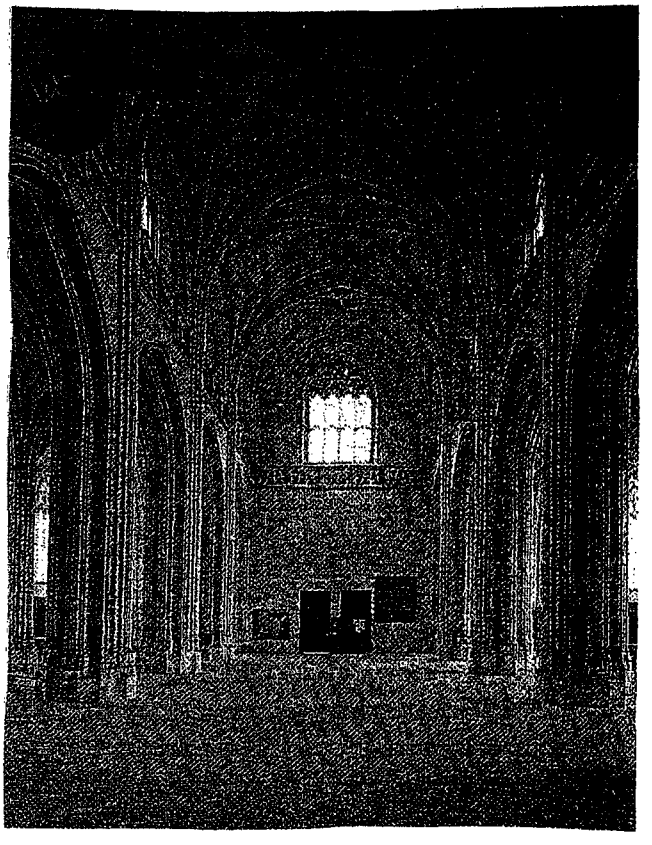
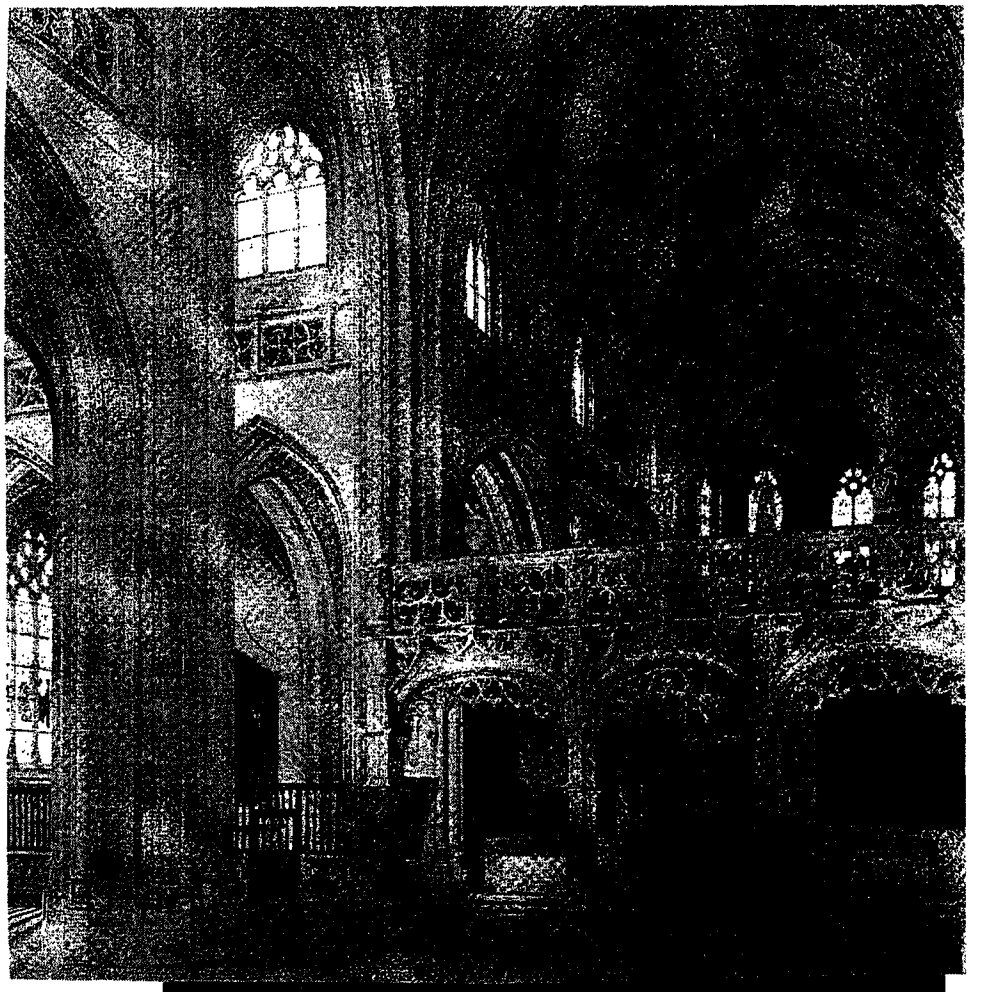
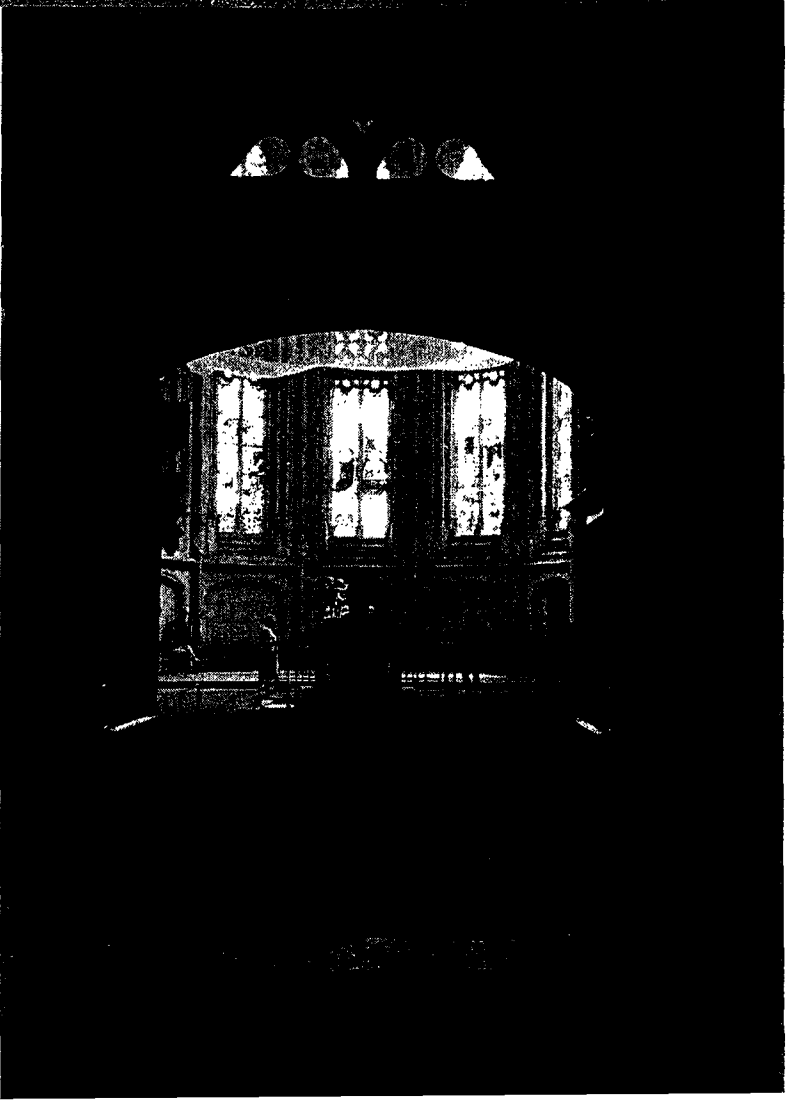


Figure 30





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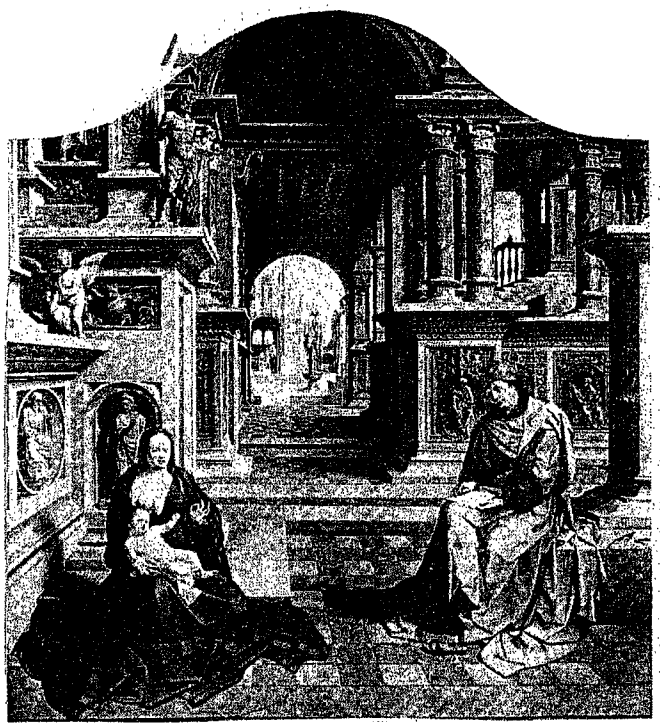
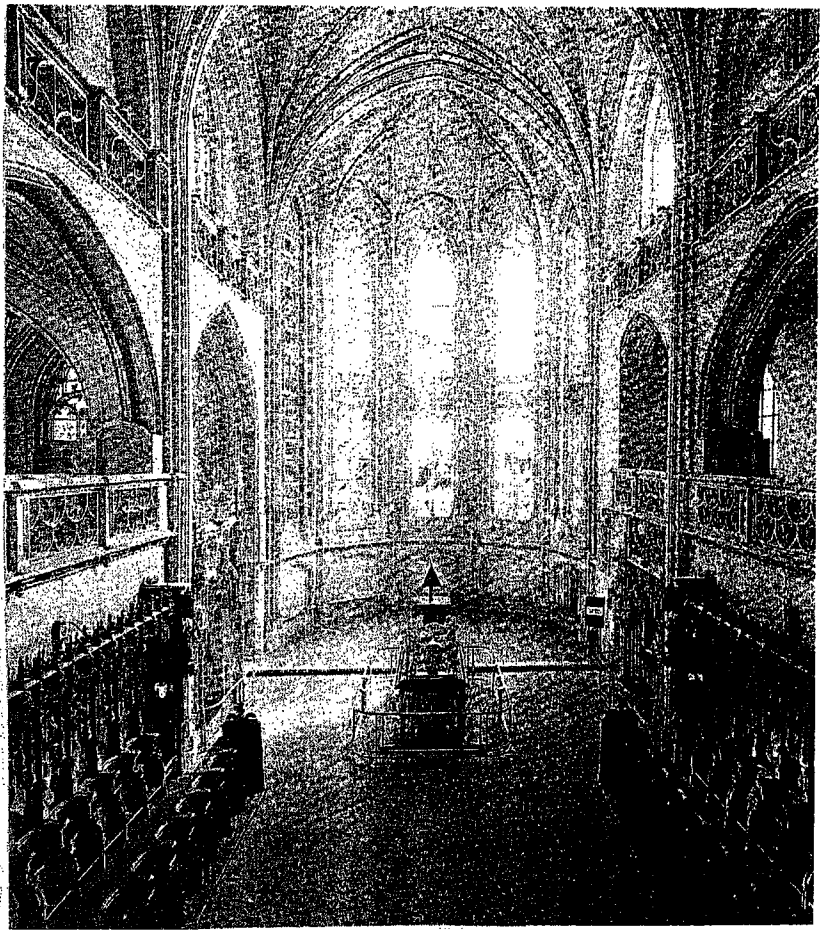


Figure 32



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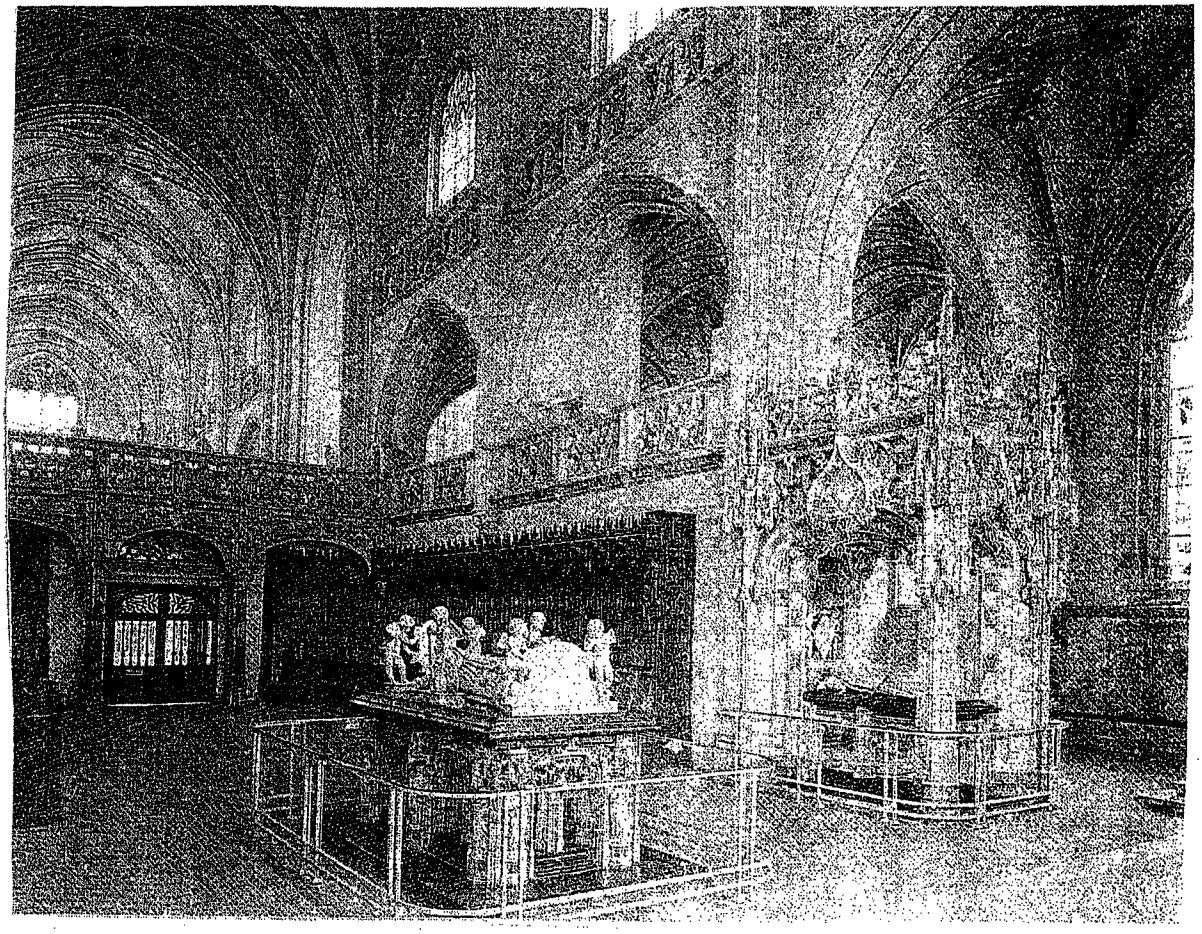

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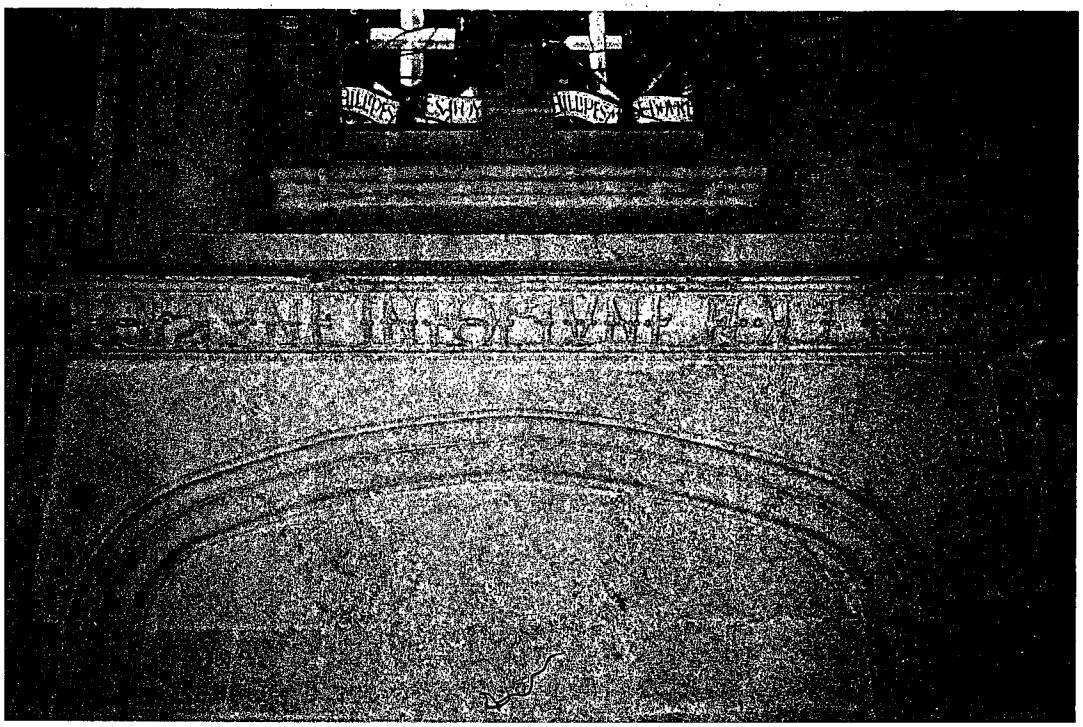

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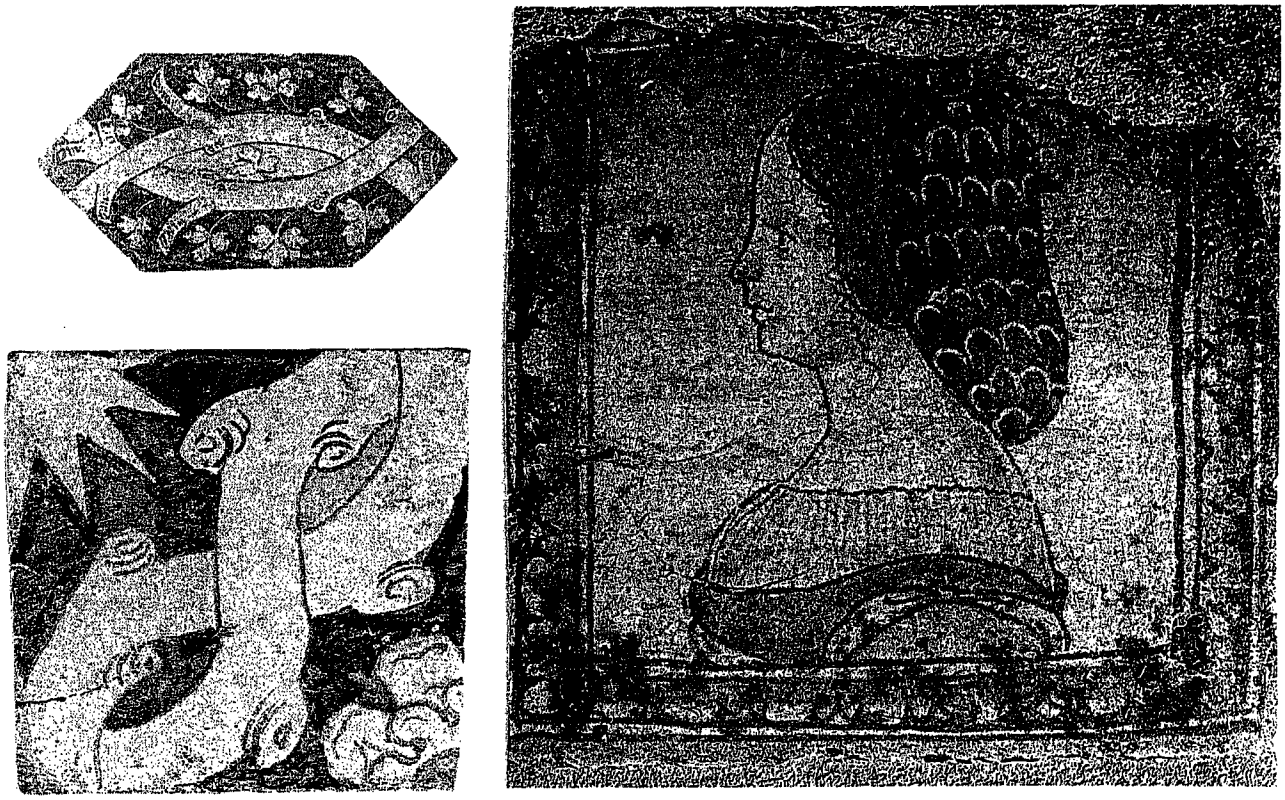

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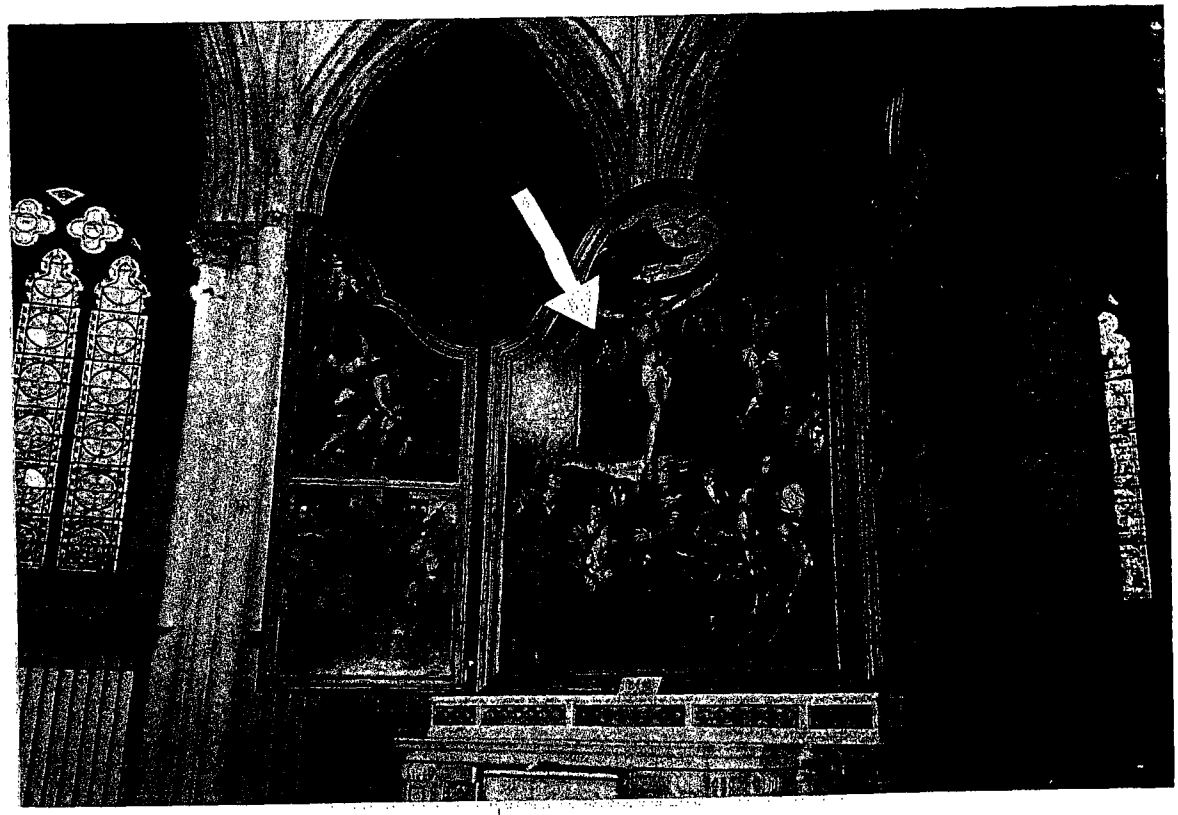


Figure 37a

Figure 37b

Figure 38

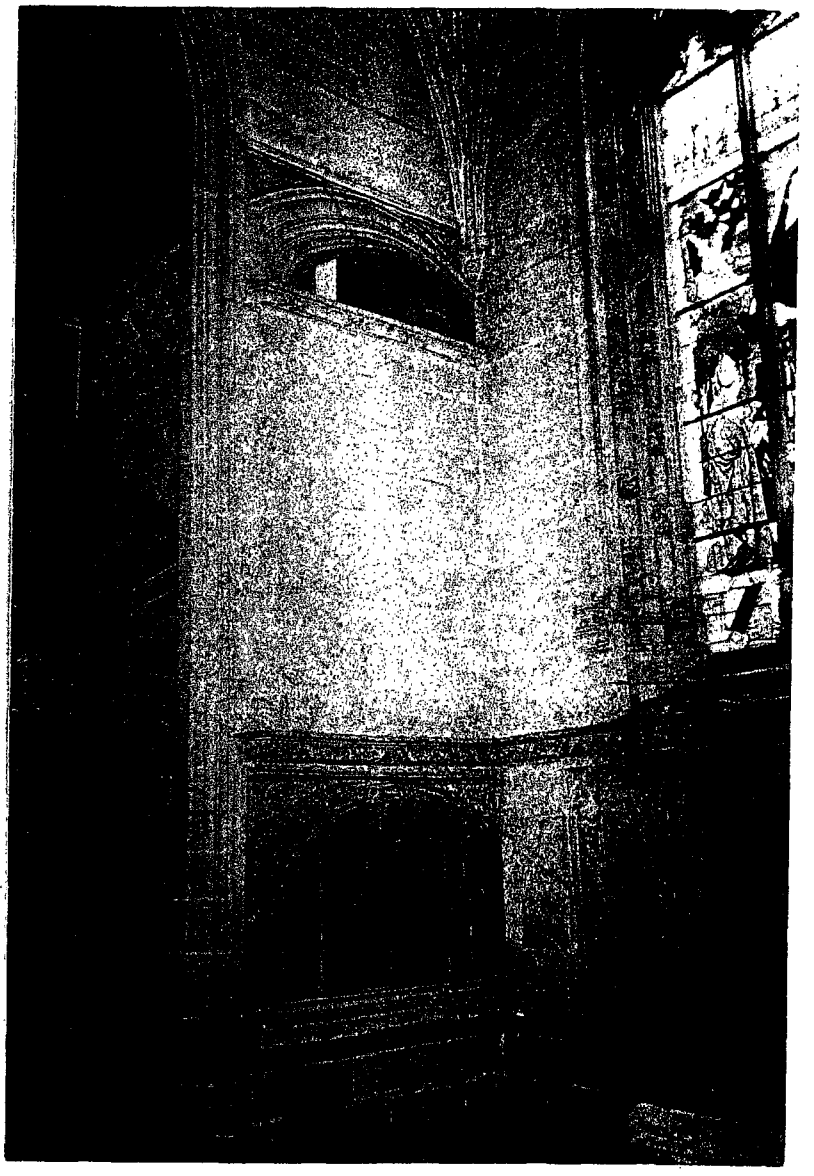


Figure 39

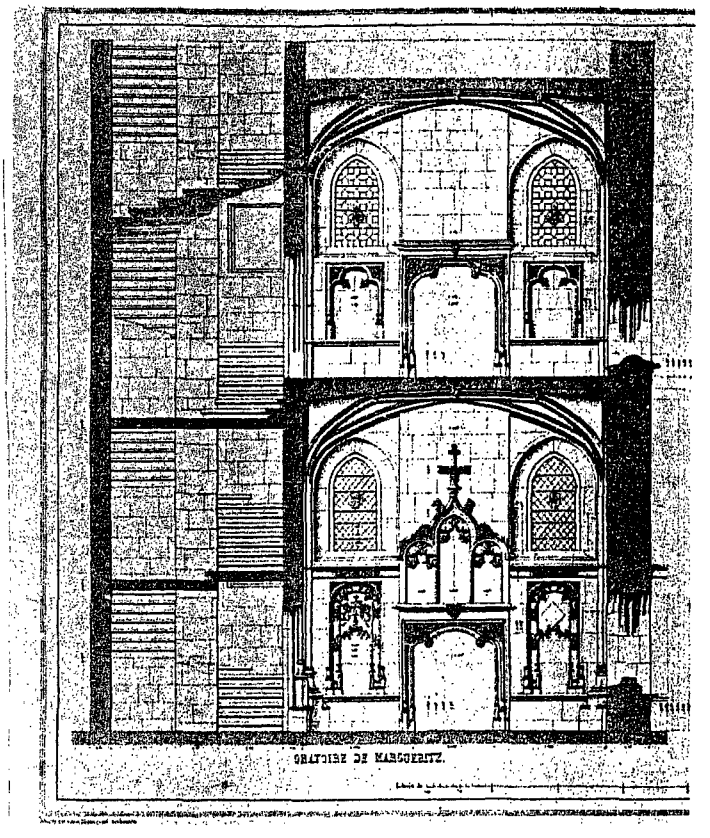


Figure 40

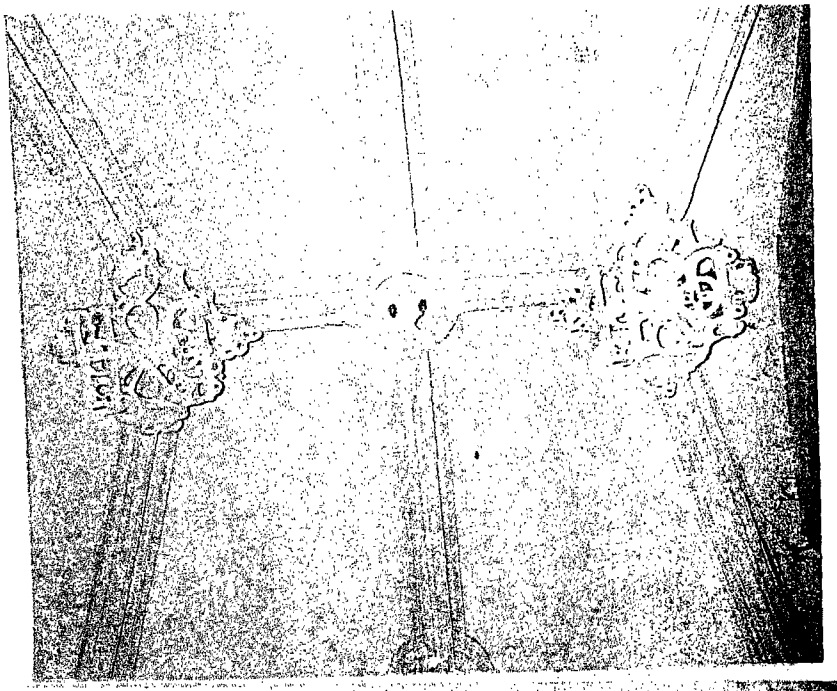


Figure 41a

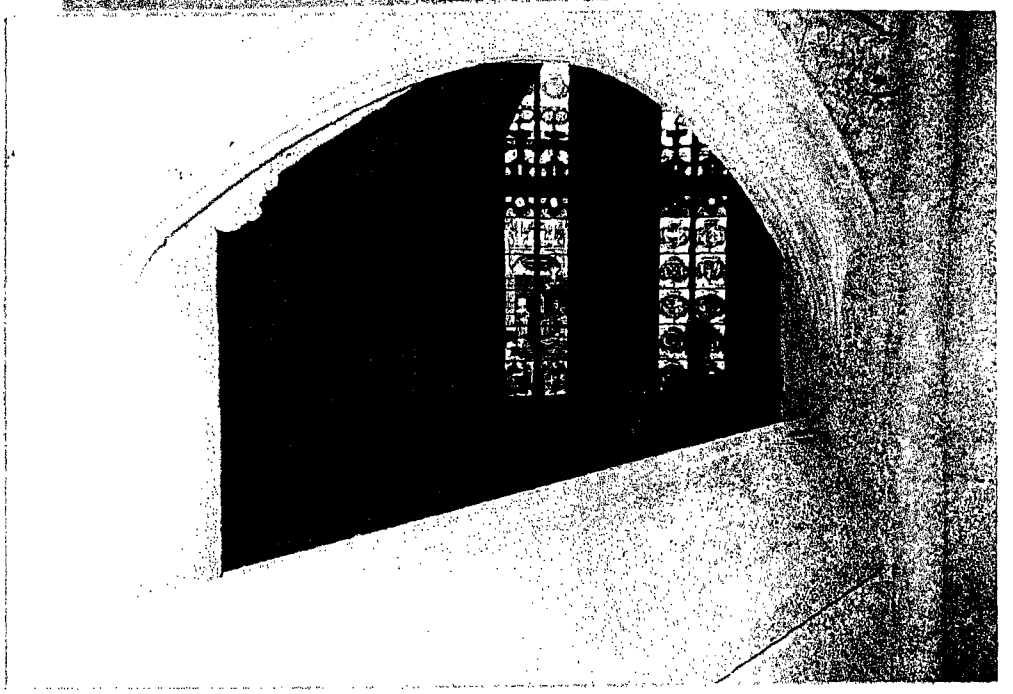
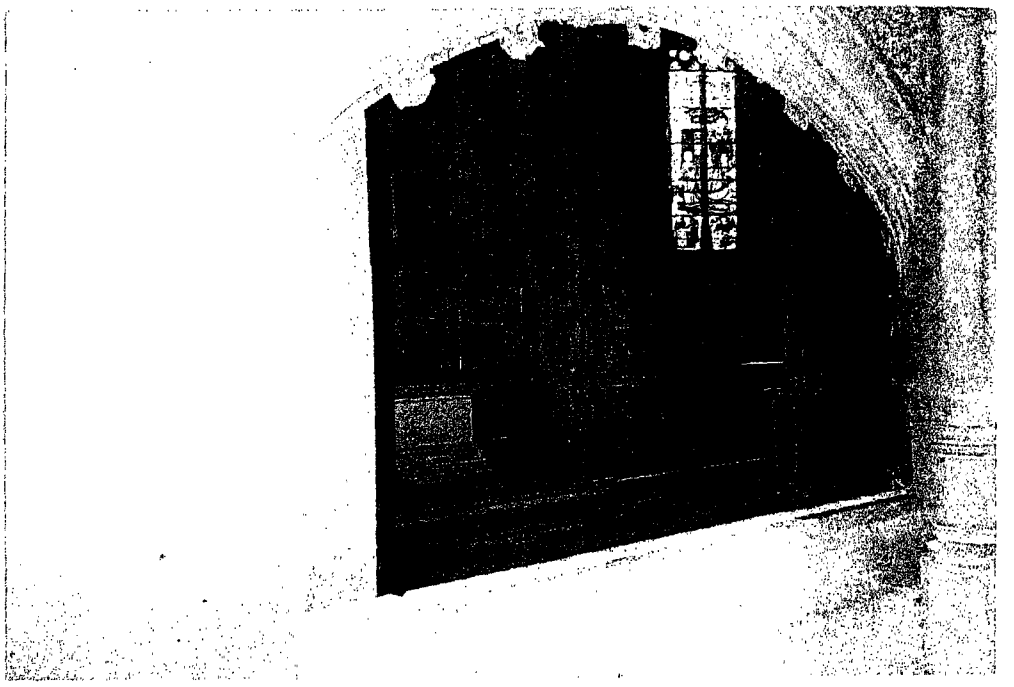
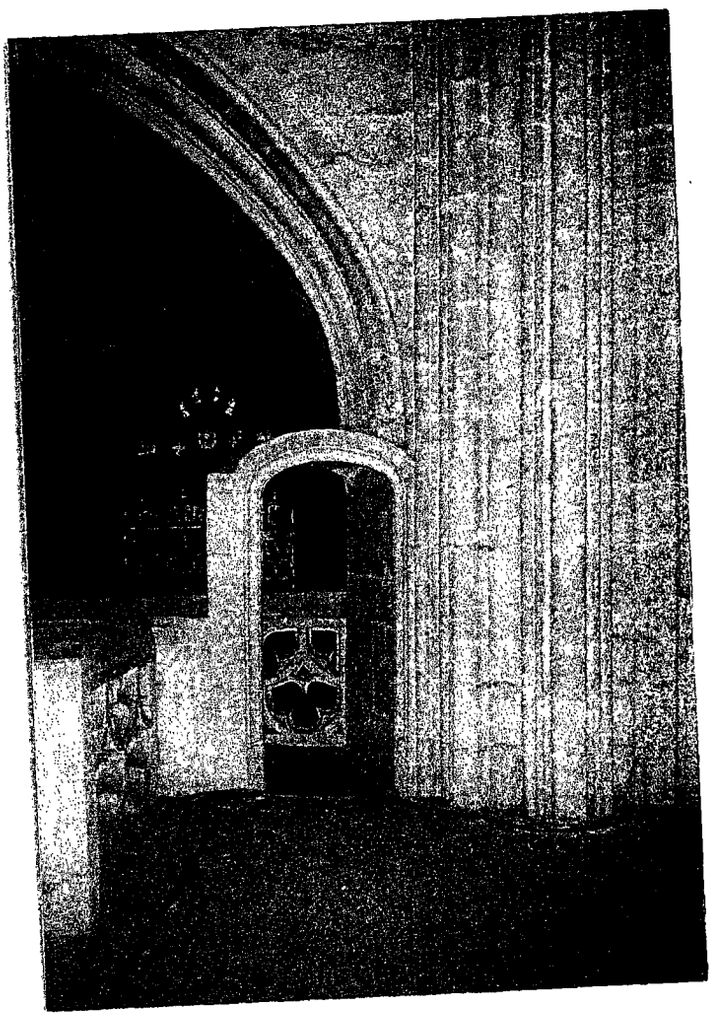


Figure 41b





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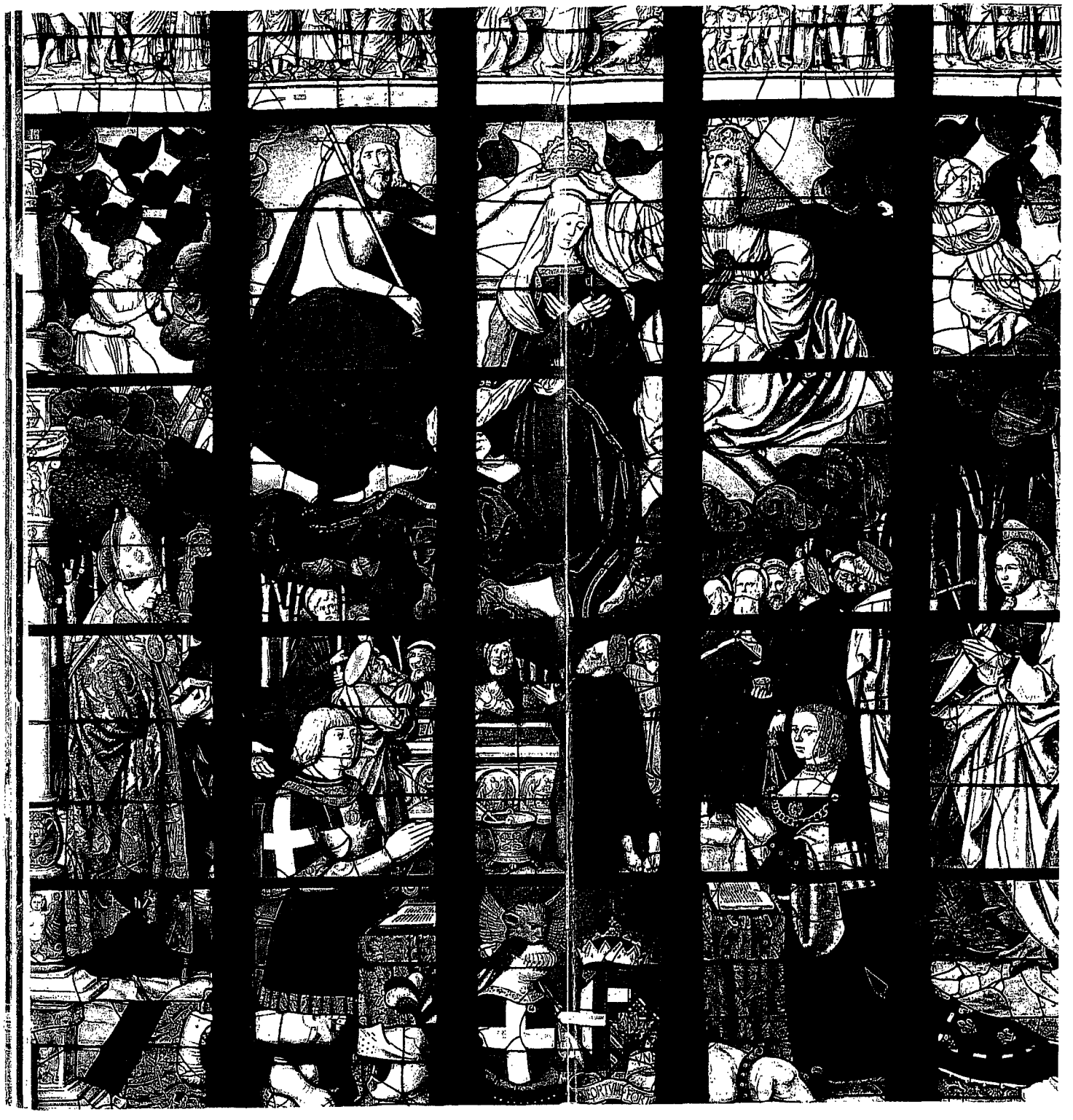

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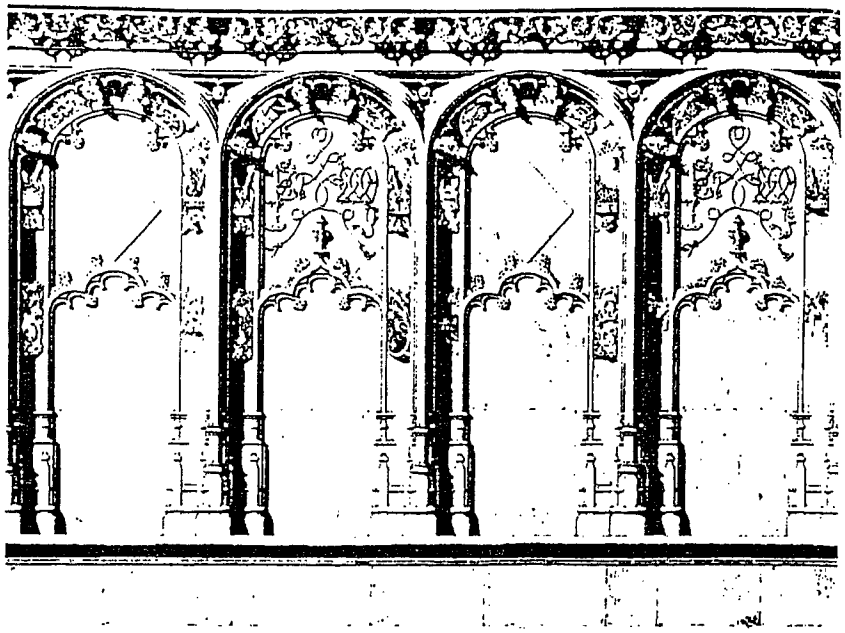

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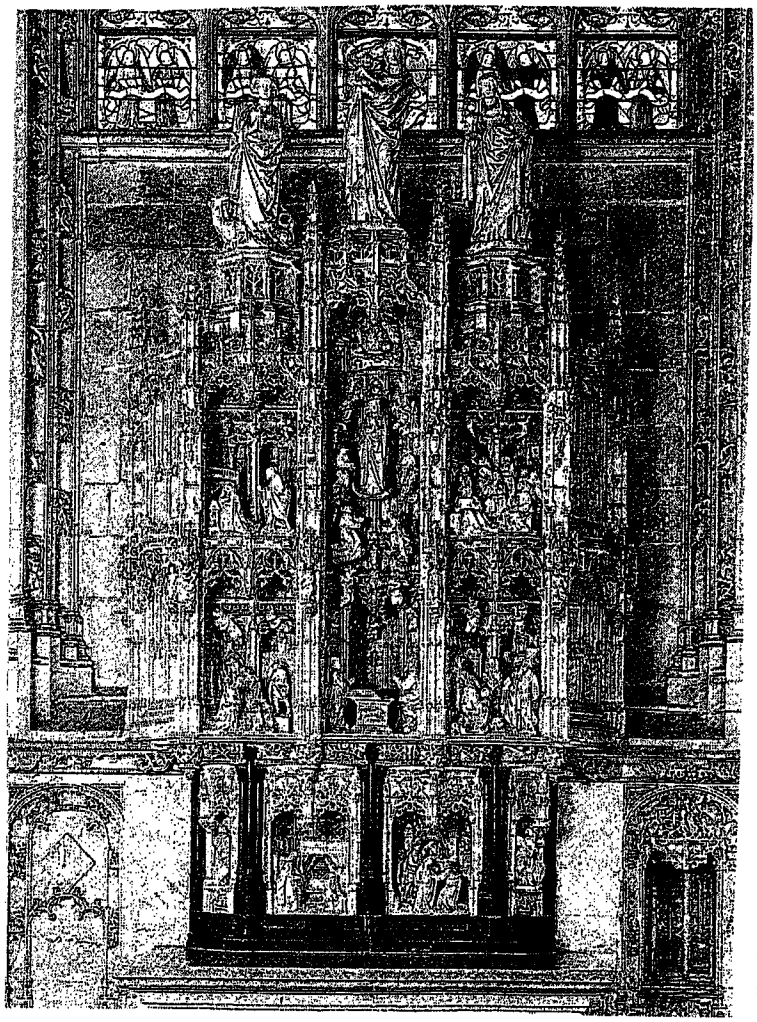


Figure 45a

Figure 45b

Figure 46

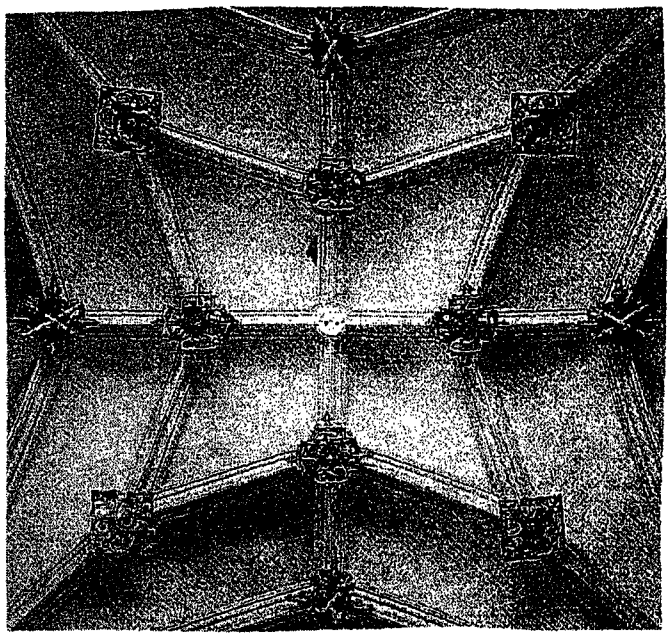


Figure 47a

Figure 47b

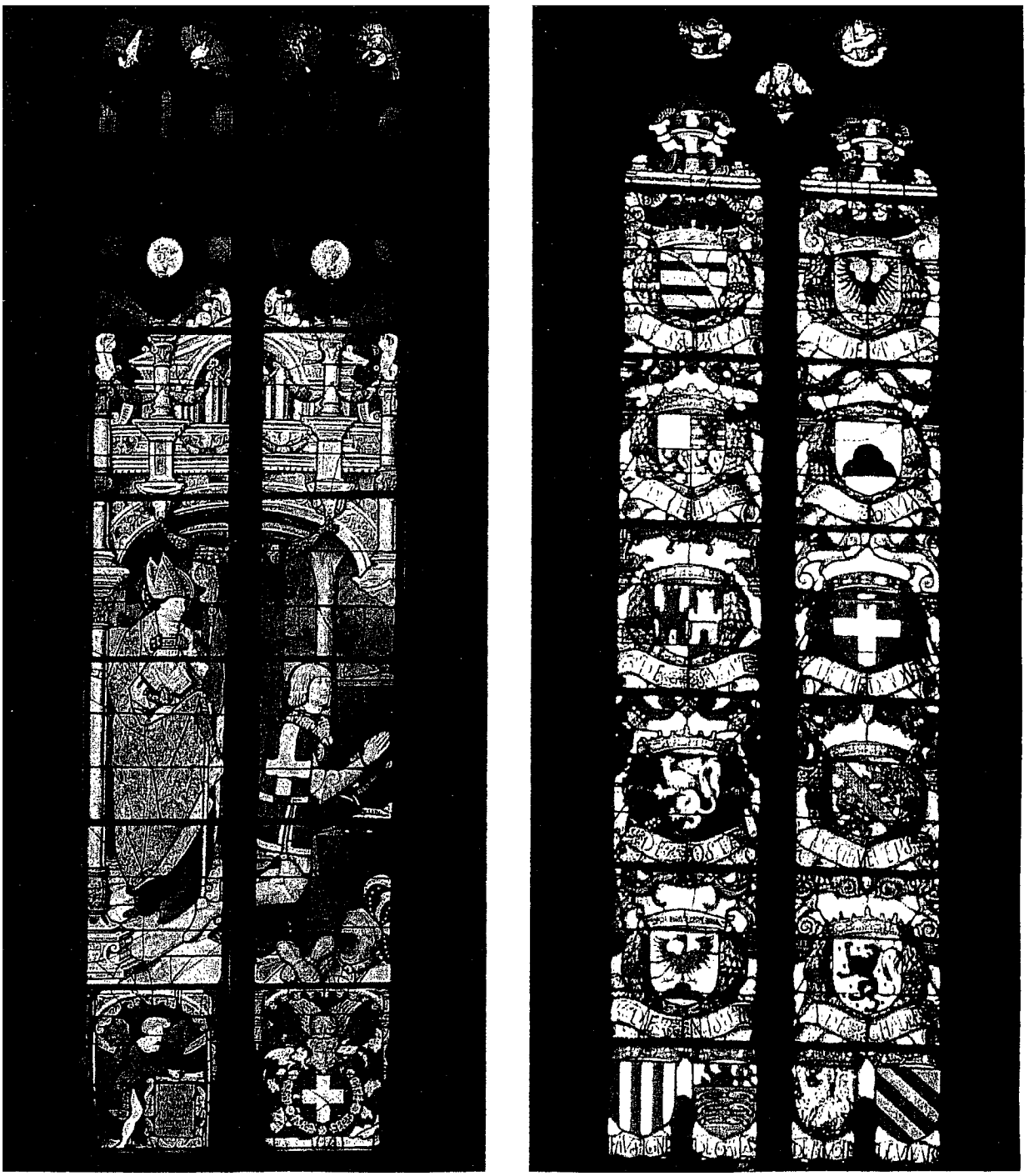


Figure 47c

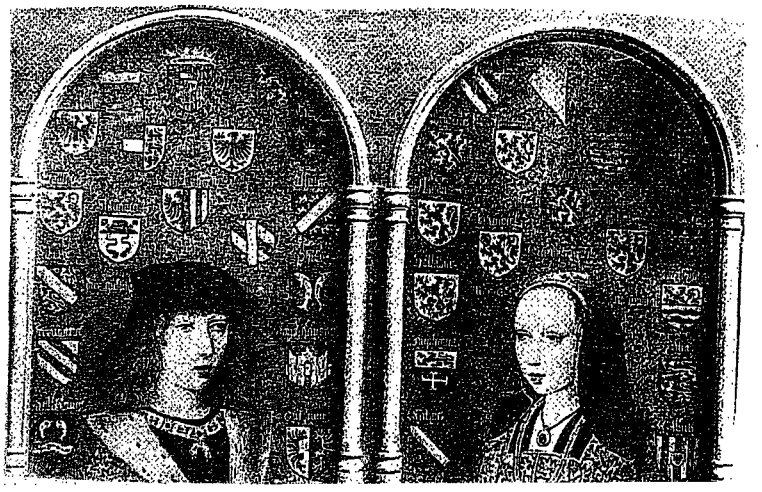
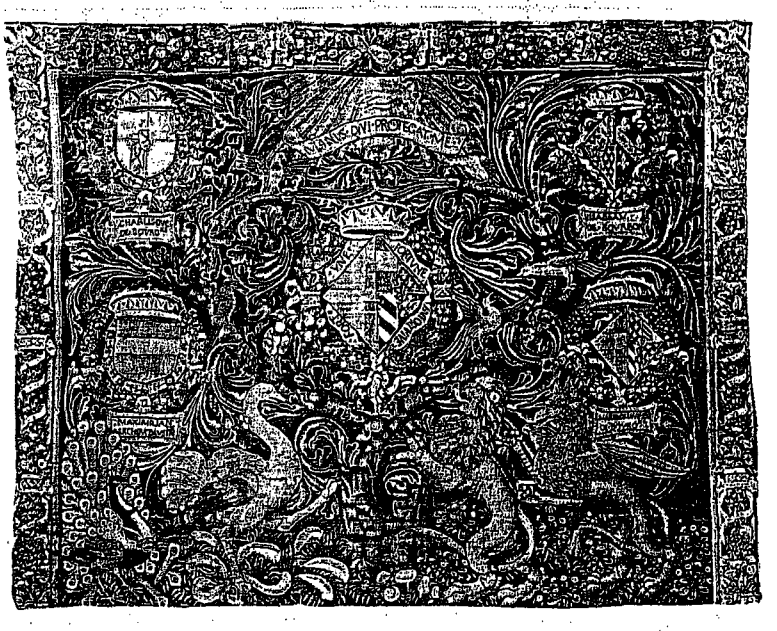


Figure 48

Figure 49



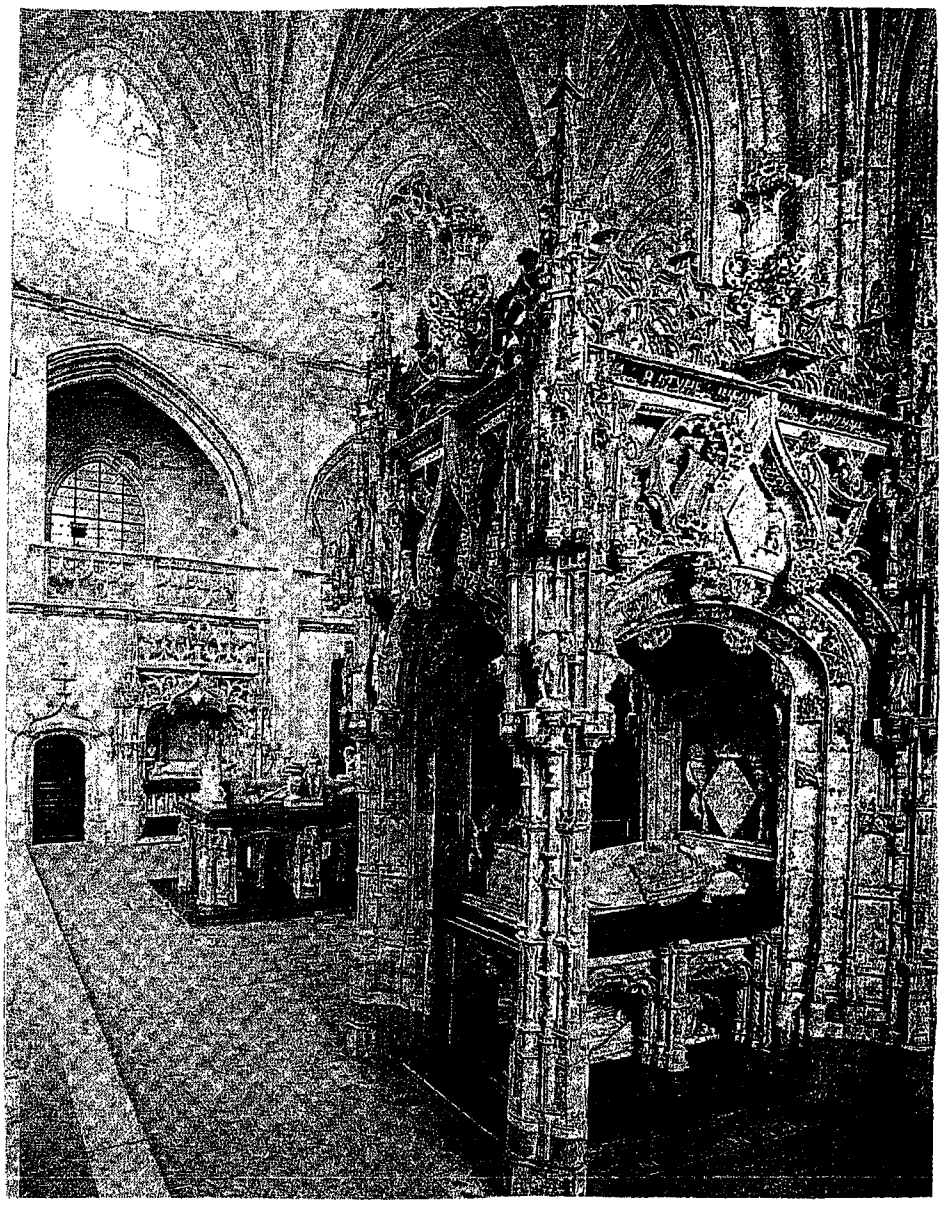


Figure 50

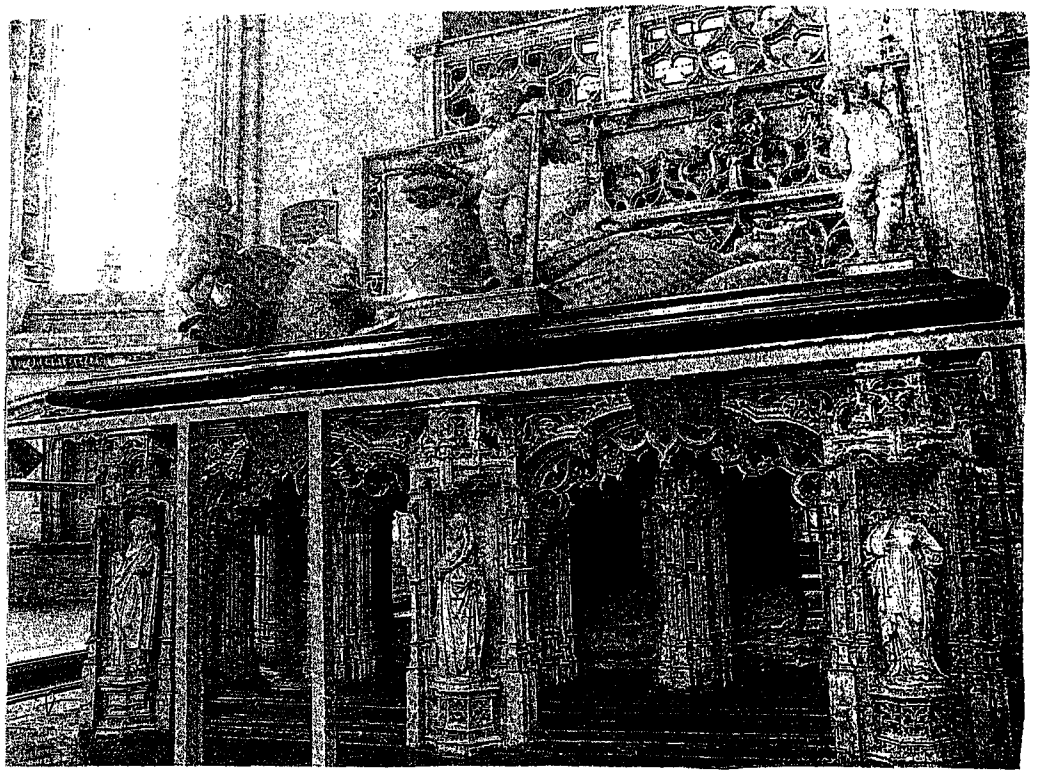
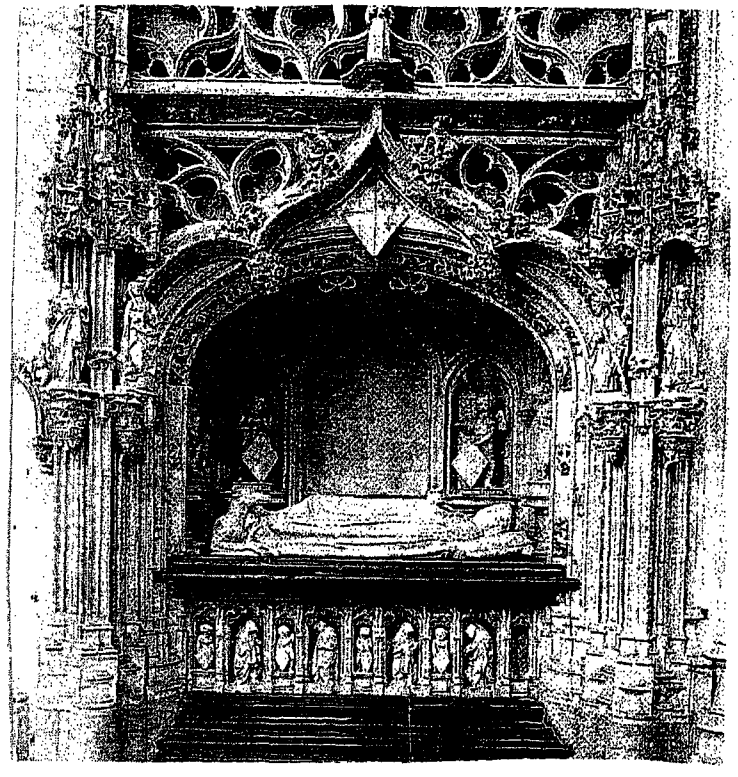


Figure 51

Figure 52



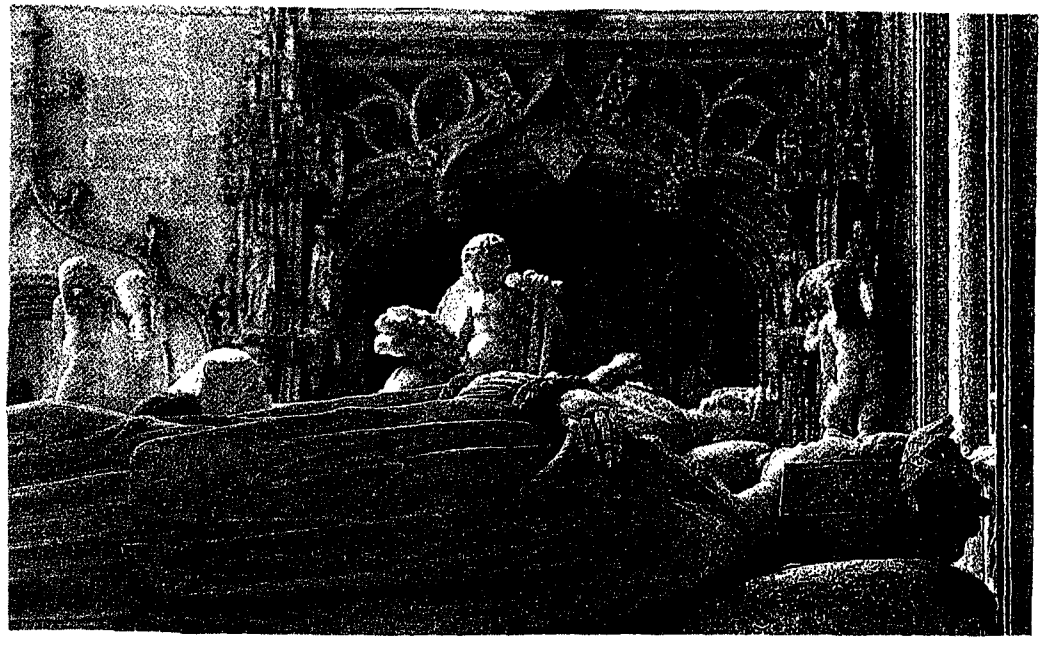


Figure 53

Figure 54a

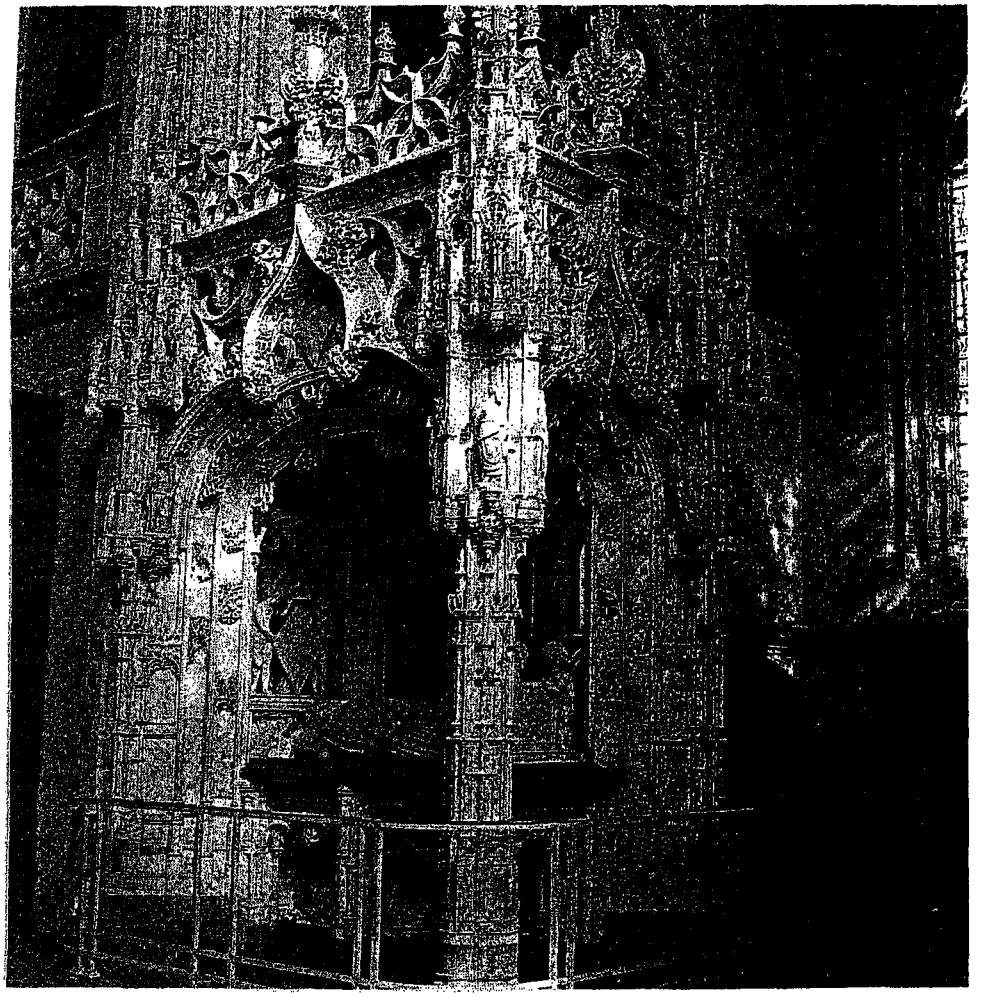


Figure 54b

Figure 54c

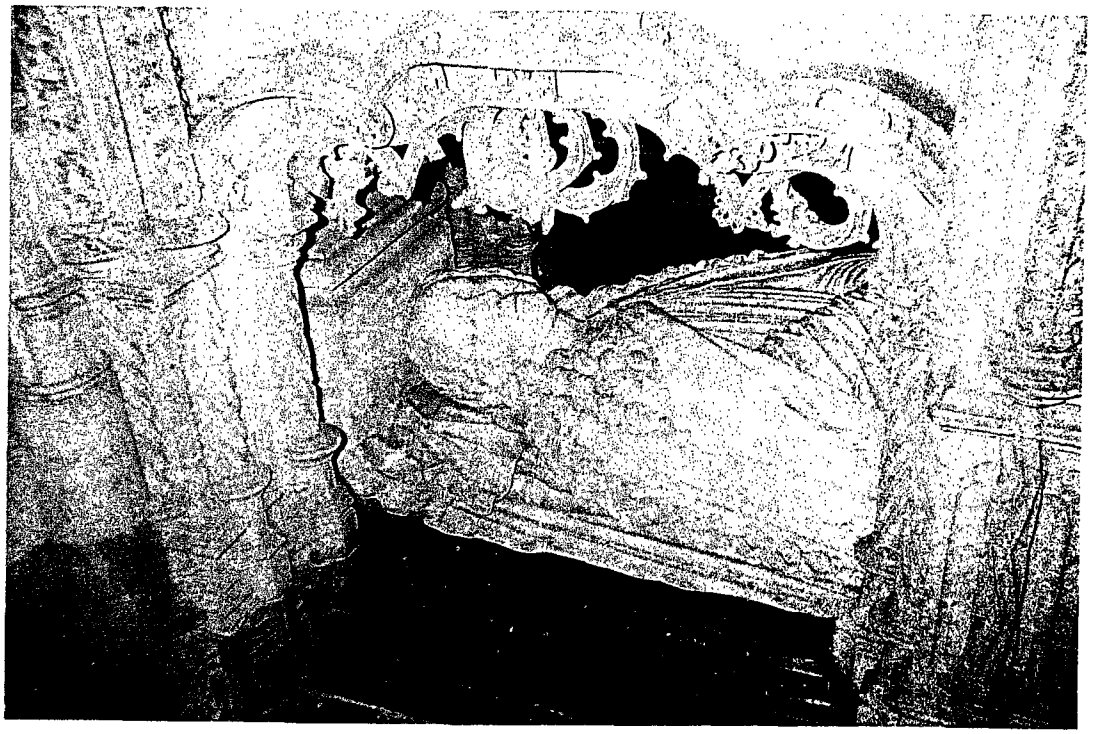


Figure 5

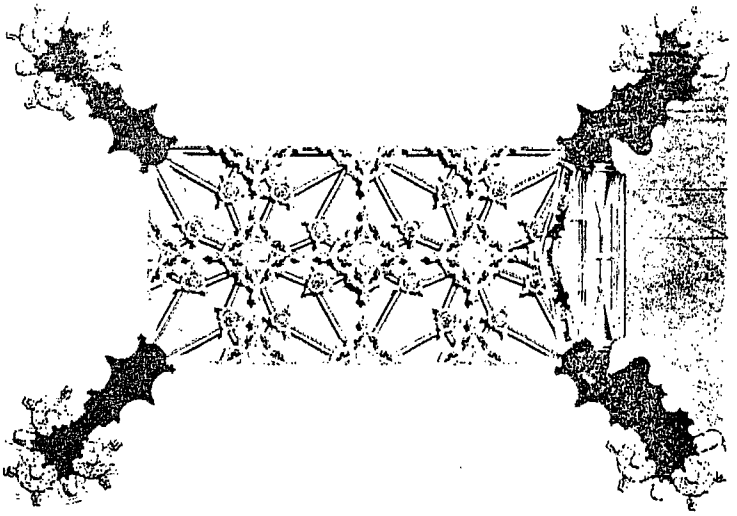


Figure 56

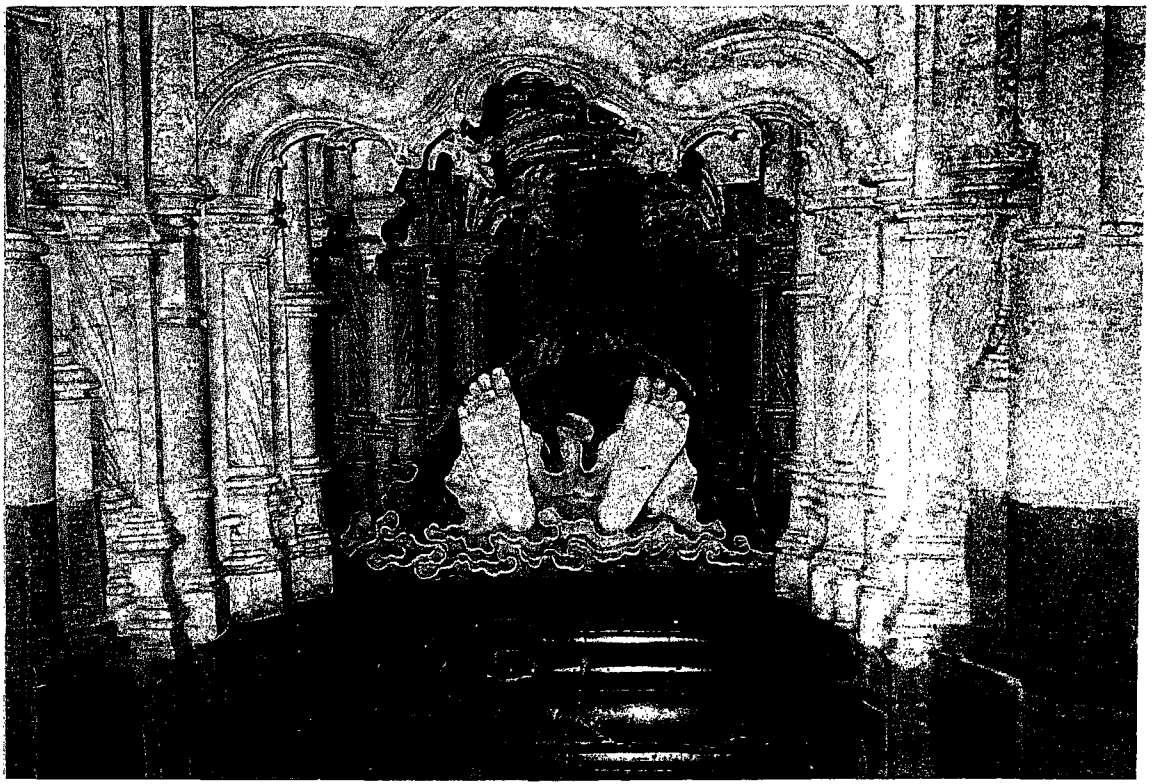
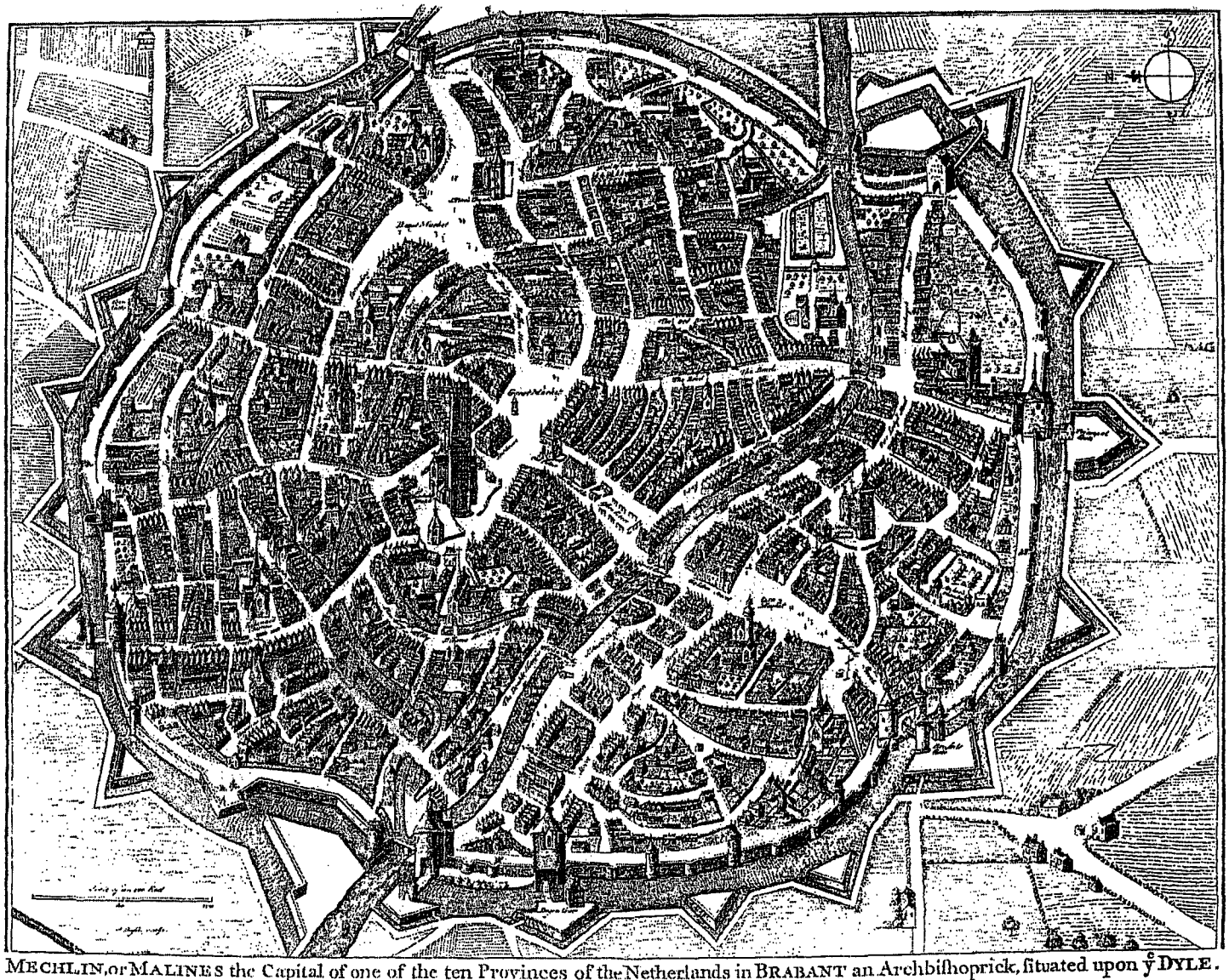


Figure 57



MECHLIN, or MALINES the Capital of one of the ten Provinces of the Netherlands in BRABANT an Archbishoprick, situated upon ỹ DYLE.

Figure 58a

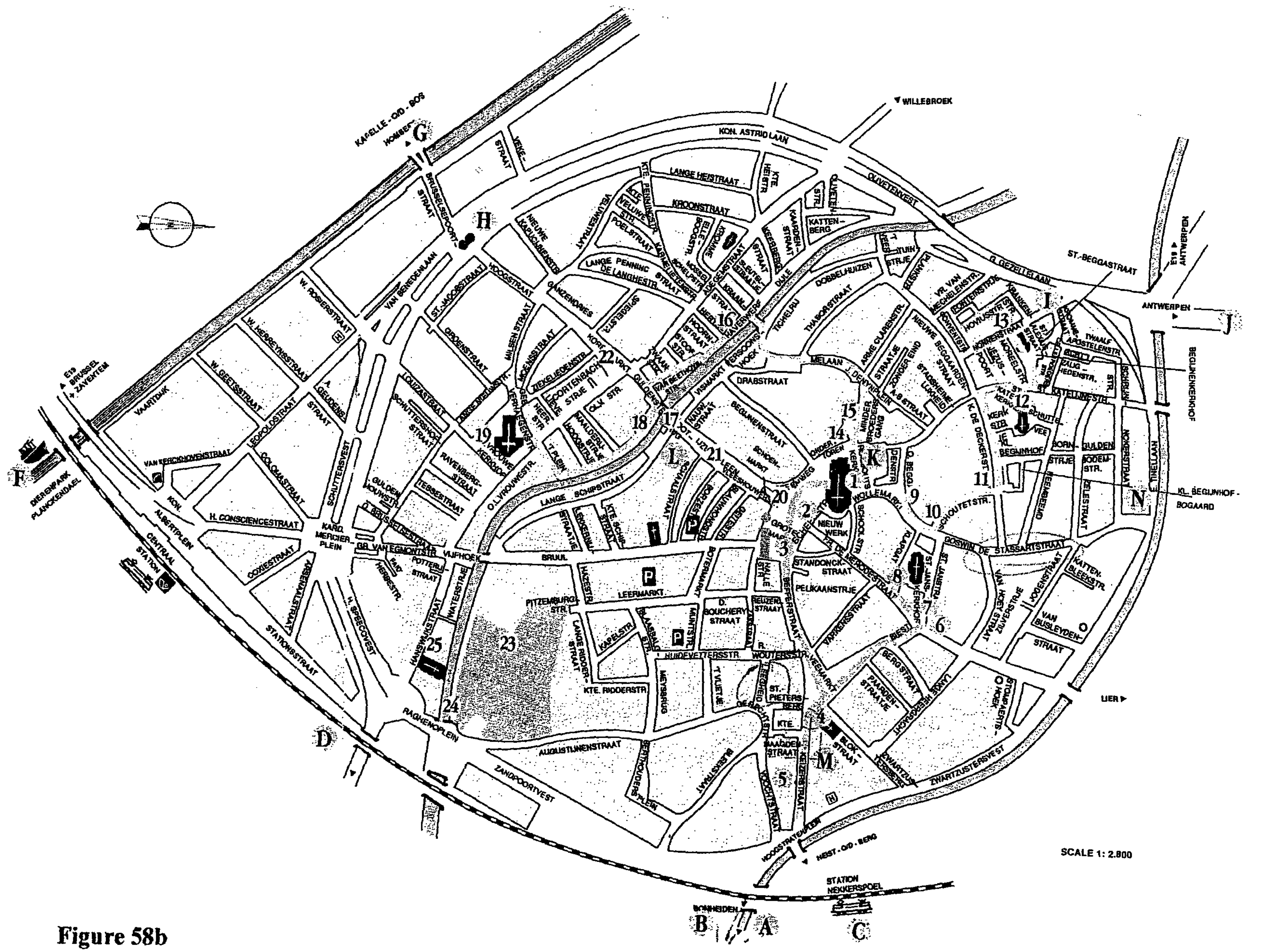

KAPELLE - O/D - BOS
HOMBEEK
E19 BRUSSEL ZAVENTEM
DIERENPARK PLANCKENDAEL
WILLEBROEK
E19 ANTWERPEN
ANTWERPEN
ST.-BEGGASTRAAT
BEGIJNENKERKHOF
KL. BEGIJNHOF - BOGAARD
LIER
HEIST - O/D - BERG
STATION NEKKERSPOEL
BONHEIDEN
CENTRAAL STATION
SCALE 1: 2.800
KON. ASTRIDLAAN
OLIVETENVEST
LANGE HEISTRAAT
KROONSTRAAT
BRUSSELSEPOORTSTRAAT
VAN BENEDENLAAN
W. ROSIERSTRAAT
W. HERREYNSSTRAAT
W. GEETSSTRAAT
VAARTDIJK
VAN KERCKHOVENSTRAAT
LEOPOLDSTRAAT
COLOMASTRAAT
H. CONSCIENCESTRAAT
SCHUTTERSVEST
KARD. MERCIER PLEIN
ALBERTPLEIN
STATIONSSTRAAT
ARSENAALSTRAAT
H. SPEECQVEST
RAGHENOPLEIN
ZANDPOORTVEST
AUGUSTIJNENSTRAAT
BLEEKSTRAAT
HOOGSTRATENPLEIN
ZWARTZUSTERSVEST
STOMPAERTSHOEK
VAN BUSLEYDENSTRAAT
GOSWIN DE STASSARTSTRAAT
TINELLAAN
NOKERSTRAAT
BRUUL
LEERMARKT
HAZESTR.
BOTERMARKT
BEFFERSTRAAT
VEEMARKT
HANSWIJKSTRAAT
WATERSTRAAT
O.L.VROUWESTR.
LANGE SCHIPSTRAAT
SCHAALSTRAAT
BEGIJNENSTRAAT
DRABSTRAAT
THABORSTRAAT
TICHELRIJ
DOBBELHUIZEN
MELAAN
NIEUWE BEGGAARDENSTRAAT
K. DE DECKERST.
SCHOUTETSTR.
BEGIJNHOF
KATTENBERG
HOOGSTRAAT
MILSEN STRAAT
GROENSTRAAT
ST.-JACOBSTRAAT
SPIEGELSTR.
GANZENDRIES
NIEUWE KAPUCIJNENSTR.
VELUWESTRAAT
LOUIZASTRAAT
SCHUTTERSHOFSTRAAT
RAVENBERGSTRAAT
IJZERENLEEN
NIEUW WERK
SCHOOLSTR.
WOLLEMARKT
KLAPGAT
ST. JANSKERKHOF
STANDONCKSTRAAT
PELIKAANSTRAAT
VARKENSSTRAAT
BERGSTRAAT
PAARDENSTRAATJE
BLOKSTRAAT
KEIZERSTRAAT
VOOCHTSTRAAT
MEYSBRUG
PITZEMBURGSTR.
KTE. RIDDERSTR.
LANGE RIDDERSTRAAT
KAPELSTR.
MUNTSTR.
HUIDEVETTERSSTR.
'T VLIETJE
ST. PIETERSBERG
VIJFHOEK
POTTERIJSTRAAT
HEMBERGSTR.
GB. VAN EGMONTSTR.
GULDENHOUWSTR.
TEESSTRAAT
A B C D F G H I J K L M N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

Figure 58b

Figure 59

Figure 60a

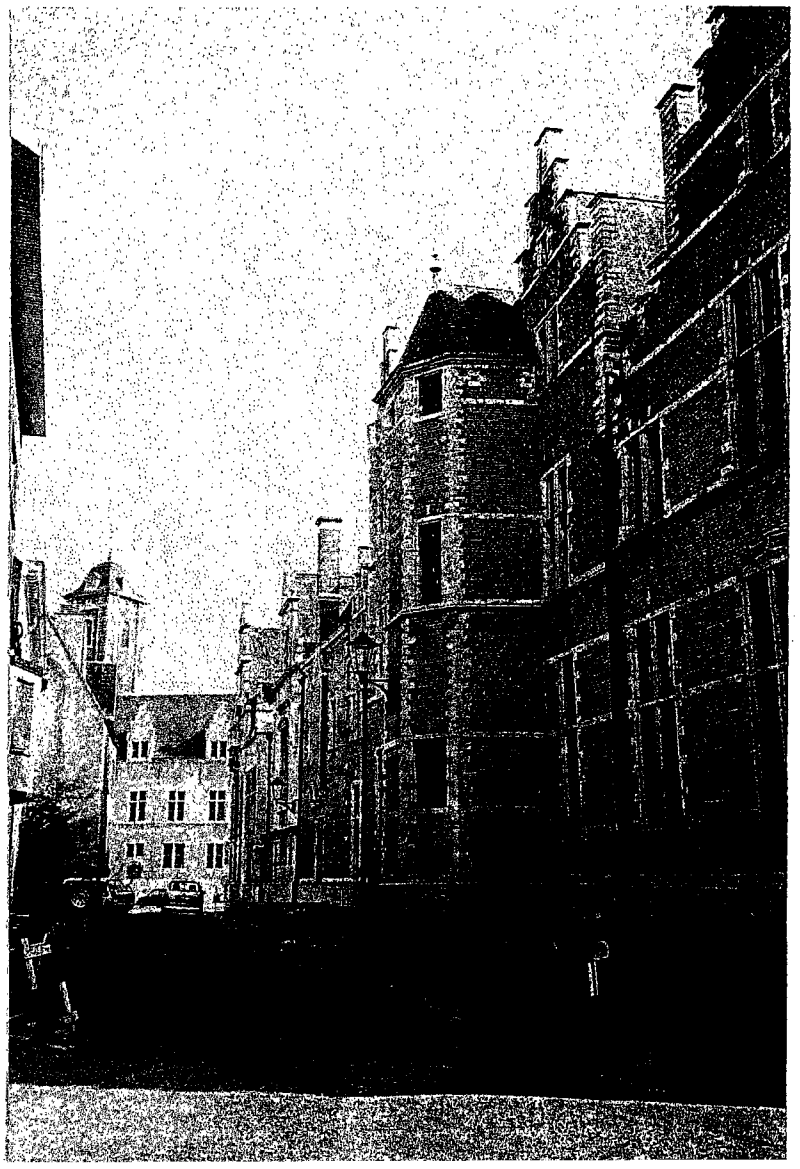


Figure 60b

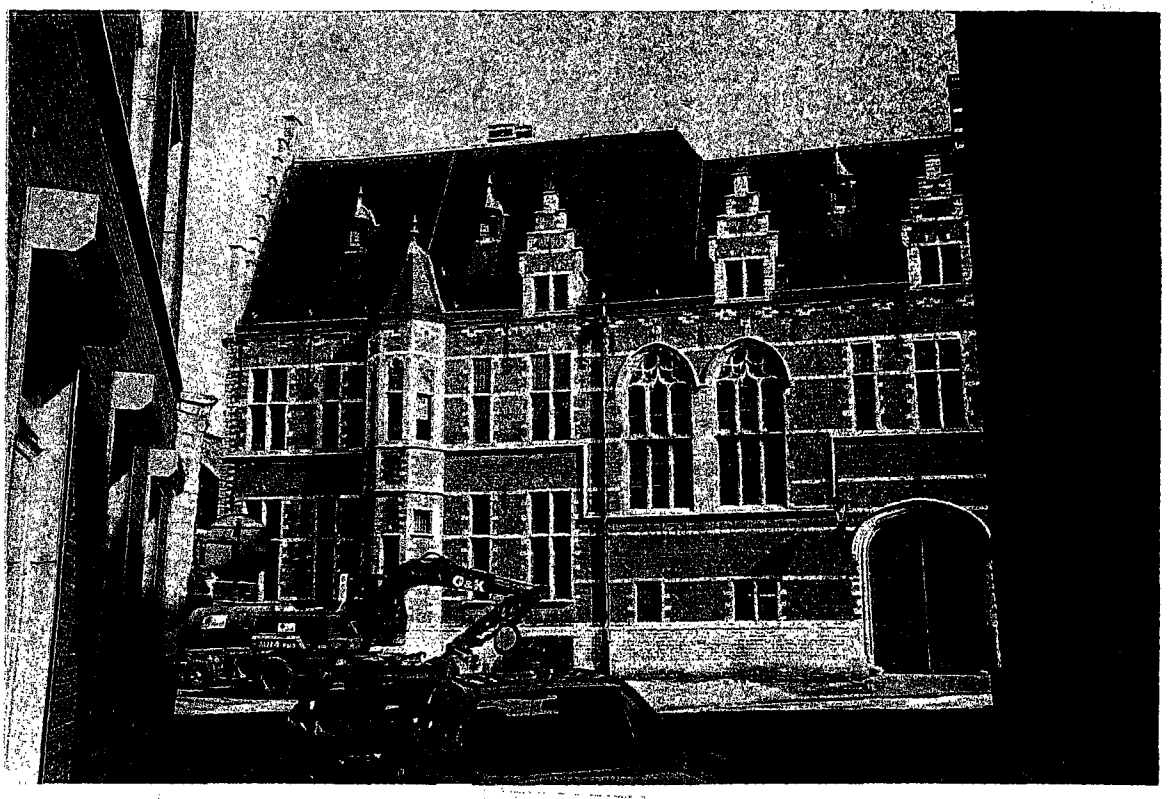


Figure 60c

Figure 61

Figure 62a

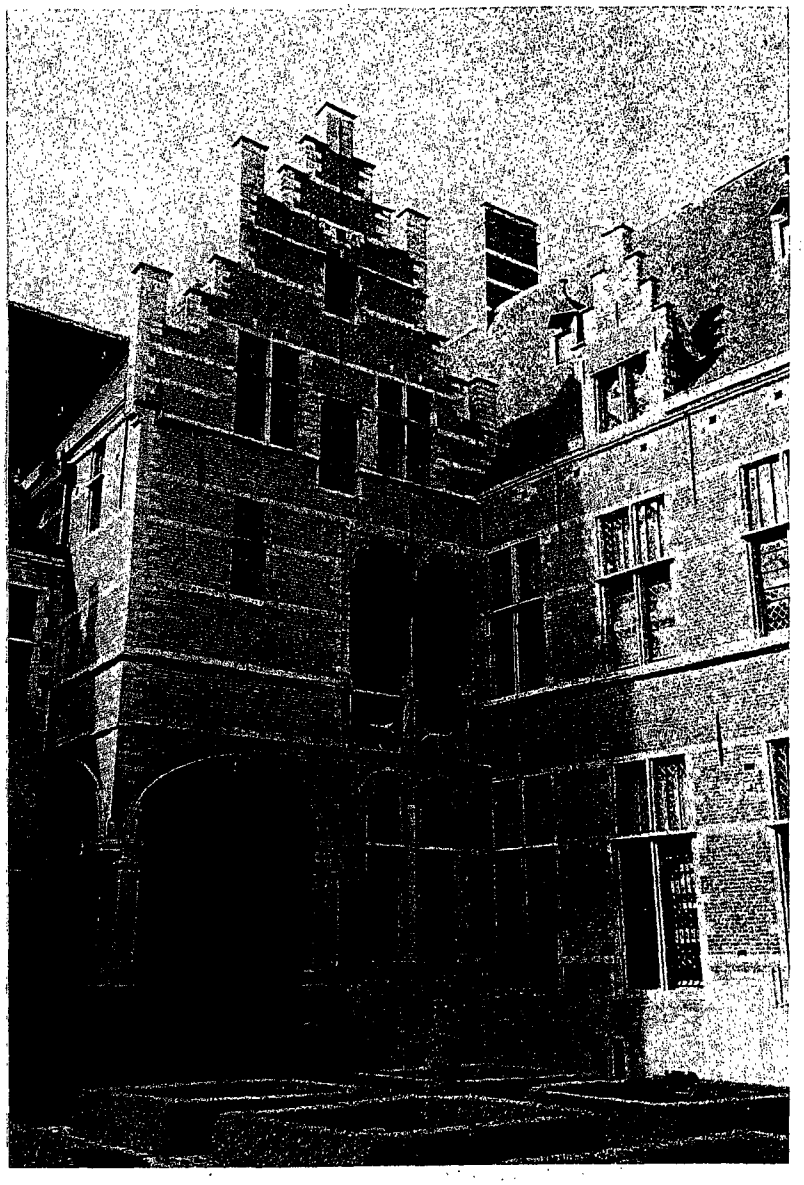


Figure 62b

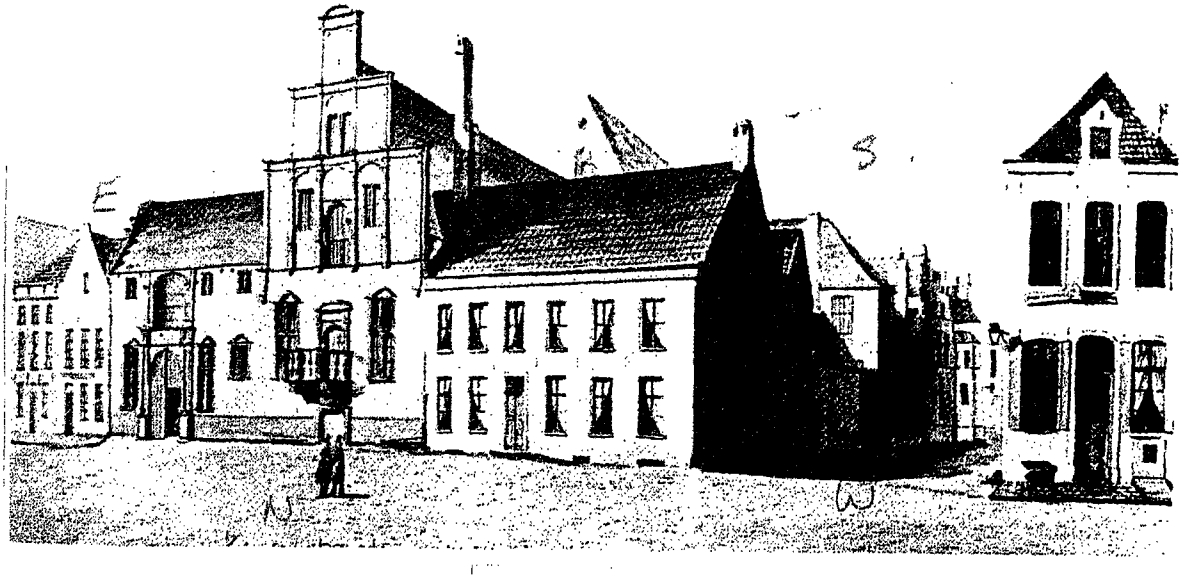


Figure 63a

Figure 63b

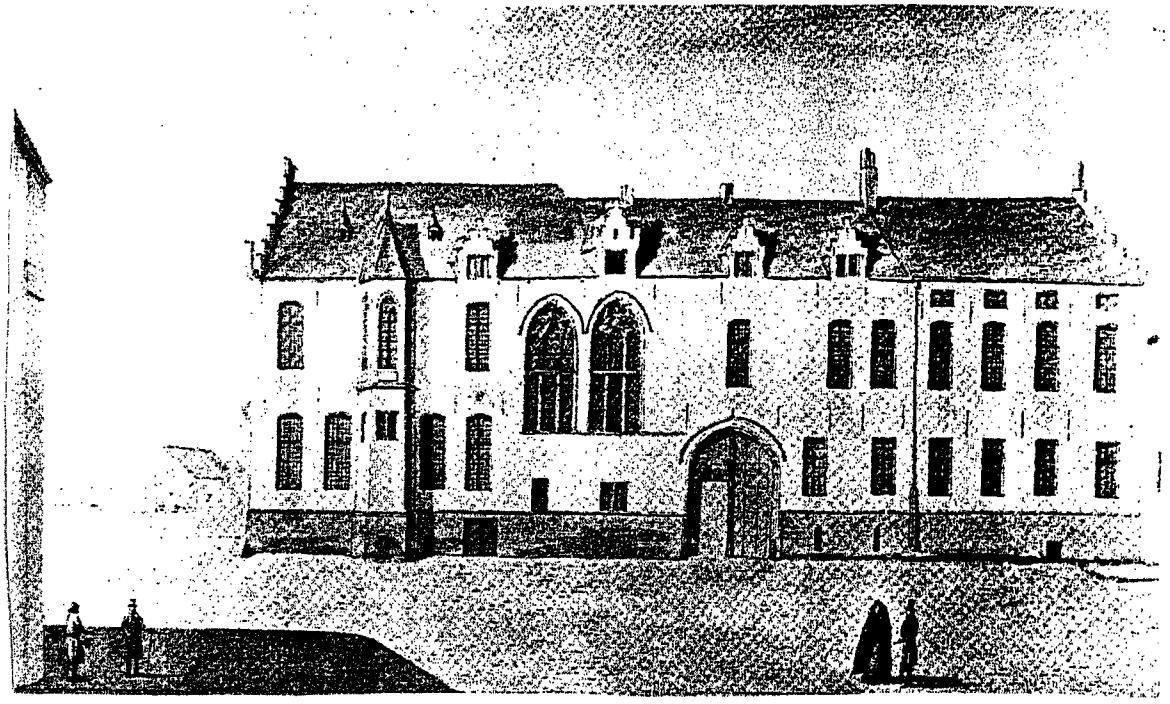


Figure 63c

Figure 63d

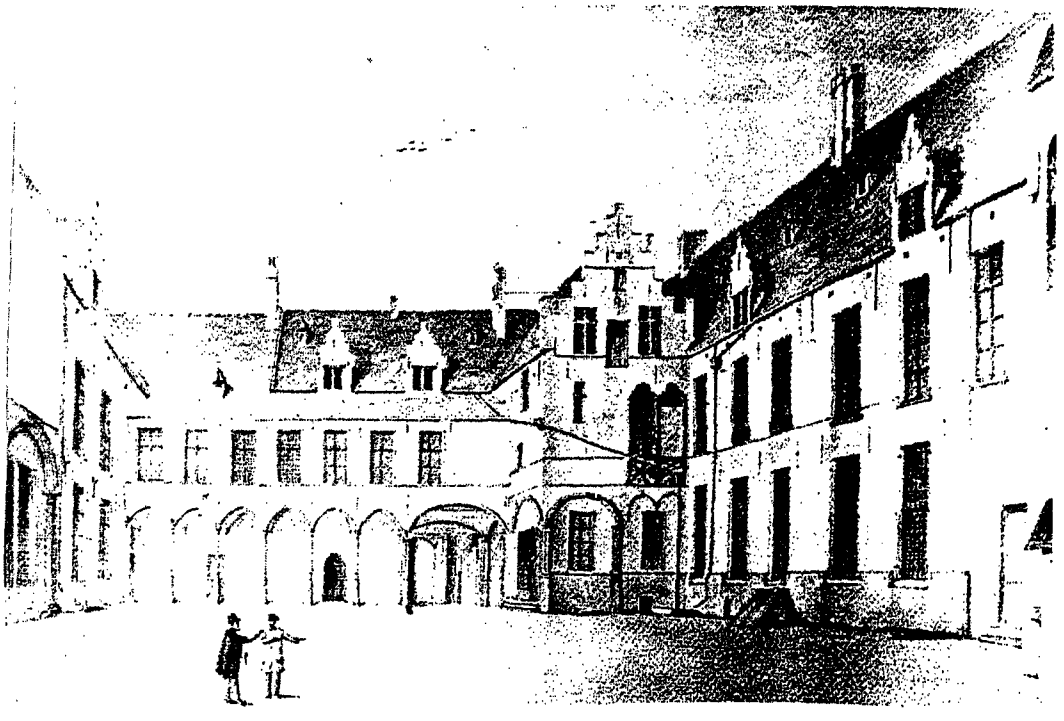


Figure 64

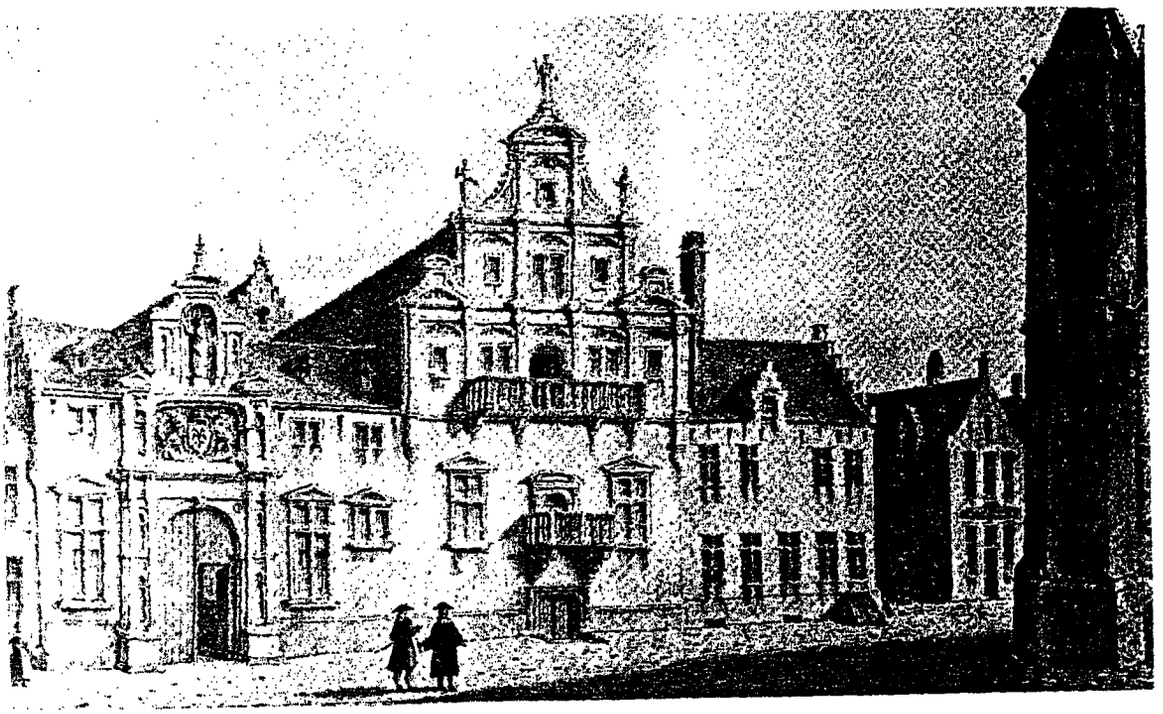


Figure 65

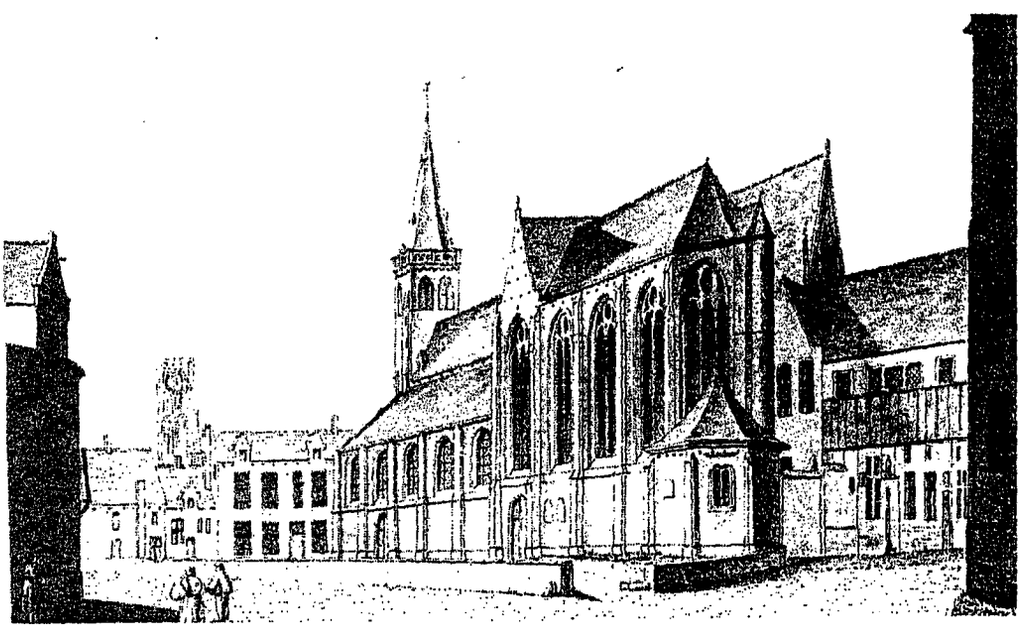


Figure 66

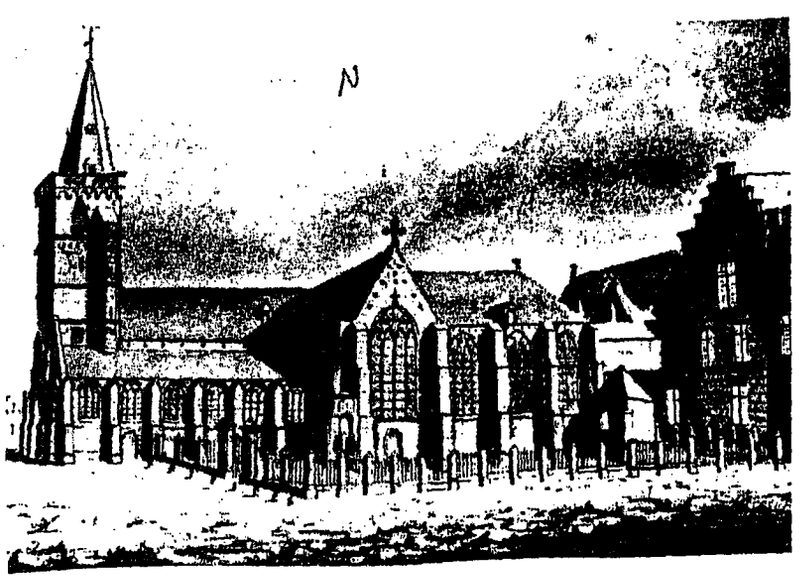


Figure 67

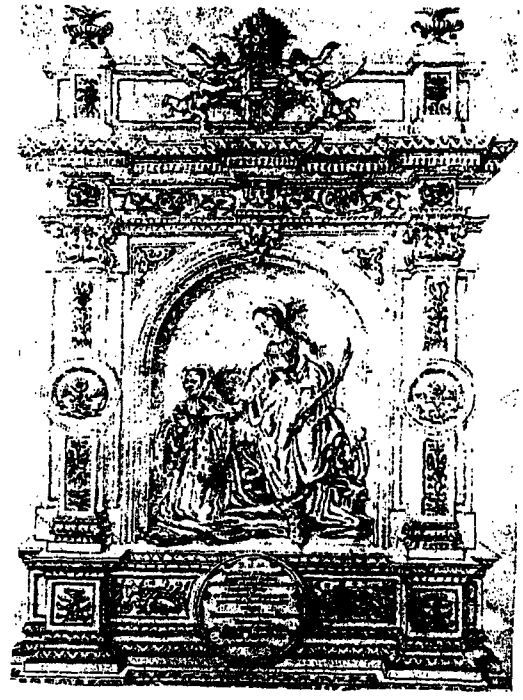


Figure 68

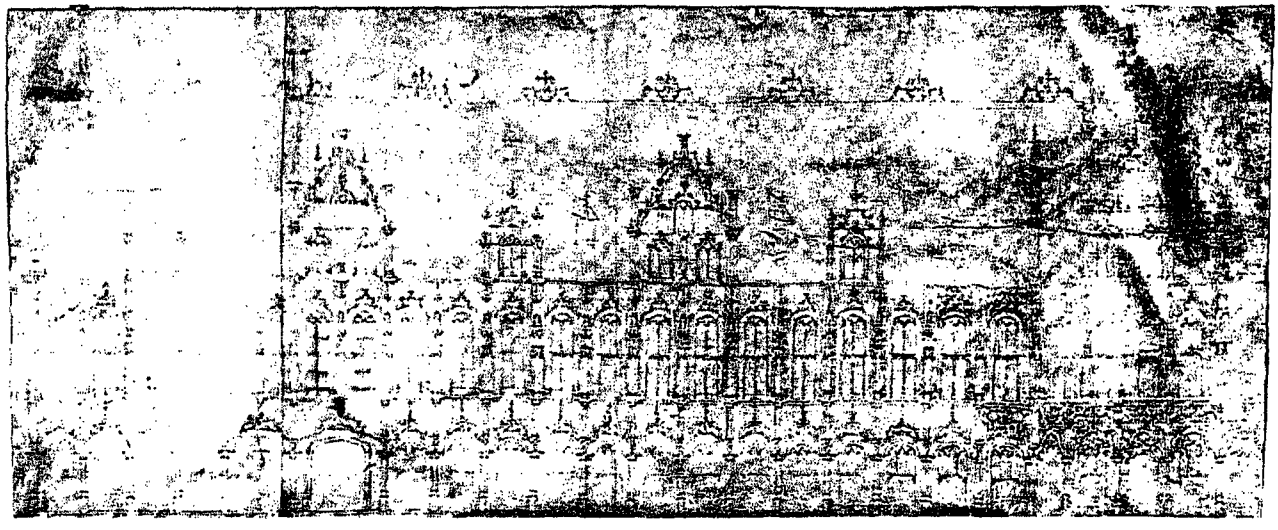


Figure 69

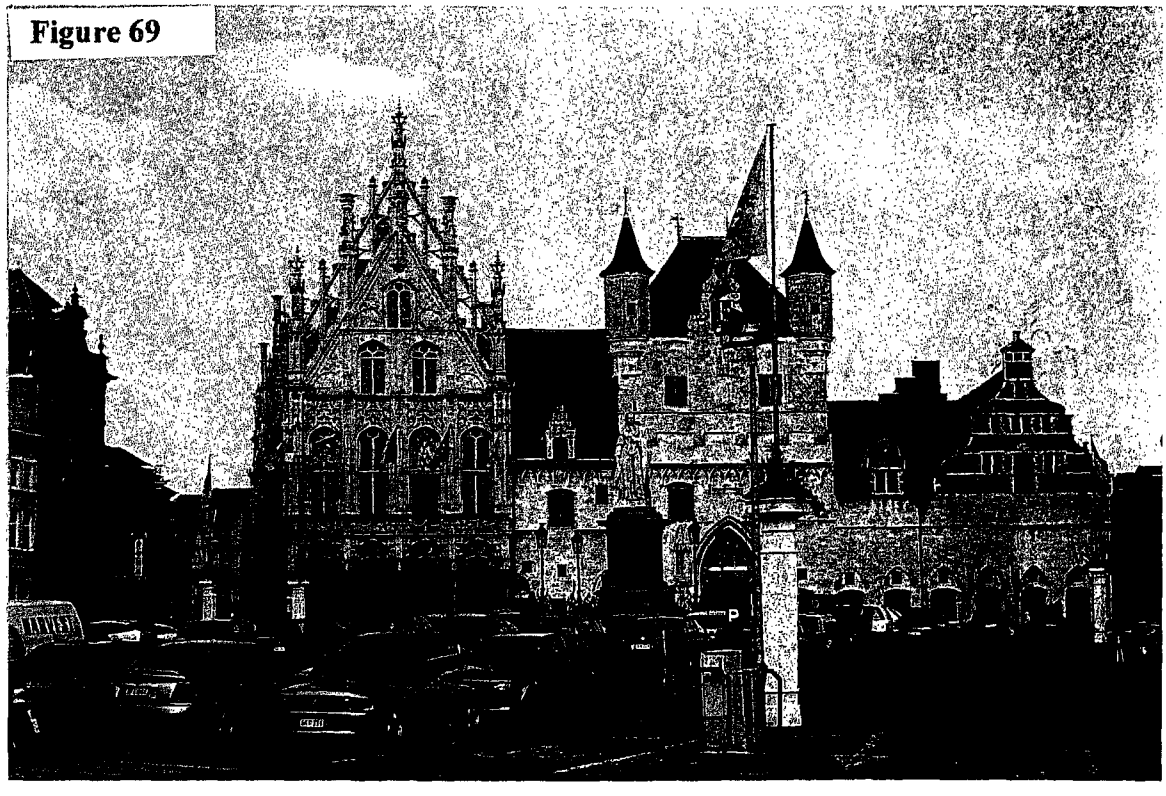


Figure 70

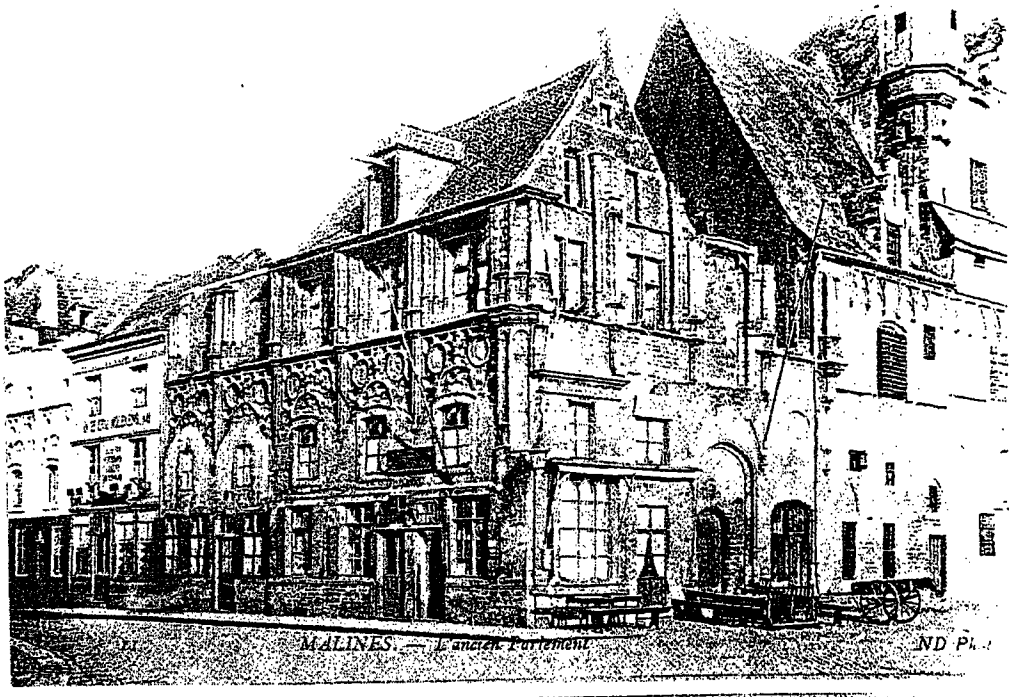


Figure 71

Figure 72

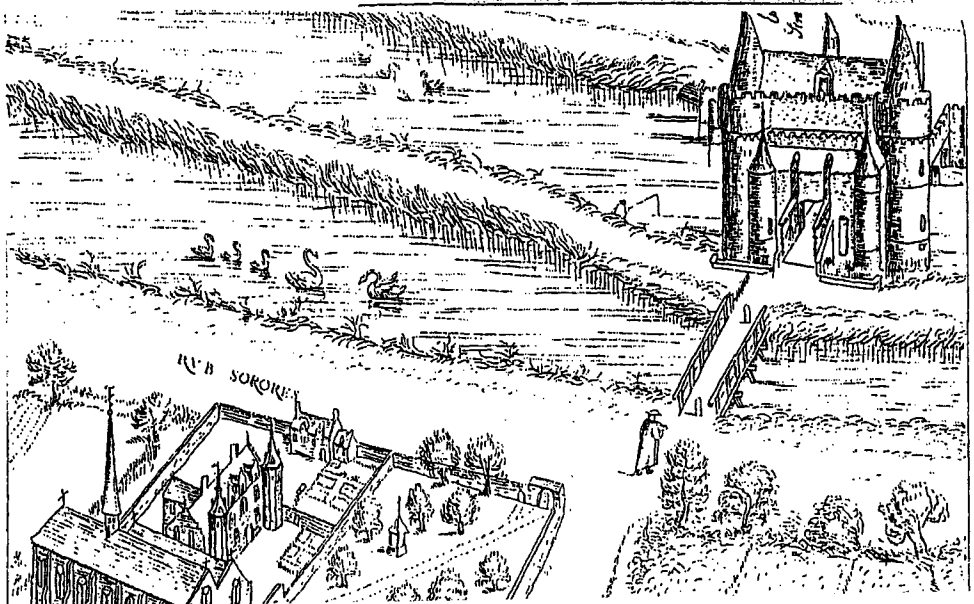


Figure 73

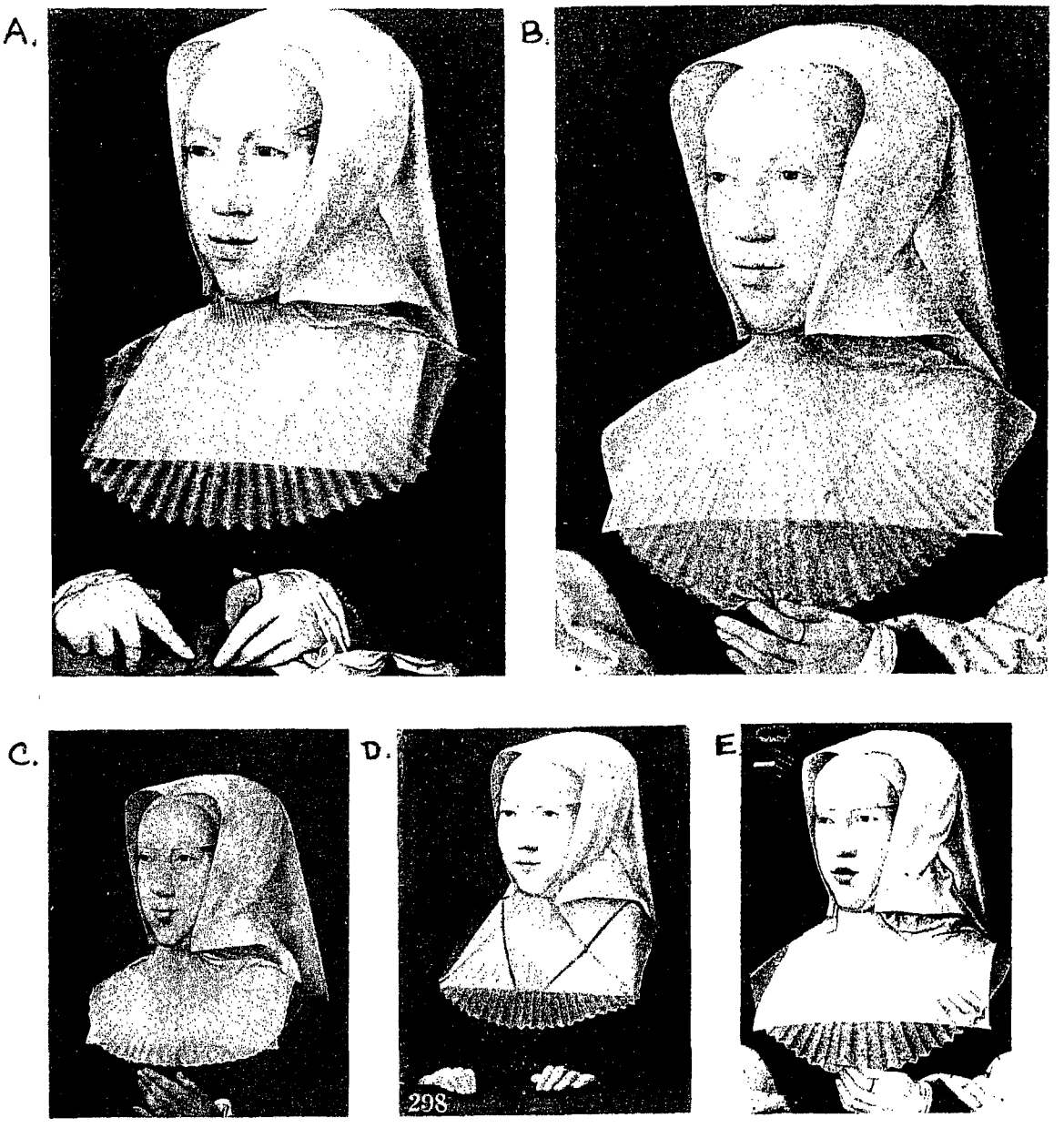


Figure 74

Figure 75

Figure 76a

Figure 76b

Figure 77

Figure 78

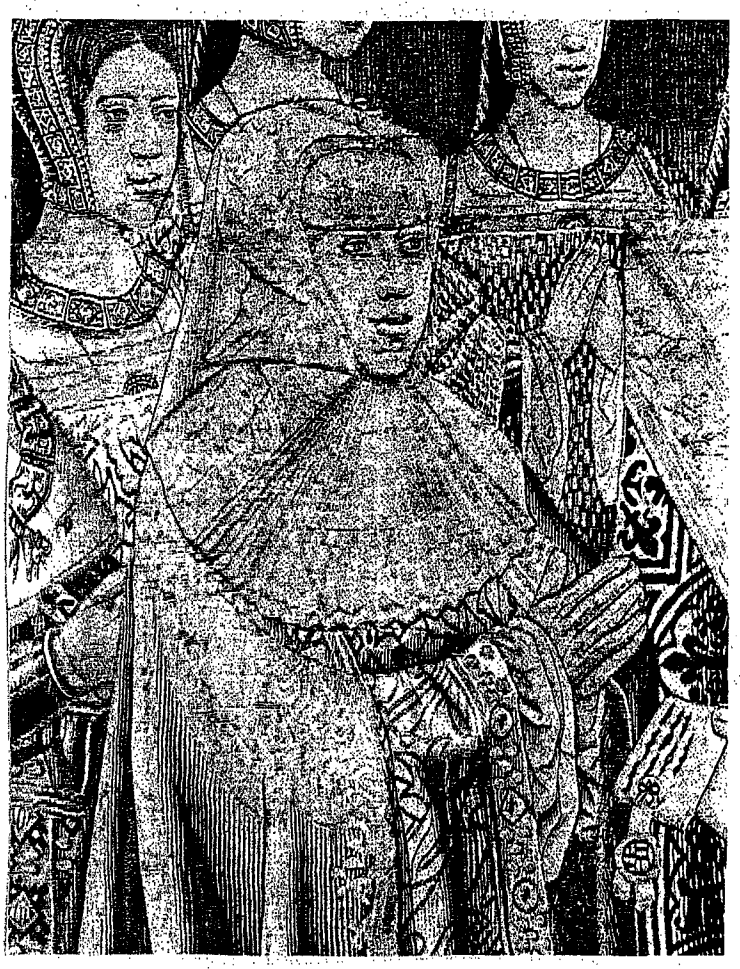


Figure 79

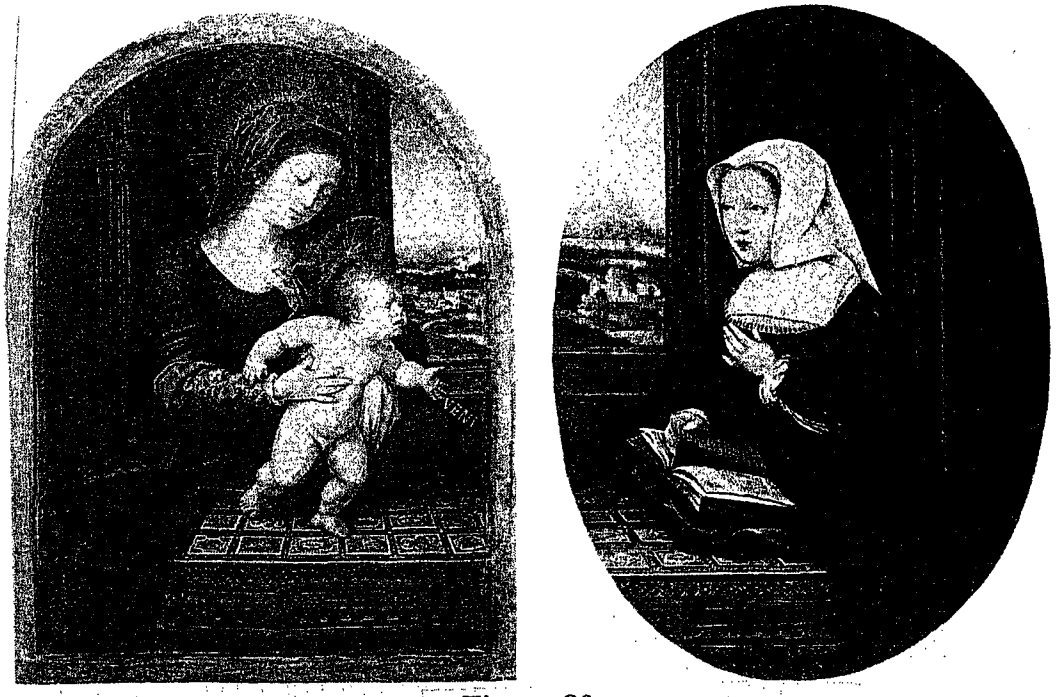


Figure 80

Figure 81a

Figure 81b

Figure 82

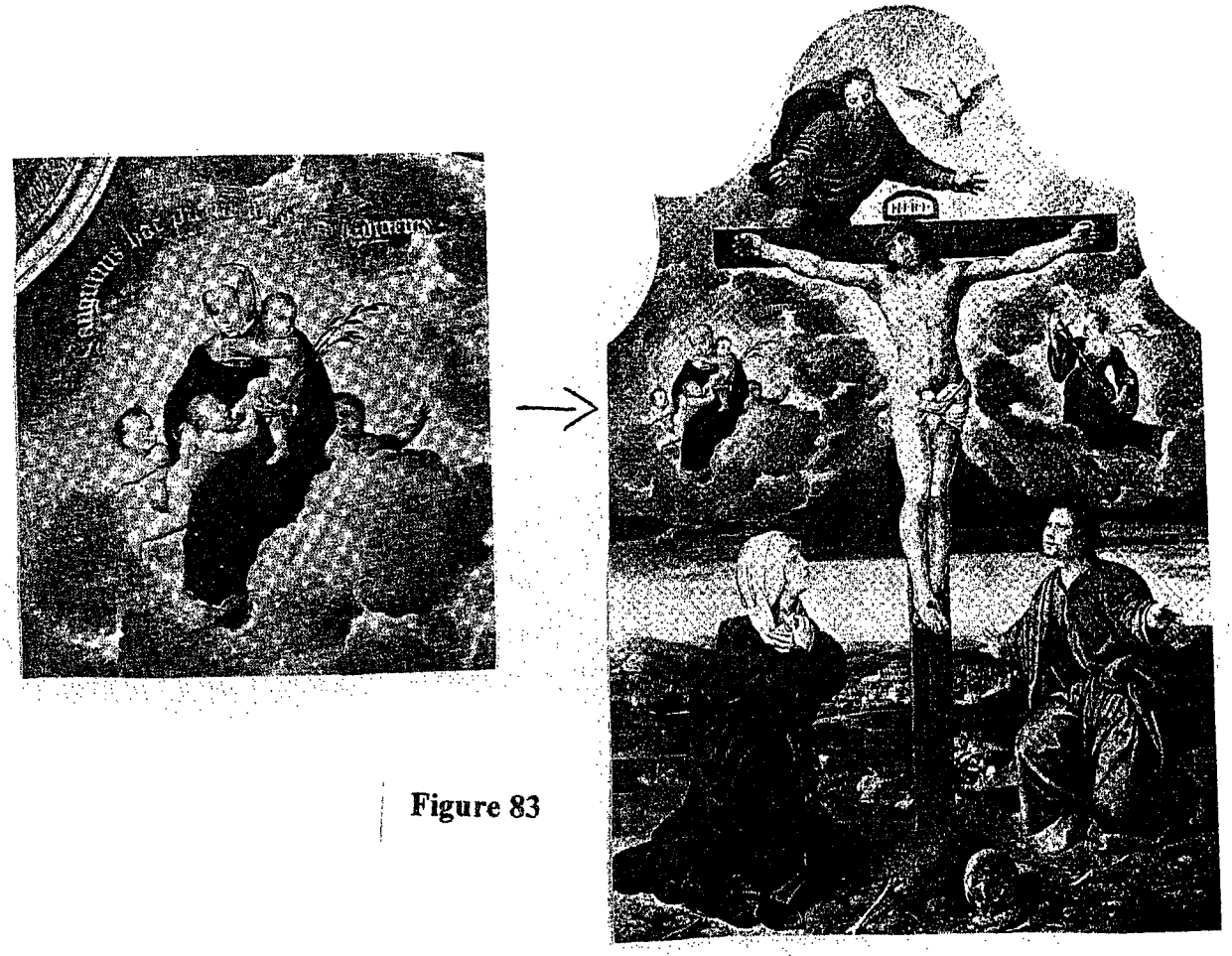


Figure 83

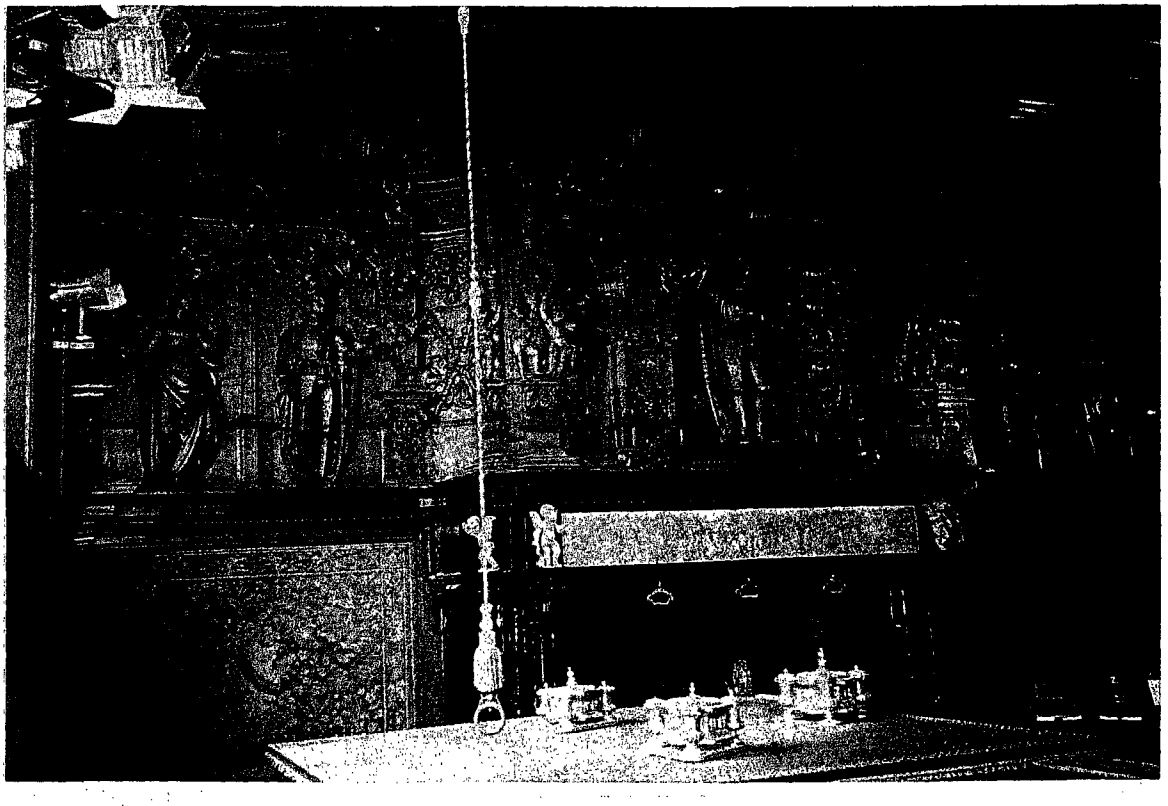


Figure 84a

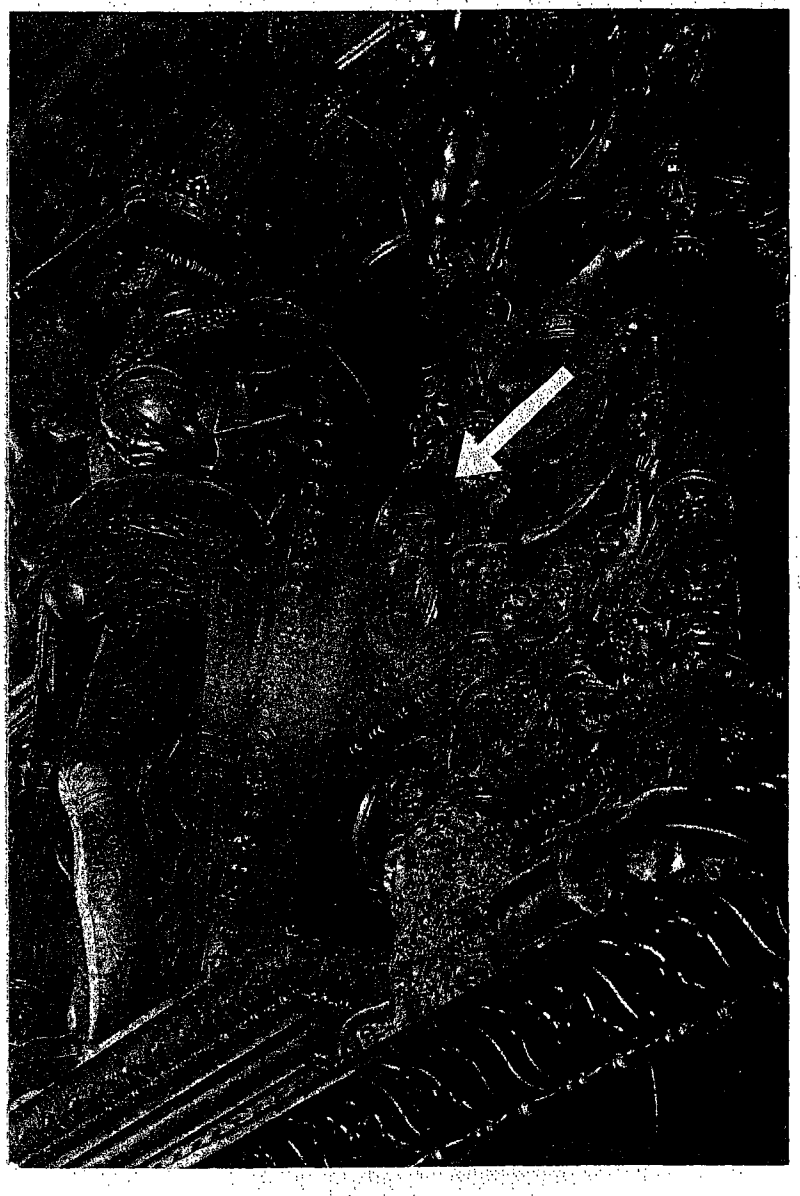


Figure 84b

Figure 84c

Figure 85

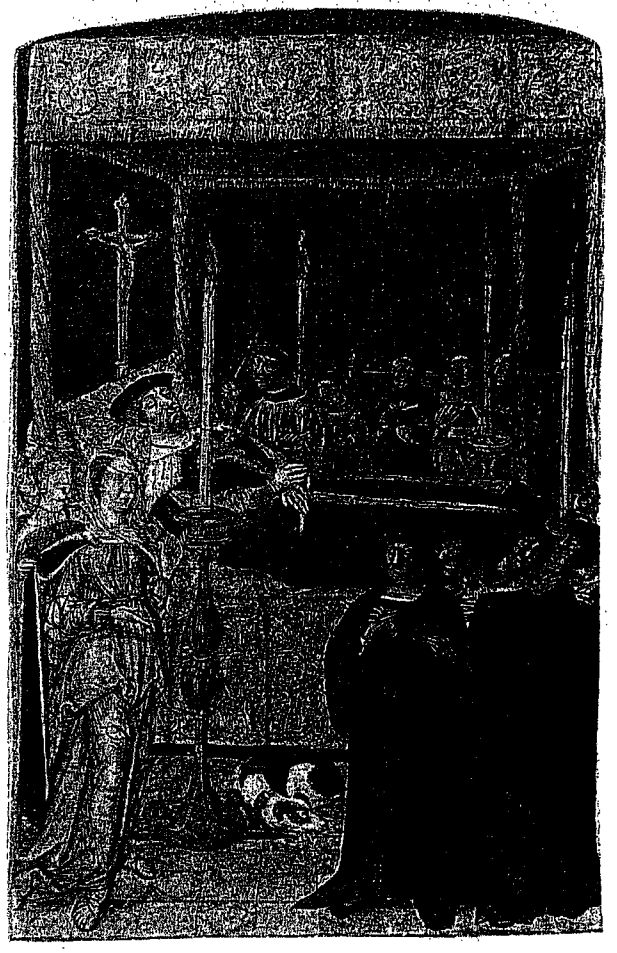


Figure 86

Figure 87

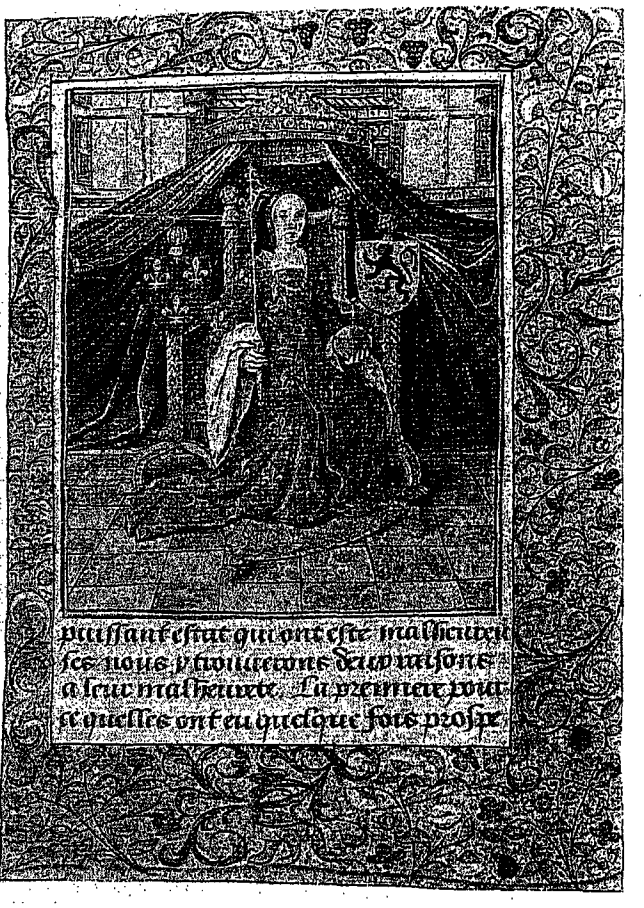


Figure 88a

Figure 88b

Figure 88c

Figure 89

Figure 90

Figure 91

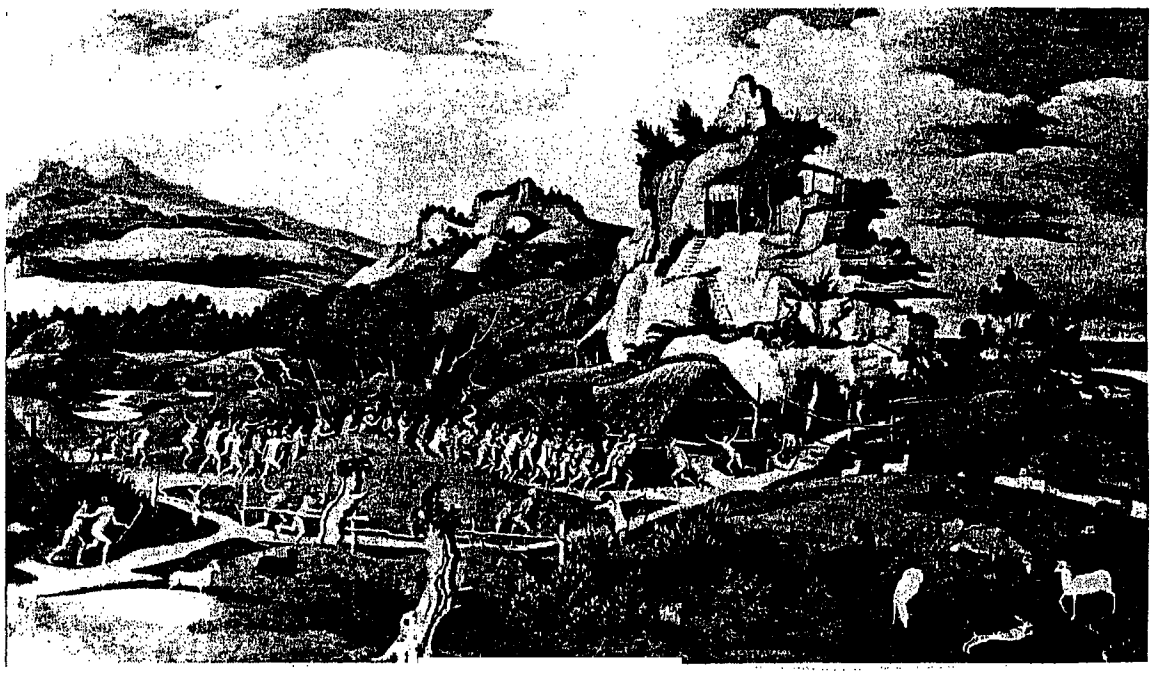


Figure 92