

Scenes from the Life of Margaret of York

Part I.

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The archives of the Low Countries and northern France are teeming with minor details about Margaret of York that are interesting or entertaining, but do not warrant separate publication. Even ancient printed collections of historical and literary documents contain their share of unexpected shreds of information that have not yet been used for a larger picture of her life and activities. Some of these fictional and factual ‘scenes’ from her life will be presented here for the entertainment of interested readers and perhaps even for the use of Margaret’s future biographers.

The Wooing of Margaret of York and Charles of Burgundy

When arranged chronologically the first ‘scene’ from Margaret’s life is provided by the so-called *Cronijcke van Vlaenderen*. This Chronicle of Flanders, also known as the *Excellente Chronyck van Vlaenderen*, is a composite work put together in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, perhaps from as early as 1472 and probably at Bruges. It was based on the work of several authors, most of them anonymous, but the section from 1467 to 1482 is now considered to have used the writings of Anthonis de Roovere, the famous Bruges *rederijker* (rhetorician, member of a chamber of rhetoric; c. 1430-1482).¹ His authorship is partly concluded from the unusual and often rather abrupt introduction into the text of a number of chronograms, called *incarnatioenen*, complicated poems, some acrostics, some including dates and numbers in their structure and all following a strict scheme. The one on the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York runs, for example:²

CraChtICh CarLe
MargrIJeten traVVVede

Crachitch Carle Margrijeten trauwde, ‘Mighty Charles Margaret married’, in which the capitals make the date (MCCCCLVVVIII), the number of small characters equals the age of the bride (22),³ and the total number of letters gives the age of the groom (35).⁴

¹ J. Oosterman, ‘De *Excellente cronike van Vlaenderen* en Anthonis de Roovere’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en letterkunde*, vol. 118 (2002), pp. 22-37. On de Roovere see also e.g. www.historischebronnenbrugge.be, where he is called ‘the greatest Dutch speaking poet of the 15th century’; he won his first poetry competition at the age of 17.

² New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 435, f. 242v.

³ Margaret was born 3 May 1446.

⁴ Charles was born 10 November 1433.

De Roovere was a mason by trade and his fame as a craftsman, artist and writer originated from his organising and building the pageants for the *Blijde Inkomste* (Joyous Entry) of Charles, Count of Charolais, the future duke of Burgundy, in February 1466. The event fell on the same date as the celebration of carnival, the festivities became unrivalled in the annals of such feasts and de Roovere was rewarded with an annuity of six pounds for life, at the instigation of Count Charles.⁵ All he had to do, to continue earning it, was to stay and live in Bruges. If his work is indeed the source of the 1467-82 section of the Chronicle of Flanders its account represents what a well-informed, literate citizen of Bruges knew at the time and it is likely to have been written up almost immediately after the events. Four manuscripts of this section of the Chronicle, covering the years 1470-71, survive;⁶ they are illustrated with watercolour drawings of coats of arms, objects relevant to the text, and 'portraits' of e.g. Philip the Good and his wife, Charles the Bold and his wife, and Philip the Fair receiving the order of the Golden Fleece. In 1531 the Antwerp printer, Willem Vorsterman, printed the *Excellente Chronijke van Vlaenderen* and illustrated it with woodcuts from many different sources.

Much has been written about the diplomatic and financial aspects of the marriage between Margaret of York and the new duke of Burgundy,⁷ but no modern scholar has dared to speculate about the personal wishes of the partners and how they expressed these in private. The Chronicle of Flanders was bolder, however, and 'recorded' various intimate details. Though the original text is fascinating it will here be given in (a rather literal) translation only:⁸

When Elizabeth of Bourbon,⁹ Duke Charles' wife, had died and this news reached King Edward in England, the king said to his sister Margaret: 'My jewel, now that the duke of Burgundy is a widower I would wish that he became your husband'. To this the fair maiden Margaret answered: 'What God has willed for me will happen to me'. Then the king said: 'My jewel, it would be a good fish, well worth catching'. And from that moment on the maiden began to love Duke Charles greatly. He was told about her virtue and started to send her gifts out of kindness, and thus she grew to love him even more.

So one Saturday evening the said Margaret came to her brother, King Edward, whom she found standing alone, accompanied by one knight, next to

⁵ That is c. £14,700 in today's money, according to e.g. A. Janssens, *Middeleeuws Brugge. Door de ogen van Hans Memling (1465-1494)*, Leuven 2012, pp. 219-20.

⁶ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale MS 13073-74; Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek HS 437 (after 1481); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 435 (after 1494); Douai, Bibliothèque municipale MS 1110.

⁷ E.g. R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, London 1473, pp. 45-53; M. Ballard, 'Anglo-Burgundian relations, 1464-1472', unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford 1992, chs 1 and 2.

⁸ Pierpont Morgan Library M 435, ff. 235-236v.

⁹ Isabelle de Bourbon, daughter of Charles I, Duke of Bourbon, Charles the Bold's second wife, died 30 September 1465; she was the mother of Charles' only child, Mary.

a dresser.¹⁰ The king welcomed his sister and asked what she wished. She said: 'I fast every Saturday, as you do,¹¹ and that is why I have come to sup with you tonight'. This pleased the king and together the three of them sat down to supper. When supper was almost over the maiden rose and knelt before her brother and said: 'My very dear lord, you once said to me about Duke Charles of Burgundy that he was a good fish, well worth catching. Know, my good lord, that I could catch that fish, by God's grace, if you would help me in this, for I think he values me very much'. The king answered: 'My sister and my jewel, I will never fail you in this matter, for I have come into my father's inheritance, praise be to God, and I shall help you, too, with my body and my goods'. So love grew in secret on both sides and friends came and went between them, also in secret. And King Edward sent the bishop of Salisbury¹² to Duke Charles, who did his best to bring the marriage about, and it was indeed decided upon without anyone knowing.

The chronicle goes on to report on the embassy that came from France to Edward, because the French king had heard what was happening between Margaret and Duke Charles. As an alternative bridegroom the duke of Berry was offered,¹³ who would bring the dukedoms of Guyenne and Gascony to the marriage, or, if King Edward did not find that acceptable, the duke of Calabria.¹⁴ To this marriage the king of France would contribute as much as Edward would be prepared to give.

King Edward, who understood very well that the French were trying to prevent the marriage between Duke Charles and his sister, said that he had

¹⁰ Standing by, or leaning on, a dresser, perhaps especially before or after dinner, appears to be a particular way of giving a 'casual' or at least less-than-official audience to visitors by a prince. It is recorded that Henry IV and Henry V 'used every day that none estat was kept at aftur dener, but to have a quyschyne (cushion) laid on the cupbord, and there he wold lene by the space of an houre or more to resave bills and compleynts off whomever wold come', *The Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. F. Grose and Th. Astle, 4 vols, new edn London 1807, vol. 1, pp. 296-341, esp. 314 (I am grateful to David Morgan for this reference). Compare the occasion on which, according to Jean de Wavrin (and therefore in this case the earl of Warwick himself on whose account this section of Wavrin's text was based) Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, walked in on Richard, Duke of York, to have angry words with him, shortly after York had declared his intention to take the throne, in October 1460 and found the duke leaning on a dresser: *ains entra dans la chambre du duc, quil trouva apuye a ung dreschoir*, Jean de Wavrin, *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne, a present nomme Engleterre*, ed. W. Hardy and E.L.C.P. Hardy, Rolls Series, 5 vols, London 1864-91, vol. 5, p. 314.

¹¹ There appears to be no record of Edward IV's fasting every Saturday, but eating fish on Friday and Saturday, or on Saturday only in honour of St Mary, was common.

¹² Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury (died 1481), later master and surveyor of the building of the new chapel at Windsor, friend of Edward IV.

¹³ Charles, Duke of Berry, Louis XI's brother; both he and Nicholas, son of Jean d'Anjou (see next note) were also candidates for the hand of Charles the Bold's daughter, Mary, at one time or another.

¹⁴ This is Jean d'Anjou, Duke of Calabria (1425-1470), son of René d'Anjou, King of Naples and Duke of Anjou, and brother of Henry VI's queen, Margaret; Jean's wife, Marie de Bourbon, had died in 1448.

made no decisions yet about his sister's marriage. The ambassadors would have liked to talk further to him, but he kept absenting himself, so they returned to France, very disappointed. Duke Charles continued to make great preparations for the marriage: at that time the goldsmiths of Bruges used up two thousand marks worth of silver to make dishes for the wedding. And the tinsmiths at Bruges worked 24,000 pounds of tin for use.

The account of the wedding itself, which is well known from many other sources, is illustrated with a full-length, double portrait of the bride and groom, drawn against an architectural background, with their coats of arms and their mottoes at their feet. Charles looks fierce and martial, Margaret very demure, with her eyes cast down.¹⁵



Margaret of York says *Adieu* to England

The second 'scene' also concerns the prelude to Margaret's wedding: a Flemish poem describing her farewell from England. One contemporary English account has it that on the day of her departure, Saturday 18 June 1468, she first rode from the king's great wardrobe to nearby St Paul's and then from there into the city riding pillion, it is said, behind the earl of Warwick.¹⁶ Whether this is true cannot be ascertained, but such an intimate scene was not unheard of.¹⁷ Riding pillion behind someone else on the same horse sometimes had an impromptu air about it that was perhaps unsuitable for this solemn event, but it may also have had an underlying political significance that was entirely suitable – to judge by other contemporary instances. One of the other verbally recorded instances took place during the festivities surrounding the coronation of Louis XI of France in 1461, more specifically the jousts organised by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and his son. When the duke's niece, Mary of Cleves (1426-87), Duchess of Orleans, came to fetch him to accompany him to the lists, the duke's horse was not ready and seeing that 'she was waiting for him, without a word he jumped on the horse behind her and they trotted off into the streets,

¹⁵ Pierpont Morgan Library M 435, f. 243; image available on corsair.themorgan.org.

¹⁶ BL MS Cotton Nero C ix, ff. 173v-177v, printed S. Bentley, ed., *Excerpta historica*, London 1831, pp. 227-39, esp. 227 and n. 2: 'the Erle of Warrewyke riding before hur on hur horse'. BL MS Add. 6113, ff. 92-100, containing the same text, does not have the second 'hur'. It could be argued that the fact that the horse is mentioned at all – what else would Warwick be riding? – suggests they were indeed on the same horse; Warwick's presence is also mentioned separately.

¹⁷ Ballard, 'Anglo-Burgundian relations, 1464-1472', p. 145, expresses doubts, but he also says 'there are Burgundian precedents to suggest that such a gesture [i.e. riding pillion] might be interpreted as symbolic of a political reconciliation'. For Margaret's departure see e.g. C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, 2 vols, London 1923, vol. 1, pp. 455-57.

to the great pleasure of all the onlookers'.¹⁸ The second instance has the same appearance of informality, but may well have held political significance as well. It took place during the visit of Anthony the 'Great Bastard' of Burgundy, Philip the Good's most famous illegitimate son, to England in May and June 1467. On Thursday 18 June Edward and the Bastard had been to Westminster Palace, where they had played a game of real tennis, had dinner, visited Henry VI in his prison, had drinks together and then went back by barge as far as the Temple. Here the king mounted a chestnut hackney, made the Bastard mount behind him and thus they rode together the short way to the latter's lodgings at the town house of Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, on Fleet Street.¹⁹

Even more relevant are the visual examples of women riding side saddle behind men found in the manuscript illustration of the period. Best known and most often depicted is the hunting scene of the month of August in the world-famous *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*,²⁰ made early in the fifteenth century, which shows two ladies riding side saddle behind two gentlemen who are about to fly their falcons. Many more contemporary pictures can be found, usually hunting scenes where ladies and gentlemen share horses, the lady sitting sideways behind and the gentleman half turned round to look her in the face.²¹ The cumbersome structure the ladies used is almost always hidden by her voluminous skirts. All pictures seem to represent relaxed, even intimate events and the riders' attitudes suggest they are courtly lovers, or pretend to be for the occasion.

This last type of scene may be comparable to Margaret of York's setting out on her journey to Burgundy. The occasion was anything but impromptu, and probably not relaxed, and her companion, the earl of Warwick, was in no sense her lover and he was not a close relative or political ally, but all these aspects may have been exactly what the scene – if it did occur – was attempting to

¹⁸ Georges Chastelain, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols, Brussels 1833-36, vol. 4, p. 136. Chastelain continues to emphasise how pleased everybody was and how *humain* it made Philip in people's eyes, comparing him to the French king. The duchess no doubt rode side saddle.

¹⁹ *Après ledit jeu de palme le roy vint boire une fois en la chambre du chambellan. Puis sen vint en une petite bargette, monseigneur le Bastard tousiours avec luy, jusques a ung lieu nomme le Temple. La monta le roy sus une baguenee fauve et sur icelle derriere luy fist monter monseigneur le Bastard et le porta ainsy a lostel de monseigneur de Scalles, ou le banquet estoit prepare*, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, HS 1177, f. 214. Compare also the occasion in August 1412 when John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy (Charles' grandfather), and Charles, Duke of Orleans (the poet), whose father had been killed at John's command a few years earlier, rode together on one horse to symbolise (their latest attempt at) reconciliation, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, ed. J.-A.-C. Buchon, in *Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France (Pantheon littéraire)*, Paris 1875, p. 245: *Et mémeement le duc d'Orléans et le duc de Bourgogne chevauchèrent ensemble ..., tous deux sur un cheval, et monroient apparence de toute fraternité et amour que frères et parents peuvent montrer l'un avecque l'autre.*

²⁰ Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 65, f. 8v (c. 1410); the month of May also shows ladies riding side saddle but alone.

²¹ E.g. Ogier le Danois with his friend and saviour Gloriande in *Les croniques et conquestes de Charlemagne*, Brussels, KBR MS 9066, f. 213v (1460); ladies and gentlemen, with or without falcon, are often depicted together on a horse in calender scenes in books of hours, esp. May, see e.g. *The Playfair Hours*, R. Watson, V&A 1984, Pl. V and slipcase (1480s).

suggest. Margaret no doubt rode sidesaddle,²² which needed a special seat, almost like a chair, put her at a right angle to the horse's back and allowed only a gentle pace.²³ This contraption must have been placed behind the rider's saddle and suggests preparation and a very conscious decision to act out this scene of familiarity. Whether Margaret rode alone or with Warwick, she was probably mounted on one of the white hackneys that she was about to take across the sea; her future husband presented her with six more when she had arrived.²⁴

Unfortunately the poem about Margaret's departure does not mention this scene, as it is too fictional to give any such 'facts' and written by someone who did not go to England. It is to be found in a manuscript containing two autograph chronicles, based mainly on the various versions of the Chronicle of Flanders mentioned before. They were written up by two parish priests of Axel in Zeeland,²⁵ the first covering the years 1430-1470, the second 1510-1525.²⁶ They included many religious and secular poems that they had composed or come across and preserved. In one of them the Flemish poet fantasised about the moment of Margaret's leave-taking:²⁷

Margaret of York

When she was about to sail,
She cried in tears to London's gate:²⁸
'Adieu, adieu, fair England,
Your history will be long.²⁹
I go as bride to Flanders' land,
May the good God keep me safe.'
The people then cried, very loud,
Base and noble, rich and poor:
'Adieu, adieu, beloved bride,
We will not see your like again;

²² Not all women did ride side saddle all the time, again judging by contemporary illustrations, e.g. servants and warlike heroines are depicted sitting astride, but noble ladies, especially on formal occasions always used a 'seat' at right angles to the horse.

²³ The side saddle known today was a later development and gave the rider a better seat.

²⁴ See below.

²⁵ Axel is situated just south of Terneuzen, in the province of Zeeland, the Netherlands, and some miles north of Ghent.

²⁶ See N. de Pauw, ed., *Middelnederlandsche Gedichten en Fragmenten*, 2 vols, Ghent 1903.

²⁷ My translation is rather free and the meaning of the fourth line of the poem itself is not clear to me; the text reads: *Van Margriete van York. / Alsij over soude commen, / Doe screef zij an die poorte van Lonnen: / "Adieu, adieu! scoon Inghelant, / Die zal noch vele varen! / Ic trecke als brunt in Vlaenderlant, / Die goede God wil mij bewaren'. / Doe riep dat volc al overlut, / Edel, onedel, arm ende rijcke: / "Adieu, adieu! wel lieve brunt, / Nemmermeer hebben wij hu ghelijcke; / Ghij hebt ons gheweist goederande. / Met troostelijcker mine! / Adieu, duecht van onsen lande, / Adieu, vrij edel coninghinne!"*. De Pauw, *Gedichten*, vol. 2, p. 397.

²⁸ Reading *screie* ... *an* instead of *screef* ... *an*; the latter, if translated literally, would mean that she put a written notice on one of London's gates.

²⁹ The meaning of this line is not quite clear to me; literally: 'many things will happen to you', 'you will see many events'?

You were always good to us,
With comfort and with love!
Adieu, great virtue of our land,
Adieu, noble princess.³⁰



Margaret of York meets her future Mother-in-law and her future Husband for the first Time

Another, shorter chronicle, more in the nature of a newsletter, survives under Anthonis de Roovere's name. As most of its text overlaps with the Chronicle of Flanders this separate manuscript appears to confirm that de Roovere, if not the author of the entire chronicle, is indeed the source for many of the sections that are contemporary to his life. The text is called *De blijde incompste van Vrauwe Margriete van IJork trauwende met Hertochte Carel van Bourgondien, Grave van Vlaendren, met de buijloft spelen ende tounoijen binnen de stadt van Brugghe*, 'The joyous entry of Lady Margaret of York, when she wedded Duke Charles of Burgundy, with the wedding games and tournaments in the town of Bruges'.³¹ The first section seems to be otherwise unknown and is not found in the Chronicle of Flanders. It covers the first days of Margaret's arrival, from her landing at Sluis on Saturday 25 June, to her departure for Damme and the actual wedding on Saturday 2 July, and her final move to Bruges on 3 July. On her first full day at Sluis she was visited by Isabel of Portugal, the bridegroom's mother:³²

Item, on the Sunday 26 of June in the year 68 departed from the town of Bruges my lady Isabel of Portugal, widow of the high and mighty Prince Philip, Duke of Burgundy, on whose soul God have mercy, and mother of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, etc., etc. This said Isabel set out with great solemnity and a large company of gentlemen to welcome the said Margaret. When the said

³⁰ The text has 'queen', *coninghinne*.

³¹ Louvain University, Centrale Bibliotheek MS 1336; images of the entire ms are available on LIAS; under 'Archiefinventarissen (KADOC)', search for 'Margaretha van York'. The text was edited in the 19th c. by W.G. Brill, 'Huwelijksplechtigheden van Karel van Bourgondië en Margaretha van York', *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, 5th s., vol. 22 (1866), pp. 17-71, when the ms was still in private ownership.

³² For an English account of this meeting e.g. *Excerpta historica*, ed. S. Bentley, London 1831, pp. 223-39, esp. 228; full text available on archive.org. J. Oosterman, 'Scattered voices. Anthonis de Roovere and other reporters on the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York', in T.-H. Borchert *et al.*, eds, *Staging the Court of Burgundy*, Turnhout 2011, pp. 189-95, briefly mentions the *Incompste*. My translation omits many of the instances of 'the foresaid', 'the said', with which the text abounds.

Isabel came to the house of Guy de Baenst,³³ she found the said Margaret coming to meet her in the said³⁴ gown of red cloth of gold and clad in the English way. When they saw each other both fell to their knees and knelt for so long that the gentlemen were upset and raised them both at the same time and led them to each other; then they kissed and embraced amiably. Then the said Margaret left for her chamber and shortly returned in a black overdress of velvet, her hair loose, beautiful to see and reaching to her knees; on her head an openwork bonnet of ermine. And when Margaret appeared like that she was very kindly welcomed by Isabel, who kissed her sweetly. Then Margaret went again to her chamber and returned shortly after in a blue velvet gown with a long train, lined with black velvet, and embroidered all around with large pearls, and together these pearls formed her motto: *Bien en adviengne*.³⁵ And her hair was hanging free and she looked more like a goddess than a mortal human being. And Isabel took so much pleasure in Margaret's looks that the gentlemen who were with her had to warn her many times that it was time to part. And Isabel returned to Bruges that same evening.

Monday, 27 June in the year 68, Charles left Bruges to welcome his bride, Margaret, and came to Sluis in the evening at eight o'clock, to the house of Guy de Baenst. And when Margaret saw Charles she fell to her knees at a distance, and Charles raised her up and kissed her kindly. And every time Charles spoke she fell to her knees, though he told her to remain standing. And Charles went to sit on the footrest of the bed, and there they sat together until long after midnight.³⁶ Meanwhile the gentlemen who had come with Charles dined with the ladies and the gentlemen of Margaret. About two o'clock in the night Charles departed with many goodbyes and went to spend the night at the castle.

The duke came again the next day and left for Bruges at noon; and again on Friday 1 July after others had visited her in between.

On Saturday, 2 July, Margaret was rowed from Sluis on the coast to Damme, a village closer to Bruges, by sailors in new blue and white liveries, and she went to stay in the house of Eustace Wytts, bailiff of Damme. On Sunday, the third, Duke Charles rode from Bruges to Damme 'on the north side of the canal',³⁷

³³ Mayor of the town of Sluis, brother of 'Sir John de Banste', who told William Caxton about St Patrick's Purgatory, see e.g. A.F. Sutton, 'Caxton was a mercer', in N. Rogers, ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Stamford 1994, p. 119.

³⁴ The gown has in fact not been mentioned before.

³⁵ Margaret's motto must have been invented when she knew who she was going to marry: it completed Charles' motto *Je l'ay emprins*. Together these words make: 'I have undertaken it', 'May good come of it'.

³⁶ For people sitting in this fashion on the footrest along the side of a bed during an intimate conversation compare the lady confiding in her maid in the *Histoire des seigneurs de Gavre*, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel MS 10238, f. 118v, illustrated in P. Schandel, 'Histoire des seigneurs de Gavre. Un roman de chevalerie en images', *Art de l'enluminure*, no. 3, p. 36.

³⁷ When Edward IV towards the end of his exile in March 1471 left Bruges, he went on foot all along the same canal to Damme because he wanted to show himself to the people, with whom

entering the little town through the Koolkerk Gate,³⁸ and came to the bailiff's house, which survives as the house 'St John'. There, around seven o'clock in the morning Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, Edward IV's friend and confidant, married them in the presence of the papal legate,³⁹ and Bishop Guillaume of Tournai.⁴⁰ The ceremony was performed in the dining room of the house; the duke was wearing a short mantle of scarlet cloth of gold. When it was over he rode 'secretly' back to Bruges to prepare the welcome of his bride, who also left for Bruges a little later.

At this point the story is picked up again by the Chronicle of Flanders which describes in detail all the festivities that followed, overlapping with the rest of the text of *De blijde incompste*.

Margaret of York's Wedding Chariots

Margaret entered Bruges in a horse-litter, but the Chronicle of Flanders also mentioned the chariots that Charles gave to Margaret as a gift on the occasion of their wedding:

The powerful duke had given his beloved bride three new hanging carriages, richly and elaborately decorated with Cs and Ms in fine gold and scattered with small daisies, called *kersouden*, and he had also sent her many white hackneys, over and above the ones she herself had brought from England.⁴¹

The detailed accounts of the duke's treasurer⁴² confirm this; they show that one of the three carriages was in fact not new and give much further information.

Such four-wheeled carriages or chariots (Lat. *carrus* or *currus*) were at the time mainly used by ladies and the higher clergy, and often at weddings (and funerals).⁴³ Though their shape was basically the same as it had been for centuries and though they served for all kinds of transport, they came to be used for 'pleasure' from the twelfth century on. They were sometimes depicted as a symbol of the vice of

he had become popular, L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard in Holland, 1470-71', *The Ricardian*, vol. 6 (1982-84), pp. 220-28.

³⁸ Koolkerke is a village between Bruges and Damme on the north (west) side of the canal; this display of local knowledge suggests the author really knew what he was talking about.

³⁹ Luca de Tolentis, from Venice, resident papal legate and an admirer of the duke.

⁴⁰ Guillaume Fillastre, Bishop of Tournai from 1461, chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece and an important diplomat in Charles the Bold's service (died 1473).

⁴¹ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 435, f. 243v.

⁴² *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire, Duc de Bourgogne*, ed. A. Greve and E. Lebailly, vol. 1. *Année 1468*, Paris, 2001, nos 454-61, 879-90, 966.

⁴³ See e.g. S. Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage. Symbol and Status in the History of Transport*, London 1992, pp. 139-48.

Wantonness, carrying various vices, such as *Luxury*, as passengers, and no proper, healthy person, especially if a man, would care to be seen in one. These wagons – for they were not much more than that – were anything but comfortable: the early versions sat on the axles and had no springs of any kind; they were also not pivoted and had to be dragged, slightly ‘skidding’ round corners. For greater comfort and ostentation most of the pleasure carriages were tilted, covered with leather or textile over an Ω - or inverted U-shaped structure of horizontal wooden or iron rods placed lengthwise.⁴⁴ They may have been as much as five meters (sixteen feet) long and 1.85 m. (six feet) high.

Margaret’s carriages were the latest and very prestigious *chariots branlants*, hanging carriages, which had a primitive suspension consisting of iron chains fastened to the four corner of the body of the vehicle and to the tops of vertical posts standing on the axles.⁴⁵ The superstructure was made of (probably) five bars either of wood or metal, with latten finials, gilded and enamelled with the coats of arms of the bride and groom. The fact that eighteen finials were made for each wagon⁴⁶ confirms that the bars were not all full-length, but that the two along the sides allowed a ‘window’ to be opened on each side. These openings needed a further eight finials – apart from the ten used at the front and back – and when the covering was thrown back the passengers were able to look out and the bystanders allowed to have a good view of them.⁴⁷ The horses were often harnessed in line, but in Margaret’s case there were three pairs of horses to each chariot, with a groom riding one horse of each pair; no less than 26,600 latten nails were used for the horses’ harness. Rather surprisingly the horses were not all of one colour: the accounts mention grey (3), bay (1), black (1), roan (3) horses and four others of which the colour is not given.

Thongs of strong leather and a ‘cross’ of iron made up the bottoms of the chariots and they were lined with large cow hides. Eighty-five ells of cloth – not further described – were needed to cover the superstructure of the three of them, which suggests they were not all of exactly the same size, as does the fact that five *coffres* (chests) were made to serve as seats in these three vehicles. These chest-like seats were covered with 13½ ells of material which is also not further described.

Some parts of the *chariots* and the chains that acted as ‘springs’ were gilded and painted according to a *patron* that the painter had been provided with. The painter of these items, Pierre Coustain, was also the craftsman who made the Garter

⁴⁴ Compare the ‘hearse’ of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in St Mary’s, Warwick. A good contemporary illustration, showing the funeral of Richard II but painted in Flanders 1468/9, is to be found in the Breslau Froissart (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Dep. Breslau I, 4, f. 319), illustrated in A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs with P.W. Hammond, *The Reburial of Richard, Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476*, Richard III Society 1996, plate A. There is also an earlier and less detailed example in the Luttrell Psalter of 1320-40.

⁴⁵ See the miniature in the Breslau Froissart, previous note.

⁴⁶ The accounts say 54 for the *two* new carriages, (*Argentier 1468*, no. 884) but this seems unlikely as the old one must have needed finials with the new coats of arms of the bride and groom, and 28 finials per chariot makes less sense than 18.

⁴⁷ See the illustrations referred to in n. 44, above.

achievements for Charles the Bold that were to be placed in St George's Chapel, Windsor.⁴⁸ The vehicles, the horses and their new harness were brought from Brussels to Bruges in June at a total cost – making and transporting – of £28 10s.⁴⁹

During her entry into Bruges after the actual marriage ceremony at Damme the bride was seated, alone, in a horse litter borne by two black horses trapped in red cloth of gold. She was accompanied from Damme by six knights from England, whose place was taken by six Burgundian knights at the gate of Bruges. According to the Chronicle of Flanders she was also met by the *beguines* of the Vinyard, the famous Bruges convent, who presented her with a wreath or chaplet (*boedt, boed*) made of roses, very cleverly made, 'the like of which had not often been seen before', and 'the bride received the *boet* with much gratitude and happily put it inside (*binnen*) the crown that she wore on her head'.⁵⁰ Next came twelve white hackneys, ridden by young ladies 'dressed in the English manner', and they in their turn were followed by the three hanging chariots, gilded and decorated with Margaret's *devise*,⁵¹ and covered with red cloth of gold. There followed two more carriages, also covered with red cloth of gold, and these five carriages were full of English ladies, 'because many ladies, married and unmarried, had arrived at Calais and travelled to Bruges over land'.⁵²

(to be continued)



⁴⁸ See my 'The garters and Garter achievements of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. With an appendix on Edward IV's additions to the statutes of the Order of the Garter', *The Ricardian*, vol. 23 (2013), pp. 1-20.

⁴⁹ Almost £69,000 in today's money, see n. 5, above.

⁵⁰ In the illustration mentioned in n. 15 above, Margaret appears to wear a circlet of flowers *around* her crown, but all mss agree on the word *binnen*, i.e. inside.

⁵¹ Probably her motto: *Bien en adviegne*, see n. 35, above.

⁵² Pierpont Morgan Library M 435, f. 245r-v. The same order, numbers and colours and much more in Jean de Haynin, *Mémoires*, ed. D.D. Brouwers, 2 vols, Liège 1905-06; according to him the first three carriages were decorated with the arms of Burgundy and England.