



The Culture of Gifts

A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective

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In more recent times, the cultural significance of giving and receiving gifts has acquired ever greater recognition, not least because the frequently formalised rituals surrounding this process offer enlightening insights into the courtly milieu during the transition from the Medieval to Early Modern period. In addition, new questions relating to the structure of private collections in general are being raised.¹ Whereas it had hitherto been assumed that an outstanding patron and collector was a person of high social rank who extensively commissioned new works, it is now clear that personal collections contained a comparatively large number of items that had been acquired either through inheritance or as gifts. Court commissions were preferably allocated to court artists, though the objects themselves were not always intended for the patron's personal collection but rather as gifts to others. For example, in 1519 Bernard van Orley, Margaret of Austria's court painter, executed nine replicas of his official portrait of the regent (cat. 18 and 19), which Margaret subsequently distributed among friends and allies; not one remained in her residence in Mechelen.

Gifts were exchanged on the most diverse occasions and could be of very different types. The size and quality of a present was dependent on both the social status of the parties involved and the nature of their relationship. In courtly circles, expensive jewellery, illuminated manuscripts, as well as tableware of silver and gold were particular favourites. The socially-superior person could either be the donor or recipient of such a gift. The presentation was usually based on reciprocity, though this did not mean that

the return gift also had to be a physical object; it could equally be some sort of financial remuneration, the allocation of a court position, or an honorary title.

When a painter or author offered a gift to a person of higher social standing, it was with an implicit expectation. The Haarlem artist Jan Mostaert was eager to acquire a position at the court in Mechelen, and to promote his chances he presented Margaret with a portrait of her deceased husband Philibert II of Savoy (see ill. 12 on p. 110).² Since the regent had at that time no need for yet another court painter, she reciprocated by bestowing upon Mostaert the title of *paintre aux honneur* and giving him a monetary gift – in this way she did not remain in his debt.

New Year Gifts and Diplomacy

Gifts could be exchanged on the most diverse occasions, be it the annual New Year festivities (*étrennes*), or important political and diplomatic events, such as celebrations following victory in battle or the conclusion of peace treaties. The following present examples where a woman was either the recipient or donor of gifts.

As Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria frequently received New Year gifts from the city of Brussels. An addition made in 1528 to Margaret's 1523 inventory records a gilt dish, containing more than eight *marc* of silver, which she took with her to the peace negotiations in Cambrai (1529).³ Two years later she was presented with another large gift from the city, again a gilded silver dish, this time weighing

¹¹ Jan van Eyck, *Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife*, oil on wood, 1434, London, The National Gallery.

over three kilos. Just four months later this same confectionary dish was given to the King of Scotland via his ambassador who was then visiting the court in Mechelen.⁴ James V had ardently sought the hand in marriage of Margaret's widowed niece, Mary of Hungary, and it is possible that this costly gift was a conciliatory gesture following the breakdown of negotiations.

A decisive event in Margaret's life was her expulsion from the French court in 1491. On her return journey to the Netherlands, the thirteen-year old princess received gifts from a number of cities belonging to the Burgundian empire; such presents were undoubtedly viewed by both donor and recipient as a suitable expression of sympathy and loyalty. In Valenciennes Margaret was given six gilded silver cups with lids; the city of Mons presented her with two small silver vessels; Mechelen welcomed her with two gilded silver cups. The city of Brussels promised a beautiful ring; in Antwerp she was given a gold chain worth 500 *écu d'or*.⁵

A diplomatic event of the highest order was the meeting between Margaret and Maximilian I with King Henry VIII of England in Lille and Tournai following the victorious 'Battle of Spurs' in which the French suffered a resounding defeat. The city of Tournai marked the occasion by presenting Margaret with an exquisite series of wool and silk tapestries illustrating motifs from Christine de Pizan's popular text *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* (cat. 77).⁶ The explanation for this gift was described in 1516 as: *donne a Madame par ceulx de la cite de Tournay quant elle y alla devers le roy d'Angleterre* (given to Madame by those of the city of Tournai where she met the King of England).⁷

The Regent of the Netherlands was not only the recipient of gifts, but on appropriate diplomatic occasions she showed the munificence (*largesse*) that was to be expected from a person of her rank.⁸ During negotiations for the so-called 'Ladies Peace' in Cambrai, the treasurer of her French counterpart Louise of Savoy received a valuable table service decorated with ancient motifs.⁹

Two other politically influential men to enjoy the regent's generosity were Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg and the Duke of Lorraine. But rather than the usual expensive gold or silver table sets, they were presented in July 1528 with a large number of extremely rare and bizarre objects from the New World.¹⁰ As was so often the case, the regent generally

parted with objects which she owned numerous examples of. Shortly beforehand, she had received a large consignment of New World *exotica* from Charles V, which was displayed in her library.

Birth – Baptism – Marriage

But there were of course other occasions when it was considered appropriate to give gifts. For joyful events such as births, baptisms and marriages, it was expected – as indeed it is today – that the valuable gifts of the guests would contribute to the splendour of the festivities and pay tribute to the social standing of the family.

On the occasion of her marriage to Juan of Aragon-Castile, Margaret was overwhelmed with gifts. The inventory of 1499 makes special mention of the exquisite presents she received from the Queen, Isabel of Castile, and to a somewhat lesser extent from King Ferdinand of Aragon. The list includes an extraordinary large amount of magnificent jewellery, strands of pearls, luxurious items of clothing, devotional items, vessels and objects made of precious metals, as well as costly tapestries.¹¹ Among the gifts from her father-in-law was a piece of gold jewellery in the form of a 'M', the first letter of her name, which was decorated with seven large diamonds and three pearls. And even after the tragic death of Juan, Margaret's marriage gifts from the Spanish Royal family remained her personal property.

Compared to such interesting testimony about the range and value of gifts presented in the upper echelons of the court, Margaret's donation to one of the noble ladies in her retinue (*dame de Noyelle*) following the birth of a child appears somewhat paltry: a silver dish in the Renaissance style that had been crafted in Antwerp by the Italian silversmith Stefano Capello.¹² It seems to have been important to Margaret, however, that her gifts were both beautiful and modern in design.

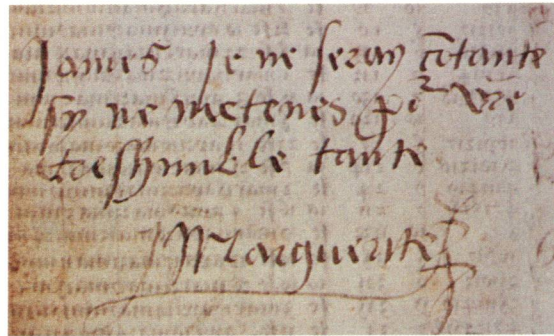
Furniture – Decorative Art – Painting

In the early sixteenth century an interesting development can be observed regarding the criteria according to which gifts were chosen. The spectrum of objects considered suitable and appropriate was expanded so that in addition to more traditional



items, attractive pieces of furniture, decorative arts, and paintings were now deemed fitting.

The Duchess of Norfolk gave Margaret a *jardin clos* (*besloten hooffe*), an artificial, three-dimensional garden of embroidered silk flowers in the centre of which was a group of figures depicting the Holy Family.¹³ Catherine of Austria, the Queen of Portugal, gave her aunt Margaret a gift that was not only beautiful but also very useful: an *étagère* for serving fruit and made of wood that was decorated with silver.¹⁴ In a cabinet in her dining room Margaret kept the wooden game board (*tablier*) with chess pieces that had been given to her by Robert de La Marche.¹⁵ As the detailed descriptions in inventories reveal, such game boards



could be richly decorated and were an essential feature at any self-respecting court.¹⁶ Another extremely representative piece of furniture was the *buffet* in the Italian style that stood in Margaret's library and which she had received from the Viceroy of Naples.¹⁷ The regent's obvious interest in foreign craftsmanship was clearly one of the factors taken into account when choosing a gift for her.

Paintings were also becoming increasingly popular especially in the light of their growing importance as works of art. Sometime before 1516 Margaret received from a lady-in-waiting to her niece Eleanor a middle-sized panel painting by Hieronymus Bosch (cat. 177).¹⁸ Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht, bequeathed Margaret a modern painting showing Hermaphroditus and Salmacis by his court artist Jan Gossaert (cat. 91).¹⁹ It must have been generally known that Margaret was particularly fond of Gossaert's work, for another picture by the acclaimed artist was given to her by the Danish king Christian II.²⁰ Christian, the husband of her niece Isabel, had both his court dwarfs shown in the guise of Adam and Eve; the painting is thus an extremely early example of the new pictorial genre of *portrait historié*.

Probably the most famous painting in Margaret's collection was Jan van Eyck's Double Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife (ill. 11). It was bequeathed to the regent by Don Diego de Guevara, a member of the Habsburg court and a noted collector.²¹ With this gift, the Spaniard paid tribute not only to Margaret's high rank, but also to the exceptional quality of her art collection. By the early sixteenth century the artistic merit of a gift was deemed equal to its material value.

Only under exceptional circumstances did Margaret remove a painting from her own collection in

¹² Archduke Charles, now King of Spain, prays to his guardian angel, circa 1516, in: *Older Prayerbook of Charles V*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1859, fol. 213v.

¹³ Dedication written by Margaret of Austria, ca. 1516, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1859, fol. 21v.



order to present it to someone else. In October 1527, and probably out of personal affection, she gave her half-sister, a nun in 's-Hertogenbosch, Joos van Cleve's Portrait of Emperor Maximilian I; Margaret herself initially retained two copies of this portrait.²² In the previous year, in July 1526, Jean de Marnix (*monseigneur de Thoulouse*) received a painting of The Virgin Mary, which also came from her private collection.²³ One of her most faithful supporters at court, Marnix served from 1502 as her private secretary, and later as a member of the privy council, treasurer, and then as the executor of her last will and testament.

Personal Dedications

In 1516 Margaret of Austria gave her sixteen-year old nephew a slender, oblong Book of Prayers containing 76 miniatures in the contemporary style. Charles is shown on fol. 213v praying to his guardian angel (ill. 12).²⁴ The youthful and armour-clad ruler wears a cloak lined with ermine, the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the Spanish crown. This Latin

Book of Prayers was commissioned by Margaret, who was both his aunt and foster mother. Charles must have placed great importance on her gift, for in 1533 he had an exact copy of the manuscript made.²⁵ The personal nature of the gift is further confirmed by the inclusion of dedications written by three female members of the family. Margaret, who was poetically inclined, composed the rhyme that immediately precedes the 'Paternoster': *James je ne seray contante / Sy ne me tenes pour votre humble tante / Marguerite* (Never will I be content / If you do not see me as your humble aunt / Margaret). Eleanor, Charles's elder sister by two years, added her contribution to the beginning of the Office of the Virgin,²⁶ while his five-year younger sister Mary swore lifelong faithfulness and friendship: *Je demoray toute ma vie votre tres humble servante et amie Marie* (All my life I will remain your very humble servant and friend, Mary).

An almost contemporary handwritten entry by the Scottish queen Margaret Tudor is found in the magnificent book of hours which she owned together with her husband James IV of Scotland. Following his death in 1513, Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, gave this precious manuscript to her sister, Mary Rose Tudor. The dedicatory text on fol. 18r reads: *Madame I pray your grace / remember on me when ye / loke upon thys boke / your lofing syster / Margaret.*²⁷

The above exemplify how a donor – in this case Margaret of Austria – could convey the personal nature of her association with the recipient, be it out of loyalty or personal affection. This type of personalised dedication was however by no means new, but followed in the footsteps of a well-established tradition. Margaret of York, the regent's foster grandmother, had personally inscribed her Italian manuscript of the ancient text *In Trogi Pompei historias libri xlii* that she presented to her step-son-in-law Maximilian with the dedicatory words: *Voter lealle mere Margarete* (your loyal mother Margaret).²⁸ This tradition of personalising books that were destined as gifts was not confined solely to members of the family. In the London Alexander manuscript that was given to John Donne, a close associate of Edward IV of York, Duchess Margaret of York wrote in her native tongue: *For yet not har that ys on[e] of yo[u]r true friends*, while her step-daughter Mary of Burgundy resorted to French for her personal message: *Prenez moi a james pour votre bonne amie* (cat. 81).²⁹

14 Giovanni Pietro Birago, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, ca. 1490, in: *Sforza Hours*, London, The British Library, ms. 34294, fol. 177v, cat. 53.

Special Gifts for Special Occasions: the Sforza Book of Hours

Illuminated manuscripts counted among the most popular choice of gifts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and were presented on the most diverse occasions. Unlike sculpture or panel painting, the extremely flexible way in which text and image could be combined made manuscripts an ideal vehicle to highlight private, political or even aesthetic aspects. A good example is the *Sforza Book of Hours*, which Margaret gave to her nephew Charles on the occasion of his coronation as emperor.³⁰ In contrast to the Prayer Book she had given him earlier, this was not a new commission, but an unfinished Italian manuscript containing numerous miniatures by the Milan illuminator Giovanni Pietro Birago (ill. 14). In 1519 Margaret had the missing texts added and the book enriched by sixteen large-scale miniatures by her famous court illuminator Gerard Horenbout.³¹ Instead of an autograph dedication, Margaret preferred to have herself shown in one of the miniatures: she is portrayed as Saint Elizabeth in the *Visitation* scene included in the Office of the Virgin (cat. 53). Crypto-portraits of this type had hitherto been most popular with male patrons such as Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg.

On fol. 213 a golden portrait medallion and the intertwined letters K (Karolus) and I (Imperator) allude to the manuscript's new owner (ill. 15).³² Charles was elected emperor in Frankfurt on 28 June 1519; the coronation took place in Aachen on 22 October 1520. The presence of the date '1520' in the medallion suggests Margaret had no hesitation about presenting her best Italian manuscript to the newly crowned emperor. Two details arouse particular curiosity in the attentive viewer: why did Margaret opt to have Charles shown as a member of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece rather than wearing his imperial robes? And why of all places was his portrait incorporated into the bottom margin of a miniature in the Penitential Psalms? In this context it may have seemed advantageous to stress his role as sovereign of the Burgundian family order rather than emphasise his imperial attributes. The arrangement of the medallion hints at a direct connection between Charles and the repentant King David kneeling before God's angel of revenge on the opposite page (fol. 212v).³³ Could this be a hidden message from Margaret to the young and as yet inexperienced ruler



not to allow himself to be swayed by power and beauty as David was?³⁴ It was quite common for miniatures in Books of Prayer and Books of Hours to carry veiled messages, as can be seen in another miniature in Charles' Vienna Prayer Book (ill. 16). The rarely depicted *Baptism of the Ethiopian by the Apostle Philip* (fol. 82) in the Hours of the Holy Spirit points to the importance Margaret placed on the conversion of pagans. Already under Isabel of Castile, the Christianisation of those with other beliefs was an official part of Spanish policy and one which continued to be of great interest for the colonies in Africa and America (cat. 135).³⁵

Gifts: a Conventional Exchange or Expression of Personal Inclination?

The majority of the examples discussed above adhere to the general conventions surrounding the exchange of gifts in court circles that had been established during the fifteenth century. One gave presents to relations, allies and members of one's own court, but also to those whose political support required cultivation.

15 Gerard Horenbout, *Opening to the Penitential Psalms: medaillon with portrait of Charles V, circa 1520, in: Sforza Hours, London, The British Library, ms. 34294, fol. 213; cat. 53.*



16 Philipp baptises the Ethiopian, circa 1516, in: *Older Prayerbook of Charles V, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1859, fol. 82.*

Margaret of Austria's court was a microcosm of courtly culture, and thus one that provides a wealth of examples. But even here there were exceptional cases, one of the most interesting being that of Antoine de Lalaing, Count of Hoogstraten (1480–1540). Like his father Jacques de Lalaing, Antoine was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece and a close associate of the ruling Burgundian–Habsburg family. At the age of twenty one, Antoine accompanied Margaret's brother as Gentleman of the Bedchamber on his travels to Spain; following Philip the Fair's death, he joined Margaret's court where as a *chevalier d'honneur* and minister for finance (*chef des finances*) he was a member of the inner circle.³⁶ He built an extremely

noble residence in Mechelen called the *Hof van Hoogstraten*.³⁷ The close personal relationship between Margaret of Austria and the Count of Hoogstraten has given rise to much speculation; particularly Margaret's *Regrets* poems and the autograph manuscript *Complainte de Marguerite d'Autriche* (The lament of Margaret of Austria) (ill. 17, cat. 87) have been seen as evidence of Margaret's deep affection for Antoine.³⁸

Margaret became acquainted with Antoine in 1503 when her brother came to Chambéry on his return journey from Spain. Following the tragic death of Philip the Fair in 1506, Maximilian I gave Antoine the task of persuading the widowed Margaret, to return to Mechelen from Savoy to become Governess of the Burgundian Netherlands, foster mother and guardian of her nephew and nieces.

Whatever may have occurred between the two protagonists in Savoy, social conventions of the time would have prevented the development of a serious relationship. Margaret chose as her destiny the dual roles of widow and regent. For his part the Count of Hoogstraten entered into a socially acceptable marriage with the widowed Elizabeth van Culemborch. Nevertheless, Antoine must have remained very close to Margaret of Austria, for he was the recipient of more gifts than anybody else at court. The inventory of 1524 (Vienna) attests to this atypical situation: next to the numerous manuscripts, panel paintings, prints and objects of value presented to Antoine are marginal notes citing the dates of the four letters that formally record Margaret of Austria's gifts: 28 February 1524, 28 December 1524, 25 May 1525 and 1 August 1526.

So, what did a woman like Margaret give to a leading court official who was also her advisor, friend and *confidant*? In February 1524 Antoine received an extremely valuable gilded silver salt-cellar, executed in the Spanish style and with a holder for seven gilded knives – a gift which Margaret herself had not long before received from her Chancellor, Jean Carondelet.³⁹

Antoine, who in the inventory is described as *monseigneur le comte d'Hocstrate*, was also given a number of paintings on panel, canvas and parchment, including a painting showing David and Goliath, a miniature of one of Henry VIII's two daughters and a portrait of Ferdinand of Aragon.⁴⁰ Particularly notable was a painting on canvas depicting Saint Margaret, the patron saint of his generous benefactress.⁴¹

Antoine received an even larger number of manuscripts from Margaret's own personal collection. Among the religious, historical, judicial and literary texts, was a Book of Hours, a French Bible, an edifying treatise (*Le Miroir du Monde*), Gautier de Coinci's book on the *Miracles of the Virgin*, and a two-volume edition of Saint Augustine's *City of God*.⁴² He also received the *Decretales* by Gregory the Great, two volumes of Titus Livius's *Ab urbe condita*, Raoul Lefevres's *History of Troy* (cat. 80) as well as Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des Faits d'armes et de la Chevalerie*.⁴³ Of particular interest are two further texts: the *Livre de la Cité des Dames* by Christine de Pizan (cat. 77) and *Le Champion des dames* by Martin Le Franc (cat. 86), both of which were favourably disposed towards women in the ongoing discourse on their role in contemporary society.⁴⁴ But what was Margaret thinking of when she presented Antoine de Lalaing with the *Traité du diamante et de la Marguerite* (Book of the Diamond and of the Daisy) and *Le secret traite de l'ard d'amour* (The Secret Treatise of the Art of Love)?⁴⁵ Unfortunately, since nothing is known of these books, the mystery will probably remain forever unsolved.

How did Antoine reciprocate such generosity, for this was a major characteristic of the contemporary gift culture. From what can be gleaned from extant sources, their exchange of gifts was clearly unequal, for Antoine is less frequently mentioned as the bearer of gifts. He gave the regent a diptych with scenes from the Passion of Christ, which until her death hung together with other paintings in her opulent official bedroom.⁴⁶ As Antoine was clearly aware of Margaret's pronounced appreciation of art and her love of fifteenth-century early Netherlandish painting, he could be sure his gift would be just as acceptable as expensive silver vessels. Indeed, his diptych may have prompted Margaret to present him in turn with the precious salt-cellar mentioned earlier. To mark the New Year in 1526 Antoine gave the regent yet another present, this time a silver candelabrum of extremely beautiful workmanship that was decorated with human figures. This exquisite piece weighed over four kilos and found a particularly representative place of honour in Margaret's residence: in her *riche cabinet*, a small but well-furnished room where she received guests.⁴⁷

It is evident that her gifts were intended as an expression of her favour towards her long-time advi-



sor and companion. But no hint of any immoral behaviour emerged to blot the regent's reputation in the Netherlands. Antoine de Lalaing's wife, Elisabeth van Culemborch, was very much part of life at the court, and as Margaret's lady-of-honour (*dame d'honneur*) she supervised the younger ladies-in-waiting and participated in everyday life at court.⁴⁸ Like Antoine, she too had her own room in the archducal residence.⁴⁹ And, as convention demanded, she also presented Margaret with a gift, a silver dish with figural representations.⁵⁰ Margaret in turn gave Elisabeth one of the two portraits of her deceased husband

17 A young couple in a garden, after 1507 (?), in: Margaret of Austria, *Complainte de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2584, fol. 13v, cat. 87.

Philibert II of Savoy that had been executed by Jan Mostaert – a rather unusual choice.⁵¹

That the historiographer Jean Lemaire de Belges chose to place the image of a ‘Virtuous Crown’ (see the illustration on p. 246, cat. 85) in the centre of his famous text of 1505, *La Couronne margaritique* (cat. 85) is particularly significant in the context of Margaret’s moral position. The crown is here the multifarious symbol of a woman who in Lemaire’s eyes personified in an exemplary manner ideals such as steadfastness and moral strength. The *Couronne margaritique* and other such literary works were intended to convey a particular image of the regent to the public. The handwritten note on fol. 1 of this magnificent illuminated manuscript records that the book was a gift from Margaret to her brother Philip the Fair:

On 6 June 1505, in the palace of Cleve in Lower Germany, Philip, through God’s will King of Spain etc., holds this book in his hand, [...]

Present are the Roman King [Maximilian I], the Duke of Julich and the Duke of Cleve. And this at the express wish of Madame, his sister, Lady Margaret of Austria and Burgundy, Duchess of Savoy, Lady of Bresse, etc.⁵²

Perhaps it was especially important to Margaret at that particular time to document in such a public manner her impeccable reputation and her loyalty to the imperial family. Later, her emphasis on her widowed status and the ever-present tributes to her deceased husband at both Brou and Mechelen became central features of her own personal iconography. But despite such high moral claims, her numerous gifts to Antoine de Lalaing point to the presence of a deep spiritual and emotional relationship. Only such an assumption can explain why Margaret of Austria broke with established convention and elevated the gift to a symbol of personal sympathy.

This essay is a gift to Barbara Margarete Gutzeit from ‘her lofing sister’.

- 1 Mauss 1990; Davies 2000; Büttner 2001; Hirschbiegel 2003.
- 2 Duverger 1971; Eichberger 2002a: 253–254.
- 3 Michelant 1871: 122, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Colbert 500, fol. 120v; in Cologne a *marc* was equal to 233,85 gr, in Paris to 244,75 gr.
- 4 Michelant 1871: 23; Parijs, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département: manuscrits, ms. Colbert 500, fol. 12v (in the margin): *Delivre a madame par son ordonnance de XXVe d’avril XV^e trente [...] et donne au ambassadeur du roy d’Escoche.*
- 5 Zimerman 1883: XXX. Beneath the heading: *S’ensuit ce que l’on a donne a ma dite dame depuis cest inventoire fait.*
- 6 Eichberger 2002a: 247.
- 7 Finot 1885–1895: VIII, 216. The terms used in the sources differentiate quite clearly between gifts (*donné par*) and details of the provenance (*venant de*), which suggests other forms of acquisition such as a purchase.
- 8 On the subject of *largesse*, see Büttner 2001: 616.
- 9 Eichberger 2002a: 295, n. 87.
- 10 Ibidem: 183–184; Zimerman 1885: CXIX–CXX; on this, see the following essay by Joris Capenberghs.
- 11 Beer 1891: CX–CXXIII.
- 12 Eichberger 2002a: 295.
- 13 Ibidem: 398.
- 14 Michelant 1871: 78; on the relationship between Margaret and Catherine, see also Jordan (forthcoming).
- 15 Michelant 1871: 72.
- 16 Vienna 1998; Eichberger 2002a: 394.
- 17 Michelant 1871: 59; Eichberger 2002a: 336.
- 18 Ibid.: 269–270, n. 316 and 318. The household lists of 1516 are without exception more precise with respect to the provenance.

19 Eichberger 2002a: 298–301.

20 Ibidem: 310–311; Zimerman 1885: CXIX, no. 878: ‘[...] *donné par le roy de Dannemarque à Madame*’.

21 Campbell 1998; 174–210; Eichberger 2002a: 106.

22 Zimerman 1885 (Vienna inventory): CI, no. 214 en n. 6.

23 Ibidem: xcvi, nr. 129: *Item ung aultre tableau de Nostre-Dame, ayant une couronne sur sa teste et ung petit enfant, tenant une languette patenostre de coral.* When following the death of Margaret in December 1530 postscripts were added to the principal inventory in Paris, the executors of her will made a momentous mistake. The addition: *Donne a monsieur de Thoulouze par lettre de 10 de juillet anno 1526* which should have been written next to the entry referring to the picture of the Virgin and Child on fol. 72, was instead mistakenly placed next to the similarly described painting Madonna by the Fountain by Van Eycks *Madonna bij de fontein*, (see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. Colbert 500, fol. 74v. For this reason the *Madonna by the Fountain* was erroneously connected by me and others to Marnix: Vandenbroeck 1985: 176; Eichberger 2002a: 218.

24 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1859; Irblich 1996: 185–189.

25 New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M ms. 491; Bonn and Vienna 2000: 345–347, no. 405 (William Voelke).

26 Heinrich Karl 1976: 39, fol. 86v: *Je me mes an stette place an vous supliant treshumblement, monseigneur, que puice tousiours estre an vostre bonne grace, vostre treshumble et tresobeisante S(œur) L(ionor).*

27 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1897; Unterkircher 1987: 14.

28 Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial, ms. e.III.22, fol. 96v; zie Derolez 1992.

29 I wish to thank Drs. Harry Schnitker, for his contributions to this essay and the exhibition.

30 London, The British Library, ms. 34294.

- 31 Duverger 1930; Evans 1992; Evans and Brinkman 1993-1995.
- 32 Ibidem: 275, there the proposed reading of the ligature letters 'KR' for Karolus Rex is also possible, but for historic reasons less convincing.
- 33 The miniature depicts a rarely illustrated episode from I Chronic: 21: there God demands that King David justify his calling of the census that is shown in the background.
- 34 The *Sforza* Book of Hours is moreover one of the most important testimonies to the enormous interest of Margaret and her contemporaries for Italian art, without however this in anyway reducing the importance of her own court artists.
- 35 See the Acts of the Apostles, cap. 8, 26-39; Brussels 1962: 58-59; Heinrich Karl 1976: 27; see in addition the funerary speech by Agrippa of Nettesheim: *si labores pro catholica religione tuenda suscepti, si extermino haeresum* [...], cited in: Eichberger 2002a: 192, n. 13.
- 36 Bruchet 1927: 61-62; Eichberger 2002: 72, 84, 230. He was for a time in the service of Charles V.
- 37 Strelka 1954; Tamussino 1995: 283-292;
- 38 Michelant 1871: 102; Zimerman 1885: CIV, no. 313; Eichberger 2002a: 408.
- 39 Michelant 1871: 102; Zimerman 1885: CIV, no. 313; Eichberger 2002a: 408.
- 40 Zimerman 1885: C, no. 189, n. 64; no. 194, n. 68; XCIV, no. 16 and n. 3. Antoine became personally acquainted with Ferdinand during his first sojourn in Spain.
- 41 Zimerman 1885: C, no. 195 and n. 69; Eichberger 2002a: 263.
- 42 Zimerman 1885: CX, no. 504, no. 518, 519; CXV, nr. 672, 701; CXVI, no. 750.
- 43 Ibidem: CIX, nos. 491, 481; CXV, nos. 664, 666.
- 44 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 9281, it is the only book belonging to Hoogstraten that has to-date been identified.
- 45 Zimerman 1885: CXVI, no. 718; CXI, no. 55.
- 46 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département: manuscrits, ms. Colbert 500, fol. 3v: *Item ung aultre double tableau, assez vieux, figure de la passion de nostre seigneur et aultre mystere donne a Madame par Monseigneur le comte d'Ho(c) strate*; Michelant 1871: 86; Eichberger 2002a: 252 and n. 220. For the use in contemporary documents of the specific term *antique* as an indication of the age of a painting, see Eichberger 2003b.
- 47 Michelant 1871: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Colbert 500, fol. 64v: *Item, depuis ce present Inventaire fait Monseigneur le comte d'Ho(c) strate a donne a madame pour son nouvel an de l'an xxvi une beau chandelier d'argent, fort bien ouvre, a plusieurs petis chandeliers et a divers personaiges, lequel poyse en tout XVIII^m VI^e XB^e* Following the death of the regent, her executor Jean Marnix ordered the candelabra be returned to Hoogstraten. This was an unusual decision, given that as a gift this object was officially part to the regent's personal possessions.
- 48 De Quinsonas 1860: 280: (3.4.1525) *Madame aura une dame d'honneur laquelle aura le regard sur la conduite des filles d'honneur & autres femmes de son hostel [...] Madame la contesse de Hochstrate.*
- 49 Eichberger 2002a: 83.
- 50 Ibidem: 392 and n. 89.
- 51 Zimerman 1885: XCVII, nos. 113 and n. 30.
- 52 Debae 1995: 504-507.