

# The Margaret Manion Lecture 1999

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## A Renaissance Princess named Margaret. Fashioning a Public Image in a Courtly Society

*Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), daughter of Emperor Maximilian I and aunt of Emperor Charles V, governed the Burgundian Netherlands for almost twenty-five years. As Regent of the Netherlands she successfully turned her residence in Mechelen into a international centre of politics, music and art. This lecture investigates how a well-educated and widely-travelled gentlewoman presented herself in public through the discerning use of heraldry and the visual arts.*

*Margaret of Austria was well acquainted with the portrait conventions of her time. She commissioned numerous images of herself for distribution and public display. After the death of her second husband she employed two distinct portrait types which represented different aspects of her role as woman of influence and political standing. In some instances she wished to be depicted as the loyal consort of Duke Philibert of Savoy. On other occasions she preferred to use the single portrait type which stressed her role as dowager duchess and Regent of the Netherlands.*

*Her ongoing search for appropriate role models took her beyond simple portraiture and into the realm of more symbolic representations. On two occasions she asked to be portrayed in the guise of a saint. This modern device was employed to add new layers of meaning to traditional portraiture.*

*Towards the end of her career Margaret of Austria commissioned her court painter to portray her as Caritas. This choice can be read as an expression of her deeply felt religiosity and, perhaps even more importantly, as evidence for her identification with a particular element of good government.*

Much has been written to date about female iconography and self-representation during the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Within this body of research, Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), Regent and Governor-General of the Burgundian-Hapsburgian Netherlands (Fig. 1), has so far played a comparably minor role.<sup>2</sup> This comes as a surprise, as Margaret was undoubtedly one of the most prominent female patrons of the early sixteenth century.

Margaret of Austria was born more than 500 years ago in the city of Brussels. She was the only daughter of Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) and aunt of his grandson, Emperor Charles V (1500–58).<sup>3</sup> Her mother, Mary of Burgundy (1457–82), was the sole heir to the wealthy, but doomed, Duchy of Burgundy. After Mary's premature death in a riding accident, her territory was incorporated into the Holy Roman Empire. When their only son, Philip the Fair (1478–1506), died in Spain at the age of twenty-eight, his younger sister, Margaret of Austria, was called upon to represent the interest of the Burgundian-Hapsburgian dynasty. In contrast to their father, Emperor Maximilian I, Philip and Margaret were natural heirs to this economically important territory and therefore found greater acceptance with the local population.<sup>4</sup>

After having lived at three different European courts and having been married twice, first to Juan of Castile, then to Philibert of Savoy, Margaret preferred the independence of widowhood to a third marriage. She took up the position of Regent of the Burgundian-Hapsburgian Netherlands at the age of twenty-six. Apart from one short interruption, Margaret held the position from 1506 to 1530, ruling over a court located in the town of Mechelen in Belgium. Her court was of impressive proportions, consisting of nearly 150 people, including numerous court artists. As Regent, Margaret represented the interests of Maximilian and Charles. Both relied heavily on her experience, loyalty and political influence in this important part of the Hapsburg empire.

Apart from being a good and loyal administrator, Margaret of Austria was one of the most significant female art collectors and patrons of her time. At her residence in Mechelen she owned a richly endowed library of 382 books, including a large number of illuminated manuscripts. The most famous of these are the *Codex Aureus* from Echternach, the *Très Riches Heures* by the Limburg brothers and Boccaccio's *Theseida* (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> In her private apartments—her bedroom, her private study and a small garden cabinet—she installed a collection



Fig.1. Bernard van Orley, *Margaret of Austria as Widow*, 1522-30, oil on wood, 37 x 27.5 cm. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. Nr. 4059. (Brussels, KIK-IRPA.)

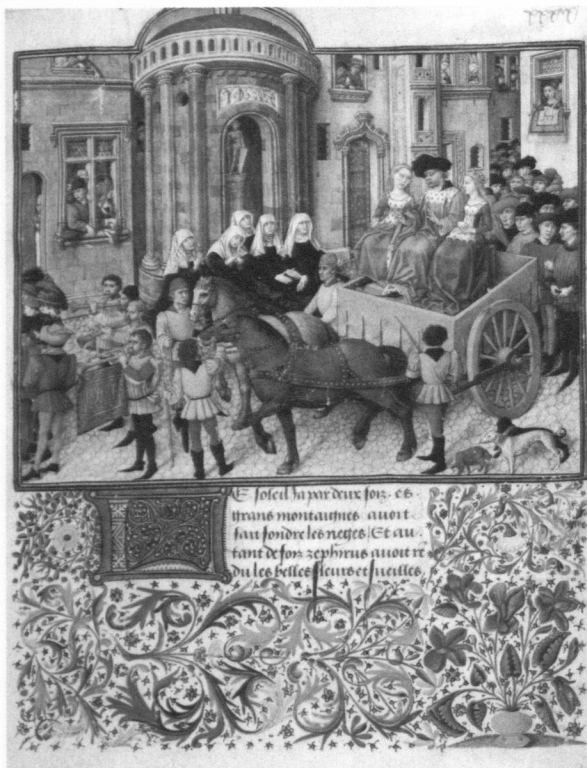


Fig.2. Barthélemy d'Eyck (?), *The Triumphant Entry of Theseus into Thebes*, from Giovanni Boccacio, *Il Théséide*, Provence, circa 1460. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2627, fol.39r. (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.)

of art objects, natural objects and curiosities, one of the first for which we have good documentation. It included artifacts of high quality and distinction, including the *Arnolfini Wedding* by Jan van Eyck.<sup>6</sup> She also owned paintings by Hieronymus Bosch, Jan Gossaert, Michiel Sittow and Juan de Flandres.<sup>7</sup>

In the first part of this lecture I will explore the ways in which Margaret of Austria was concerned with projecting a certain image of herself in public, especially through the display of coats of arms and mottoes. I will also look at her portraits, both official portraits and 'portraits in disguise', a new concept in portraiture which allowed for a more symbolic kind of representation than did traditional portraiture. In the second part I will explore the ways in which her portrait was integrated into complex allegorical programs. Particular attention will be given to the shaping of a specifically female iconography of rulership which gave expression to Margaret's newly assumed role in society.

### Self-representation through Coats of Arms and Mottoes

A widespread practice amongst the European high nobility was to employ coats of arms as marks of ownership on private commissions. Margaret would have encountered the use of such symbols at the court of her parents-in-law, Isabella of Spain and Ferdinand of

Aragon. Margaret's father, Emperor Maximilian I, took this practice further, and was well known for his calculating use of works of art for political ends. He applied his family's coats of arms and his personal emblems to buildings, tombs, manuscripts and prints in order to demonstrate to the outside world that he was a member of one of the oldest and most honourable families of Europe, whose claim to the imperial throne was fully justified. Albrecht Dürer's monumental woodcut, the so-called *Arch of Honour*, is perhaps the most extreme example of this practice, employing, as Panofsky noted, 'all known devices of glorification, from the simple recording of historical events to cryptic emblematical allusions (Fig.3).'<sup>8</sup>

Margaret of Austria was closely involved in devising the program for the *Arch of Honour* and learnt her father's lesson well. Like Maximilian she held the opinion that one had to leave behind a monument of distinction in order to be remembered by subsequent generations. With this in mind, she constructed a spacious monastery at Brou with a lavishly decorated funerary church attached to it.<sup>9</sup> The chancel of the church of St Nicholas-de-Tolentin was to become the architectural shrine for three highly ornate tombs by Conrat Meit and his workshop. Provision was made for the burial of her late husband, Philibert of Savoy, her second mother-in-law, Margaret of Bourbon, and herself. In these works, Philibert and Margaret always appear side by side, both in the main portal and in the stained glass windows of her private chapel and the apse. Even the magnificent

Fig.3. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), with Hans Springinklee, Wolf Traut and Albrecht Altdorfer, *The Triumphal Arch of Emperor Maximilian I (The Arch of Honour)*, 1515, woodcut on 49 sheets, 314.0 x 294.1 cm overall. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest. (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.)

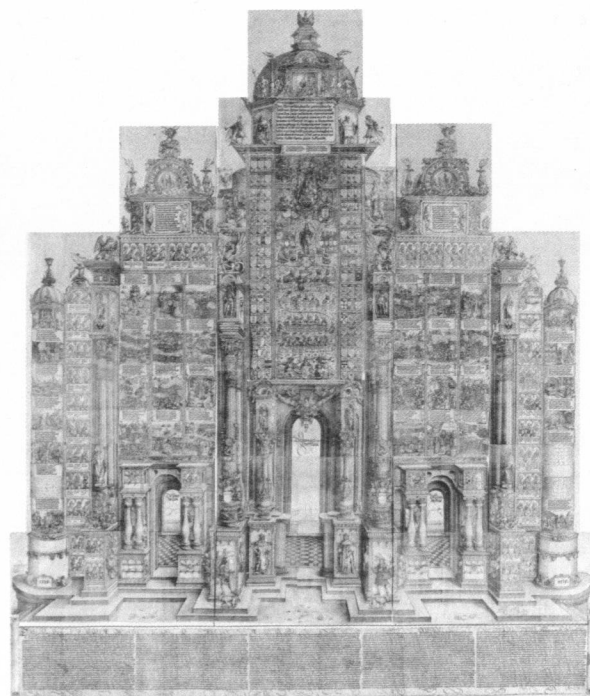




Fig.4. Conrat Meit, *Margaret of Austria*, funerary statue on upper level, after 1526, marble. Brou, St Nicolas-de-Tolentin. (Bourg-en-Bresse, Musée de Brou.)

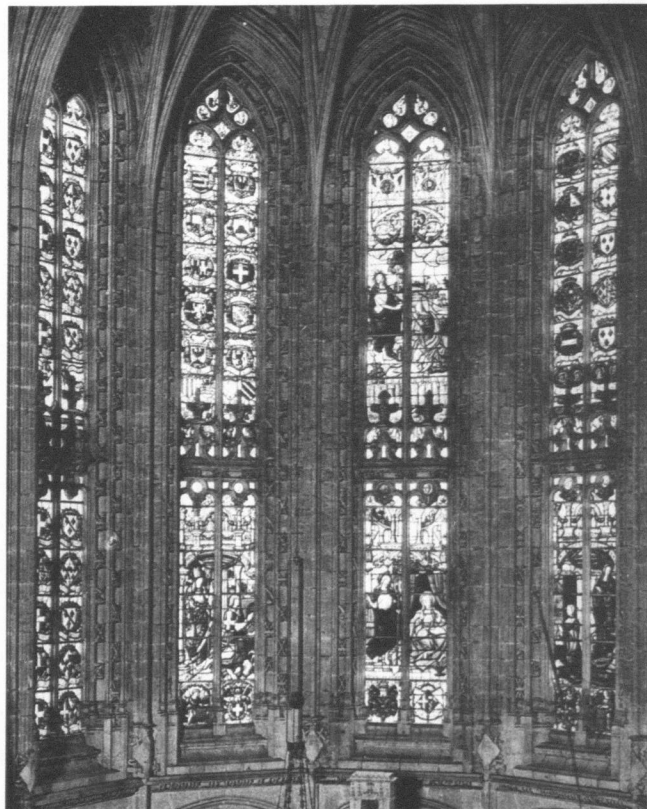


Fig.5. Four Lancet Windows in the Chancel of St-Nicolas-de-Tolentin, Brou. (After L. Bégule, *Les Vitraux du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance dans la Région Lyonnaise*, Lyon, 1911, plate XXIII.)

tombs by Meit pay homage to Margaret's notion of conjugal love and everlasting loyalty towards her second husband. On Margaret's breast, close to the neckline of her dress, rests a copy of a portrait medal with the head of Philibert in profile (Fig.4). Margaret's head is tilted in direction of her husband's tomb.

At her own expense, Margaret commissioned two altarpieces, and numerous stained glass windows, wooden choir stalls and liturgical objects. The stained glass windows of the apse contain full-length portraits of the kneeling donors with their respective patron saints, St Philibert and St Margaret in the second and the fourth lancet windows (Fig.5). The space above the two donor portraits and all of the first and fifth lancet windows are taken up by the coats of arms of the ducal couple and their respective ancestors. The degree to which the extended families of both husband and wife are represented through heraldic devices is remarkable. Margaret's ambitious scheme went well beyond the commemoration of a short, but happy, marriage.<sup>10</sup> Her coat of arms appears for a second time at the bottom of the central lancet window, beneath the scene of *Christ's Appearance to his Mother after the Resurrection*. This time, her shield is accompanied by that of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. By reserving this place of honor for Charles V, Margaret stressed her close family connections with the head of the Hapsburg dynasty.

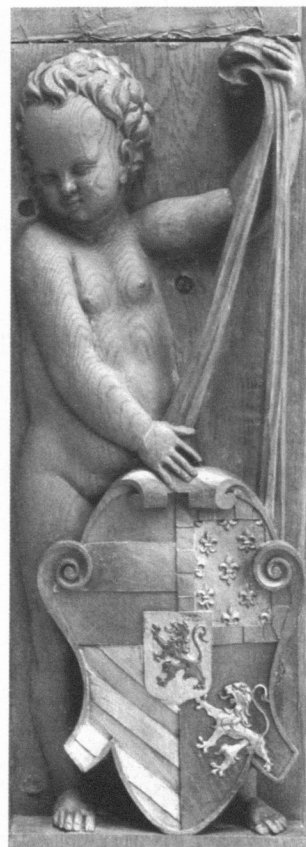


Fig.6. Carved and Painted Beam with the Coat of Arms of Margaret of Austria, before 1530. Mechelen, large hall. (Bamberg, Markus Hörsch.)

In Mechelen, dynastic links and family relations played as important a role as in the church of Brou. For her domicile, the so-called Court of Savoy, the wooden beams of the unfinished reception hall were decorated with her carved and painted coats of arms (Fig.6). In 1528, she commissioned Henri van Lacke to produce a series of nine large tapestries made from silk and wool which may have been designed to adorn the walls of the reception hall. These tapestries illustrated Margaret's extended family tree, and the two surviving pieces, now in Budapest,<sup>11</sup> provide us with clear indications of the overall structure (Fig.7). Margaret's coats of arms, her personal motto and her emblems are placed in the centre of each tapestry (Fig.9). Her diamond-shaped shield is surrounded by a fruit garland and is set against the strong branches of a twisted tree. The shield is divided in half, showing Margaret's colours on the right and those of her deceased husband, Philip of Savoy, on the left. Margaret's coat of arms is crowned by an archducal hat with ermine trimming, a reference to her most prestigious title, Archduchess of Austria. The floor and the vertical margins are filled with white daisies, a reference to Margaret's first name: in French and German the daisy is commonly called a 'Marguerite' or 'Margarite'.

The two tapestries in Budapest also display the coats of arms of Margaret's forebears and those of the children of her deceased brother, Philip the Handsome. While the Archduchess remained childless, she nevertheless presents herself in these tapestries as the living link between and older and the younger Hapsburg generations. Margaret's Burgundian grandfather, Charles the Bold, appears at the top left; her grandmother, Isabella of Bourbon, at the top right. The coats of arms on the lower register refer to Margaret's parents, the Emperor Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. The four heraldic animals at the foot of the tree—the peacock, the ostrich, the lion and the griffin—are symbolic references to the houses of Austria and Burgundy.

The white ribbon which has been placed between the shield and the fruit garland carries Margaret's French motto: FORTUNE—INFORTUNE—FORTUNE. While a coat of arms is inherited, a motto is chosen individually and therefore carries a personal message. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when Margaret adopted this motto, but literary references to the underlying theme can be found as early as 1504–1505. In two biographical treatises about Margaret of Austria the fickleness of Fortune plays a prominent role. In a rondo written for

Fig.7. Henri van Lacke, *Heraldic Tapestry with the Family Tree of Margaret of Austria*, Edingen, 1528, wool and silk, 300 x 375 cm. Budapest, Museum of Decorative Arts, inv. no. 14764. (Budapest, Museum of Decorative Arts.)





Fig. 8. Anonymous French book illumination, *Fortune Pulls the French Royal Crown from Margaret's Head*, in Michele Riccio, *Changement de Fortune en Toute Prosperité*, ca.1507–9. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2656, fol. 2v/3r. (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.)

Margaret, Julien Fossetier stated that misfortunes are brought about by God to chastise humankind. He argued that we can only grow stronger by patiently enduring strokes of fate.<sup>12</sup>

Similar ideas had already been expressed in 1504 by Jean Lemaire de Belges, then Margaret's court poet and historian. His allegorical poem *La Couronne Margaritique* was written immediately after the death of Margaret's second husband, Philibert of Savoy.<sup>13</sup> Lemaire enthusiastically praises the virtues of the young widow and her strength of character during times of great misfortune. In his poem he refers repeatedly to the early deaths of Margaret's two husbands and to the death of her stillborn child. Lemaire highlights the loss of the French and the Spanish royal crowns as additional instances of bad luck. When the French Dauphin, Charles VIII, decided to break his engagement with Margaret, the eleven-year old princess missed out on becoming Queen of France. In 1491, Charles decided to marry Anne of Brittany, who had become sole heir to the Duchy of Brittany after the death of her parents. The humiliating repudiation of the young queen-to-be was often discussed in contemporary literature and is depicted in quite literal terms in Michele Riccio's treatise, called *Changement de Fortune en Toute Prosperité* (The Fickleness of Fortune in Good Times) (Fig. 8).<sup>14</sup>

Two readings of Margaret's motto are possible in principle: FORTUNE—INFORTUNE—FORTUNE or FORTUNE—INFORTUNE—FORT UNE. The first reading, 'fortune—misfortune—fortune', can be understood as

Fig. 9. Detail of Fig. 7.



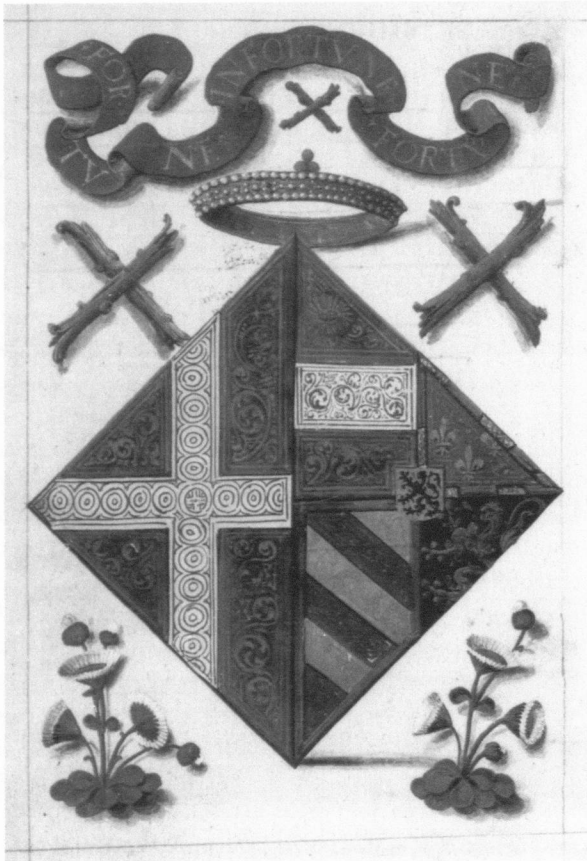


Fig.9. Anonymous Flemish artist, *Motto, Crown, Coat of Arms and Emblems of Margaret of Austria*, 1527–30, from Jean Franco, *Généalogie abrégée de Charles Quint*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 5616, fol. 1v. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.)

a reference to the various tragedies of fate which Margaret had to endure as a young woman: in the end good fortune outweighs misfortune. The second reading, 'fortune—misfortune—a strong one', highlights the fact that Margaret suffered immensely, but finally managed to overcome her grief, to emerge from her various ordeals a stronger woman. As Fortuna is generally portrayed as a negative force in Margaret's manuscripts and also on one of her programmatic medals only the second reading makes sense.<sup>15</sup>

By adopting the motto FORTUNE—INFORTUNE—FORTUNE Margaret thus subscribed to a concept which had been prepared for her by the humanist Jean Lemaire de Belges and his colleagues. With the frequent use of this motto in manuscripts (Fig.9), on tapestries (Fig.7) and in her funerary church in Brou (Fig.16) Margaret publicly demonstrated that she had successfully endured past hardships and was not easily discouraged by strokes of fate in the future. Following her move to Mechelen in 1506, Margaret of Austria consistently presented herself as 'A STRONG ONE' in both art and life.

## Public Portraiture

Like coats of arms and mottos, portraiture was an instrument popular with rulers for shaping identity and for making public statements about themselves. From the large body of likenesses of Margaret of Austria which exist today, I have selected three. Each highlights a different aspect of the public roles played by this remarkable princess.

One of the most beautiful portraits of the young Princess Margaret is the small panel painting in the Lehman collection of the Metropolitan Museum (Fig.11). It was painted by the French court artist Jean Hey in 1490–91, only a few months before Margaret was removed from the court of Charles VIII. This small panel may well have been the left half of a devotional diptych, as has recently been suggested by Maryan Ainsworth.<sup>16</sup> The eleven-year-old Margaret is portrayed as a handsome girl of high social standing and noble birth. She is dressed in the most expensive materials available at the time: her red velvet dress has cuffs and trimmings made from the exclusive fur of the ermine. She holds a rosary in her hands, made from a string of large pearls with gold ornaments. Although Ainsworth interprets this as an indication of Margaret's piety, it can also be understood as a subtle reference to the sitter's name. In Latin, the word 'margarita' stands for 'pearl' and this pun was often used by court artists. In his allegorical poem *La Couronne Margaritique*, Jean Lemaire identified each letter in the name of the Archduchess with a particular gemstone and its specific properties. The first letter, 'M', he associated with the pearl: 'the *margarite* is commonly called a pearl and we believe that the *margarite* is the first and the most important of the white-colored jewels'.<sup>17</sup>

In Jean Hey's portrait, Margaret's gold-embroidered hood is made from black velvet and is garnished with golden ornaments. The neckline of her black velvet collar is embellished with an even more elaborate gold chain. The individual links carry the enamelled letters 'M' and 'C', a unmistakable reference to the first names of Margaret and her fiancé Charles. On the chain around Margaret's neck hangs a magnificent fleur-de-lis pendant with a large, heart-shaped ruby and an over-sized, drop-like pearl. The middle section of the fleur-de-lis is hidden behind a white bird and a smaller dark green gemstone.

A glance at Princess Margaret's inventory of personal belongings dating from 1493 reveals that the portrait by Jean Hey is an accurate rendition of Margaret's personal accoutrements for special occasions. The inventory lists the red velvet dress with ermine trimmings and three of the gold chains depicted in this portrait.<sup>18</sup> The elaborate fleur-de-lis pendant is also recorded in the inventory.<sup>19</sup> It is listed among her most valuable pieces of jewelry, and can be assumed to be the bridal



Fig.11. Jean Hey, *Princess Margaret as the Future Queen of France*, 1490–91, oil on wood. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman collection, inv.1975.1.130. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.)





Fig.12. Conrat Meit, *Margaret of Austria*, boxwood, height 9.6 cm. London, British Museum, Waddesdon Bequest 261. (London, Trustees of the British Museum.)

gift that was presented to her by the French dauphin, Charles VIII. It has been shown by Patricia Simons and Susanne Kress that young women from noble Florentine families were portrayed wearing their bridal jewellery and their most festive dress.<sup>20</sup> Jean Hey's image of Margaret as a young girl suggests that the same practice can be found in northern European portraiture.

Jean Hey's portrait was one of the first official portraits of Margaret of Austria. It was probably commissioned by Charles VIII, or possibly by his mother, in order to document the likeness of the future Queen of France. In hindsight we know that Goddess Fortuna decided differently: the marriage never took place. Thus only a few months after its completion this image became devoid of all its initial meaning.

When Jean Hey devised Margaret's portrait in 1491, the eleven-year-old princess had very little say in how she wanted to be portrayed. As soon as she was in a position to employ court artists and to commission works of art herself, she became a master in shaping her public persona in response to the context for which a portrait was required. She directed her artists to employ two distinct portrait types. The first showed her as a mature widow (Fig.1), the second as a lady in courtly attire (Fig.12).

In the first case (Fig.1), her court painter, Bernard van Orley, was given the task of producing multiple portrait panels showing Margaret dressed in a simple black dress lined with dark brown fur. In all examples of this portrait type the Regent wears a Netherlandish hood



Fig.13. Conrat Meit, *Margaret of Austria*, 1528, portrait medal, painted and gilded terracotta, 9.2 cm diameter. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstammer, Inv. Nr. 3150. (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.)

and the pleated white ruff of a widow. As far as we know, this was the way in which Margaret appeared in public from 1504, the year in which her second husband had died. Whenever Margaret wanted to be identified as Regent of the Netherlands, she chose this mode of representation. Bernard van Orley's prototype soon became Margaret's official portrait. It was produced in numerous copies and was sent out to allied rulers, family members and friends.<sup>21</sup>

Margaret, the widow, drew her political power from the Hapsburg family network, especially from her father, Emperor Maximilian I and his grandson, Emperor Charles V. She saw herself as a significant representative of this dynasty and shrewdly stressed her family relations whenever it seemed suitable. This is confirmed by

the various portrait medals and commemorative coins which were produced during her lifetime. In 1528, for instance, Conrad Meit sculpted a terracotta portrait medallion with a bust-length image of the Regent (Fig.13).<sup>22</sup> This finely modelled medallion still carries part of its original colouring and gilding. Margaret's face is painted in delicate flesh tones, the individual streaks of her blond hair are highlighted in gold, and the flat background is painted dark blue. It shows neither Margaret's coats of arms nor her motto. Instead, it bears a Latin inscription which reads MARGARITA CESA[R]VM AVSTRI[A]E VNICA FILIA ET AMITA 1528 (Margaret, the only daughter and aunt of the Austrian Emperor, 1528). The same inscription had already appeared a few years earlier on a small double-sided bronze *jeton*, which

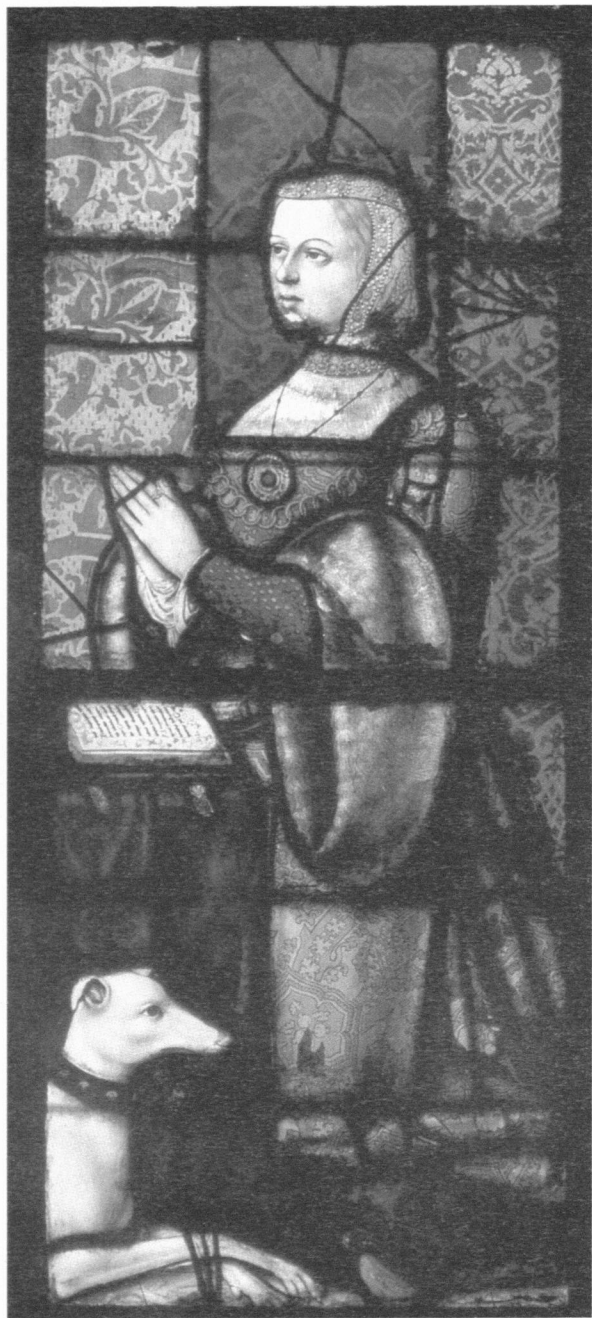


Fig.14. Antoine Noisin with Jean Brachon and Jean Orquois, *Margaret of Austria in Prayer*, 1525–27. Fourth lancet window in the chancel of St Nicolas-de-Tolentin, Brou. (L'Inventaire à la direction regionale des affaires culturelles de Lyon.)

Margaret commissioned shortly after Charles V was elected Emperor.<sup>23</sup> The 1528 medallion and the earlier medal, the tapestries in Mechelen and the stained glass windows in Brou, all show that Margaret knew how to stress her family connections with the intention of strengthening her position in the Netherlands and as a safeguard against potential enemies from outside the Empire.

The second portrait type shows Margaret as a younger, married woman, wearing a low cut dress, precious jewellery and a more courtly style of hair ornament.



Fig.15. *Margaret of Austria in Prayer in front of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, 1525–27. Margaret of Austria's private oratory, St Nicholas-de-Tolentin, Brou. (Mâcon, Hervé Nègre.)

This portrait mode is found most frequently in the artistic decoration of her funerary church in Brou, and also features prominently in the library of her Netherlandish residence in Mechelen.<sup>24</sup> Good examples of this portrait mode are two of the large stained-glass windows at Brou. Margaret kneels in solemn adoration to the right of the central apse window (Figs 5 and 14). In the large window which decorates her private chapel she is dressed in a courtly, fur-lined gown and a heraldic coat with the Hapsburg and Burgundy colours (Fig.15).<sup>25</sup>

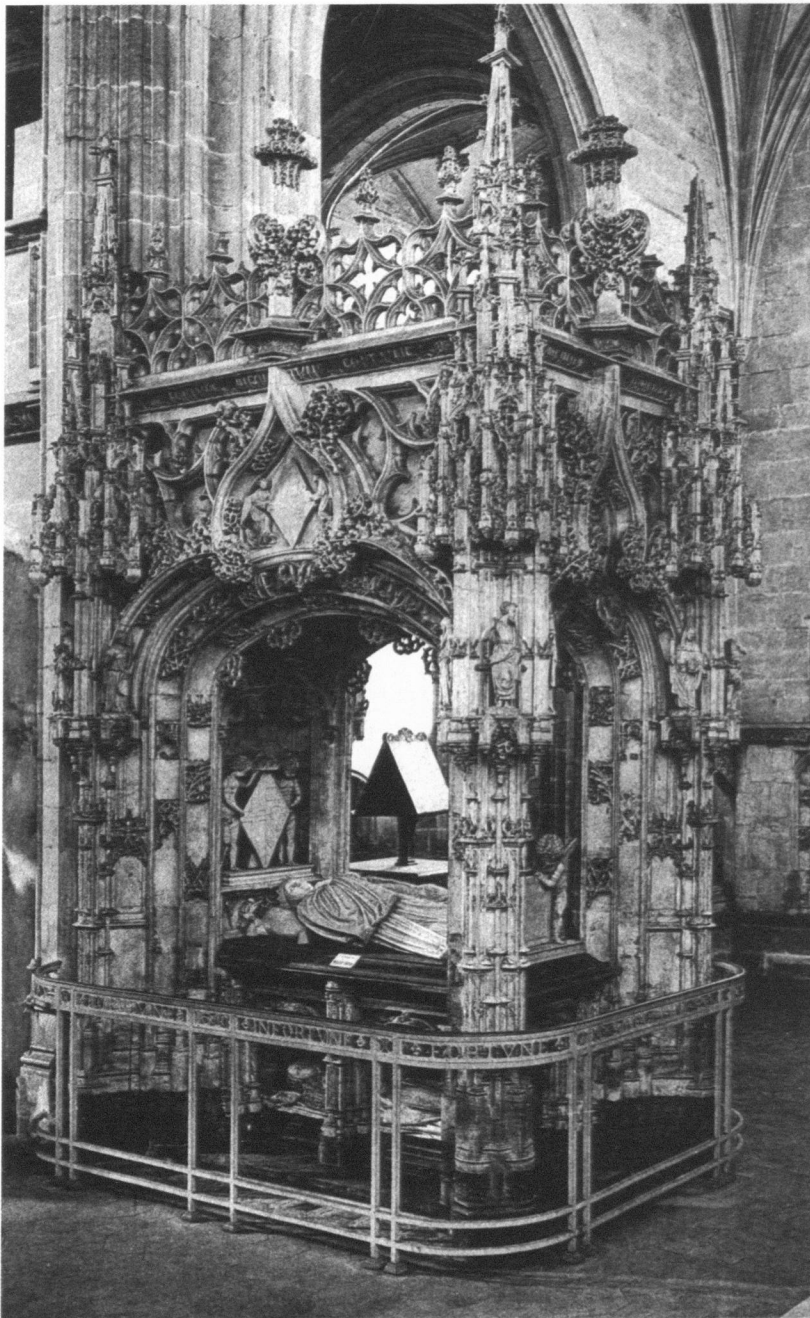


Fig.16. Louis van Boghem, Conrat Meit and assistants, *Double-tiered Tomb of Margaret of Austria*. Brou, St Nicolas-de-Tolentin. (After L. Bégule, *Les Vitraux du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance dans la Région Lyonnaise*, Lyon, 1911.)

The stained glass windows, portal sculptures and tombs in Brou testify to the fact that Margaret wanted to be remembered by later generations as the loyal wife of Philibert. A particularly elaborate example of Margaret presenting herself as a married woman in courtly dress is her tomb in the church at Brou.<sup>26</sup> This magnificent tomb consists of two basic elements, a highly intricate stone baldachin ornament with an abundance of late-gothic tracery (Fig.16), and a simple, yet powerful, double-tiered tomb containing two representations of the Archduchess, one on each level (Fig.17).<sup>27</sup> The florid

frame had been prepared under the guidance of Margaret's Flemish architect, Louis van Boghem; the two funerary statues and the accompanying putti were carved by Conrat Meit and his assistants.<sup>28</sup>

The upper level again portrays Margaret as the wife of Philibert of Savoy and as Archduchess of Austria. Margaret is clad in stately attire; her thick blond hair is covered by a hood and her Archducal hat. She wears an embroidered dress and an ermine-lined coat. Of particular interest and significance is again the jewellery. Margaret wears a precious necklace consisting of daisy-



Fig.17. Conrat Meit, *Funerary Statues of Margaret of Austria*, after 1526, marble and alabaster. Brou, St Nicolas-de-Tolentin. (Bourg-en-Bresse, Musée de Brou.)

like links and a large pendant (Fig.4). The portrait medal on her chest, mentioned earlier, is a most intimate representation of her everlasting union with Philibert, as it cannot be seen by the casual visitor to the tomb. Margaret's mature face is turned to the left, in the direction of Philibert of Savoy, whose tomb is located in the center of the chancel. Two Italianate putti are placed at each end of the cenotaph, where they hold up Margaret's coats of arms and a commemorative plate. The upper effigy was cut from white Carrara marble and rests on a slab of polished dark black stone.

One level down rests a much humbler Margaret of Austria, a woman who has been stripped of all her courtly trappings (Fig.17). Her dress and coat are of the utmost simplicity. The cushion under her head and the sheet that spreads under her body are plain and unassuming. The only ornament rendering Margaret's image more beautiful is her long curly hair, which flows across her upper body. Margaret's unadorned corpse corresponds to a second effigy of Philibert, which has also been placed at the lower level of a double-tiered tomb. The lower image of Margaret does not fit into the two categories described so far, the courtly image and the image of Margaret as a widow. In keeping with late medieval tomb sculpture, it is a much more private rendition of

Margaret's human body in the face of death, a *memento mori* for those who were familiar with Margaret's official likeness.

While it was expected of a widow that she would honour the memory of her late husband, Margaret's celebration of a union that lasted for less than three years seems to go well beyond the standards established by other women such as Isabella of Portugal and Margaret of York. There may have been personal reasons for her strong identification with her public image as loyal wife and honourable widow. Her first betrothal to Charles VIII had ended in humiliation and public shame. Her second husband, Juan of Castile, died only six months after their wedding. Jean Lemaire records rumours, apparently unfounded, that Margaret had in some way contributed to the early death of the young heir to the Spanish throne.<sup>29</sup> When Philibert of Savoy also died quite suddenly of a fever, Margaret may have felt the need to prove to herself and to the outside world that she was truly a loyal and dedicated companion. Against the will of her father and brother, she insisted on remaining a widow until the end of her life. But in accordance with the codes of female behavior defined by contemporary humanists such as Juan Vives, Margaret made sure that her marriage to Philibert was not

forgotten by those around her. In Mechelen, she was addressed as 'Milady from Savoy', and her palace was generally referred to as the 'Court of Savoy'. In her library, Margaret created a second memorial to Philibert.<sup>30</sup> Next to Conrat Meit's two marble half-length portrait busts of herself and Philibert,<sup>31</sup> Margaret placed a panel painting of Philibert. In addition, she installed Philibert's original armour on a metal stand as a powerful reminder of his nobility and knightly prowess.

### Portraiture in Disguise

So far, we have looked exclusively at realistic or lifelike portraits of Archduchess Margaret of Austria. These portraits were employed by the Regent or her family to project a certain image to the outside world. All these portraits emphasise her role in society in relation to her male partner, whether as the young fiancé of Charles VIII, as the noble consort to Philibert of Savoy, or as his devout widow.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century another form of self-fashioning became increasingly popular: to be portrayed in the guise of a saint.<sup>32</sup> This could be either one's patron saint or another saint to whom one felt a particular attachment. For example, Margaret of Savoy, the daughter of King Francis I, commissioned a prayer book in which she was represented twice. The first image showed her as the person she really was, the second depicted her in the guise of St Margaret, a dragon peacefully carrying the hem of her dress.<sup>33</sup> Apparently, this practice gained momentum because people strongly believed in the personal protection of their patron saint.

We know of at least one instance where Margaret of Austria was depicted in the guise of her name saint. In a lost Marian diptych by Michiel Sittow, the Archduchess appeared as St Margaret in the company of St John. The image of St John was a cryptic portrait of her first husband, Juan of Castile.<sup>34</sup> An even more interesting case for a hidden portrait can be found in a miniature from the so-called Sforza Hours, now in the British Library (Fig. 18).<sup>35</sup> Margaret of Austria inherited this valuable, but incomplete, book of hours from Bona Sforza, the aunt of Philibert of Savoy. With the intention of offering her best Italian manuscript as a gift to Emperor Charles V, she asked her court illuminator, Gerard Horenbout, to prepare the illuminations for the missing pages.<sup>36</sup> In one of these new illuminations we find a depiction of St Elizabeth. The headdress, ruff and distinctive facial features signal that we are looking at a portrait in disguise of Margaret of Austria. The scene represents the Visitation, that is, the moment at which Elizabeth and Mary recognise that they have both conceived a child by divine intervention. We can only surmise why Margaret of Austria wished to be portrayed as St Elizabeth. Margaret's religious life, her commissions



Fig. 18. Gerard Horenbout, *The Visitation*, from the Sforza Hours, 1519–21. London, British Library, Ms. Add. 34294, fol. 61r. (The British Library, London.)

and her art collection reflect her intense devotion to the Virgin Mary, and she is depicted as an intimate devotee of the Virgin Mary in her devotional diptychs and in the decorative program of her private chapel at Brou. Perhaps the Visitation scene allowed Margaret of Austria to assume the role of an older, more motherly woman who had the good fortune of meeting Mary.

Another possibility is that this representation alludes to Margaret's role as surrogate mother. In Mechelen, she was not only in charge of administering the Burgundian Netherlands, but was also responsible for the well-being of four of her brother's under-age children.<sup>37</sup> Her brother, Philip the Handsome, had died in Spain in 1506 and his son, the future Emperor Charles V, was brought up under her tutelage. Charles lived in a princely mansion next door to Margaret's residence for the first sixteen years of his life. Given that the manuscript was intended as a gift to Charles V, this image may have been inserted by the regent as a subtle reference to her role as surrogate mother. In two private letters, written at the time of Margaret's death, Charles stresses the fact that his aunt was like a mother to him. He describes their relationship as one of love, friendship and mutual support.<sup>38</sup> It may well be that Margaret experienced the role of foster mother as a divine gift which compensated her for the loss of her only child.

### The Image of the Female Ruler

So far we have seen how Margaret of Austria cautiously adjusted her self-image to traditional female roles. She developed two different images of herself, the image of the aristocratic spouse and the image of the solemn widow. Earlier, it was suggested that she strategically employed these two modes of representation according to the context in which her portrait was to appear. In the public sections of her palace and in her funerary church at Brou, she presented herself as the devoted wife of Philibert of Savoy. When acting as Regent of the Netherlands she preferred to promote her image as the pious dowager duchess who had resigned herself to widowhood and was content to serve the family. We have seen two examples representing the latter type, one by Bernard van Orley (Fig.1) and one by Conrat Meit (Fig.12). But did Margaret make an effort to look for ways of representing herself beyond these two traditional roles of womanhood as a political leader? In his funerary speech for Margaret of Austria, Agrippa of Nettesheim characterized her as a circumspect, just and benevolent ruler, who cared for the well-being of her people.<sup>39</sup> Despite being a woman, she did not shy away from taking up arms against those who threatened the Hapsburgian-Burgundian Netherlands, either for political or for spiritual reasons. She fought, for instance, a drawn-out battle against the Duke of Guelders and ruthlessly persecuted the first supporters of Luther who attacked the authority of the Catholic church in her own territories.

Margaret of Austria belonged to the first generation of educated Renaissance women who expressed their ideas through art.<sup>40</sup> Like Isabella d'Este and Isabella of Castile, she had the necessary means to engage in patronage of the arts. Women established in positions of public authority, however, were confronted with the difficulty that there was no visual language available to them which would adequately reflect their newly gained status within society. For more than a century male rulers had enjoyed being portrayed as Hercules or Alexander, heroes who embodied physical strength and superiority and who were therefore ideally suited to be assimilated to the identity of male rulers. For women, however, there were no established models which combined female virtues with female leadership. How problematic it could be for a woman to adopt the attributes of a male ruler can be gauged from an episode reported about Queen Isabella of Castille, Margaret's first mother-in-law. Isabella's decision to be proceeded by a nobleman with a naked sword, met with great disapproval by her husband's secretary as the sword was considered to be a symbol more fitting for a male ruler.<sup>41</sup>

In contemporary literature, certain Roman and Old Testament women were described as brave and noble women, who fought altruistically for the public good or



Fig. 19. Master of the Holy Blood, *Lucretia*, oil on wood, 57.7 x 43.3 cm. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. no. 6900. (Brussels, KIK-IRPA.)

sacrificed themselves for the honour of their family. Lucretia, the dishonoured wife of a Roman patrician, committed suicide (Fig.19);<sup>42</sup> Judith, the Old Testament widow, killed Holofernes in his sleep; Jael the wife of Heber, drove a nail through Sisera's head. In all these cases the noble end was achieved by means of physical violence. While it seems that Margaret of Austria sympathised with Lucretia and her fate—she owned three images of Lucretia and displayed them in various parts of her residence—court etiquette made it impossible for her to take on the role of Lucretia or any of the other heroines. There was a plethora of exemplary women who illustrated the traditional female virtues of piety, modesty and obedience, such as the 'good Christian Women'—St Helena, St Bridget and St Elizabeth—as represented for instance in a contemporary woodcut by Hans Burgkmair.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, they did not represent any of the political qualities which Margaret of Austria strove for as Regent of the Netherlands.

There was, however, another set of female figures which was more appropriate for shaping Margaret's public image. Throughout the late Middle Ages, female representations of the cardinal and Christian virtues were both popular and unambiguous. Representations of the four cardinal virtues, Fortitude, Prudence, Justice and Temperance, were commonly used to characterize the virtues of a wise ruler. They feature prominently in the



Fig.20. Portrait Medal of Margaret of Austria, (a) recto: Margaret of Austria, (b) verso: Fortuna conquered by Virtue, circa 1505, bronze. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 2479 bß. (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

*Los Honores* tapestry set, which was woven for Emperor Charles V between 1520 and 1525.<sup>44</sup> They also appear in contemporary tomb sculpture, such as the sepulchre of the Dukes Francis and Margaret of Brittany, now in Nantes,<sup>45</sup> or the tomb of Juan II and Isabella of Portugal at the Miraflores monastery close to Burgos.

In the manuscript *Changement de Fortune en toute Prosperité*, the Italian author Michele Riccio gives us his account of Margaret of Austria's tragic life and highlights her outstanding moral qualities.<sup>46</sup> By referring explicitly to the four cardinal virtues in text and image, he emphasizes Margaret's strength of character and her will to overcome all adversities.<sup>47</sup> On several occasions, Margaret employed female personifications of virtue to make a statement about her public position as Regent of the Netherlands and about the principles which governed her life.

One example is a bronze medal with a representation of Margaret surrounded by a selection of her personal emblems (Fig.20a).<sup>48</sup> The inscription refers to her as 'Margaret, the daughter of Emperor Maximilian'. On the reverse appears a female figure with a crown, dressed in classical attire (Fig.20b). She is clearly labelled VIRTUS (Virtue). The depiction of a column to the left of the female figure can be understood as a reference to one of the four cardinal virtues, *Fortitudo* or Strength. At the feet of *Virtus* or Virtue kneels a female figure with two crowns, most likely a depiction of Fortune. The accompanying inscription comments explicitly on the relationship between Virtue and Fortune: VICTRIX FORTVNAE FORTISSIMA VIRTVS (the most strong virtue is victorious over fortune). This inscription can be understood as a characterisation of Margaret's steadfastness: she overcame the wiles of the Goddess Fortuna by her virtue. Jozef Duverger has argued convincingly that this coin

was designed around 1505 and that it reflects the ideas expressed in Jean Lemaire de Belges' poem *La Couronne Margaritique*.<sup>49</sup>

A second example is Margaret's official state canopy (Fig.21) and two associated panel paintings. The state canopy was designed by her court painter Bernard van Orley in 1523 and was woven in the workshop of Pieter de Pannemaker, one of the leading tapestry producers in the city of Brussels.<sup>50</sup> Such canopies were commonly used as backdrops for a ruler, who would either sit or stand underneath them during official functions. Margaret's canopy was taken to Spain by Emperor Charles V in 1531.

Fig.21. Bernard van Orley (design) and Pieter de Pannemaker, *Woven Canopy with God the Father and the Holy Ghost*, 1523–24, wool and silk, 210 x 210 cm. Madrid, Palacio Real, inv. no. 217.5945. (Madrid, Palacio Real.)





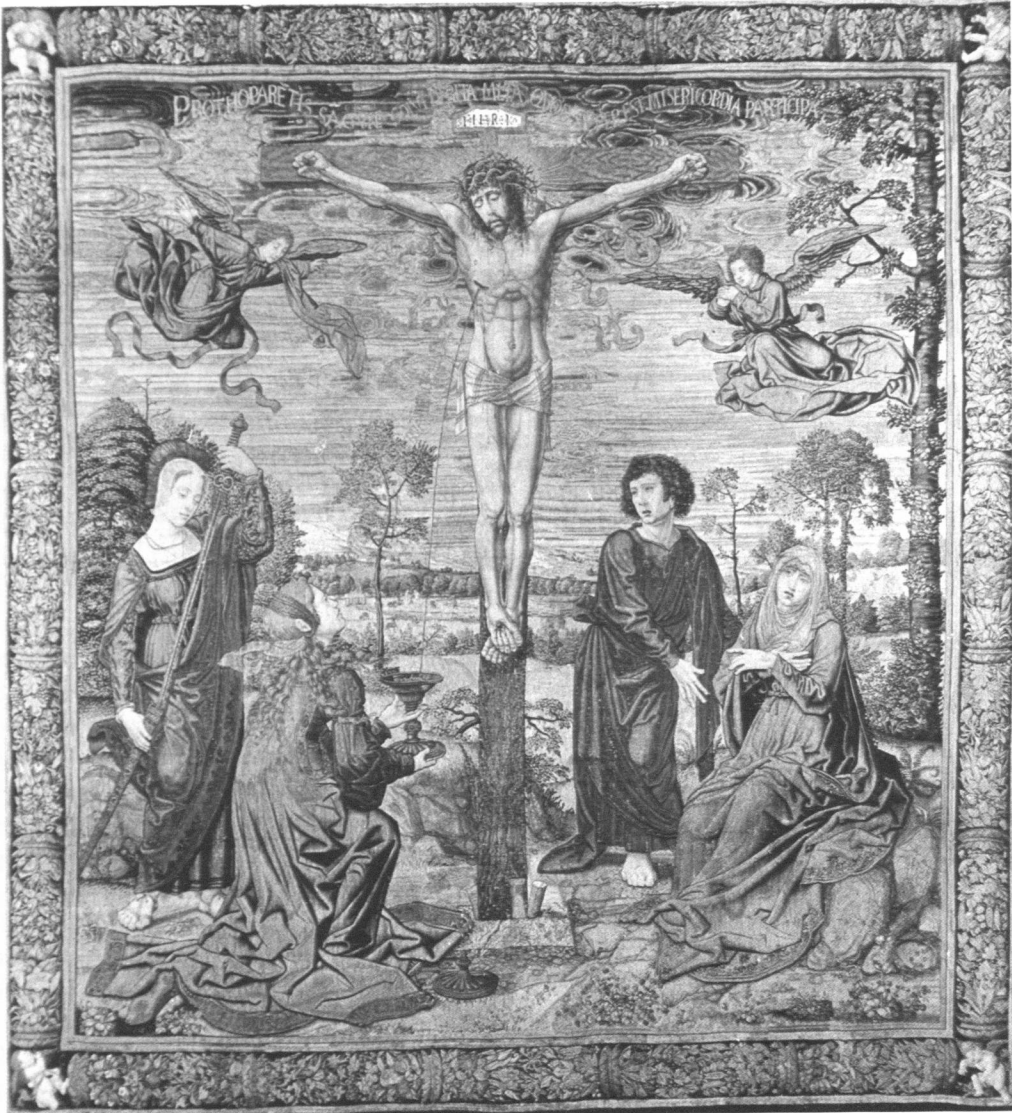


Fig.22. Bernard van Orley (design) and Pieter de Pannemaker, *Allegorical Crucifixion with Justice and Mercy*, circa 1523, wool and silk, 237 x 215 cm. Madrid, Palacio Real, inv. no. 265.7835. (Madrid, Palacio Real.)

The *ciel*, or top section of the canopy, shows a foreshortened depiction of God the Father and the Holy Ghost (Fig.21). The central figure is surrounded by an aureole of small angels glittering with gold. This image complements the depiction of the crucified Christ on the dossal (Fig.22). Taken together, dossal and *ciel* form a representation of the Holy Trinity. For those who were unable to see the image on the *ciel* because they were standing too far away, the *Crucifixion* could function as an autonomous image. The *Crucifixion* can be read on two levels. On the one hand, we are looking at the biblical event of the Crucifixion with the dead Christ on the cross, on the right side St John the Evangelist and the swooning mother of Christ. But the tapestry contains a second level of meaning which goes well beyond the biblical account. On the left side, we can observe two female personifications, labeled on the hem of their dresses *Iusticia* or Justice and *Misericordia* or Mercy. The

kneeling figure of *Misericordia* is shown collecting blood from Christ's side, a traditional symbol of the redemption of mankind through the death of Christ. *Justice*, on the other hand, is peacefully putting her sword into her sheath, giving prominence to the role of *Misericordia*. The inscription running across the top of the tapestry underlines the idea that divine grace is stronger than the original sin brought about by the fall of man: PROTHOPARE[N]TIS SA[N]GVINE SOLVI DEBITA M[V]LTA QUOD SVPER EST MISERICORDIA PARTICIPA.<sup>51</sup> A second inscription, which runs between *Misericordia* and the body of Christ, deals with the beneficial effects of this system of divine grace: SA[N]GV[N]IS HOC PR[E]CIV[M] DISTRIBVA[M] INDIGENIS.

What motivated Margaret of Austria to choose such a scene as a backdrop for her official state canopy? By installing herself in front of a tapestry with a highly symbolic Crucifixion scene, she conveyed to the public that

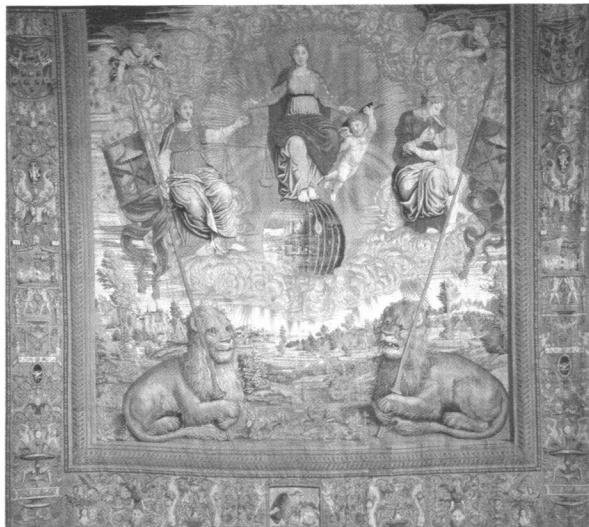


Fig. 23. *Religion with Justice and Charity*, the State Baldachin of Clement VII, Brussels, after 1523. Rome, Vatican Museums. (Rome, Vatican Museums.)

her reign was governed by Christian principles. She gave prominence to two basic concepts of heavenly and earthly power, namely Justice and Mercy. By placing herself underneath the blessing God the Father with the Holy Ghost, she presented herself as a representative of the worldly powers, namely Emperor Charles V who derived his authority directly from God.

In the Vatican collections in Rome exists the dossal of an almost contemporary state canopy which shows surprising similarities with Margaret of Austria's canopy (Fig. 23). This tapestry was commissioned by Clement VII from a Brussels workshop, probably shortly after he was appointed Pope in 1523.<sup>52</sup> The Vatican dossal expresses a similar, but even more abstract, concept. The tapestry displays three female personifications which hover in the sky, immediately above a deep landscape with two heraldic lions. In the centre of the hanging appears a representation of *Religio* or Religion. She is seated on a large terrestrial globe and points to an open book. On the left side appears *Justicia* or Justice with an upright sword and a well-balanced scale in her hands. To her right sits *Caritas* or Charity, who is portrayed as a motherly woman nurturing a naked child.

Clement VII chose a design which is strongly reminiscent of Margaret of Austria's allegorical programme on her baldachin. But instead of employing *Justicia* and *Misericordia* to embody the notion of justice versus grace and forgiveness, he chose the more traditional *Justitia* juxtaposed with *Caritas*.

The closeness in spirit between these two state canopies is further confirmed by a medium-sized panel painting which Margaret probably commissioned herself from Bernard van Orley a few years after the execution of her state canopy. Van Orley's panel painting of a *Crucifixion*, now in Rotterdam, addresses the same ideas as expressed in Margaret's dossal.<sup>53</sup> The two inscriptions are

identical with the texts used on the tapestry. Van Orley, however, made one important adjustment to his earlier design. *Misericordia*, the woman collecting blood from Christ's side, has been replaced by *Caritas* (Fig. 24). The two personifications have been reduced in scale and now appear in two roundels underneath the bars of the cross. In this picture, the text being spoken by *Misericordia*, 'sanguinis hoc preciu[m] distribua[m] indigenis' has been transferred to *Caritas* and appears above the roundel on the left.

Those accustomed to early sixteenth century imagery will recognize immediately that we are no longer dealing with a classical representation of Charity as found in the state canopy of Pope Clement VII. In the Rotterdam painting, Charity wears the white bonnet and the pleated ruff of a widow. We are, no doubt, dealing with another portrait in disguise, inserted by Bernard van Orley, Margaret's court painter. The woman who cares for the naked children unequivocally carries the features of Archduchess Margaret of Austria. While Justice and Mercy were intentionally employed as abstract concepts of rule on her state canopy, the Rotterdam panel takes the issue a step further. In this case, Margaret wished to be identified explicitly with one of the three Christian virtues. She herself assumes the role of *Caritas* as a model for the ideal of Christian love. But why did she decide to make such an explicit statement about her role in public?

Fig. 24. Bernard van Orley and workshop, *Allegorical Crucifixion with Charity and Justice* (detail, *Charity*), after 1524, oil on wood, 140 x 90.5 cm. Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum. (Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum.)



As Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret was responsible for law and order in her territories. In the early 1520s she had promptly reinforced the edicts issued against the Lutheran heresy by Emperor Charles V. Misbelievers and heretic preachers were persecuted and some even died at the stake. It may well be that at the time when she commissioned the state canopy Margaret was concerned about her public image. By commissioning this tapestry, she made a special effort to present herself as a magnanimous and benevolent ruler. *Justitia* is portrayed without scales, peacefully putting away her sword, because Margaret did not want to be seen as a harsh and merciless defender of justice. She clearly wanted to be associated by her subjects with the notion of *Mercy* and *Charity*. The visual language employed in these examples thus speaks in no uncertain terms to the beholder.<sup>54</sup>

The reference of this message to Margaret herself is reinforced by a second, much larger altarpiece in Bruges, which also originates from the workshop of Bernard van Orley.<sup>55</sup> This passion altarpiece, in the form of a triptych, was commissioned by the Margaret to decorate the high altar of her funerary church in Brou. It was not completed during her lifetime and was later taken over by her nephew, Emperor Charles V. The central panel displays another crucifixion accompanied by Charity and Justice.

Margaret thus deliberately chose abstract classical personifications of Justice and Mercy for the dossal of her state baldachin. The link between this Christian concept of rulership and Margaret the Regent of the Netherlands would have been suggested by her physical presence. During official functions Margaret would have sat or stood next to a benevolent *Justitia* and a compassionate *Misericordia* and would have been identified with those principles. The substitution of the classical personification of Charity or Mercy by a portrait-in-disguise had become necessary in those cases where the regent wanted to be seen as a figure of moral strength and authority but could not be present herself. To be portrayed as *Caritas* on the main altar of her Brou monastery was significant insofar as this was the spiritual centre of her southern territories. Like a nurturing mother Margaret had provided housing and financial support to the Augustinian monks at Brou.<sup>56</sup> The allegorical portrait of Margaret of Austria on the high altar of Brou may have been intended as a visual reminder to the monks of Brou to pray for Margaret's soul in perpetuity.

Of all the portraits produced of Margaret of Austria during the 50 years of her life, the depictions of her as *Caritas* are by far the most programmatic and symbolic. Because she had developed a rich framework of coats of arms, symbols and personal mottos early in her career,

Margaret was able to come forward with more sophisticated concepts towards the end of her life. Only with the promotion of standardised portrait types such as her representation as a widow was she in a position to commission these symbolic representations. Because everybody was familiar with this well-publicised portrait type, the image of Margaret as *Misericordia* or *Caritas* could be understood by her courtiers, by visiting diplomats and by the Augustinian monks in Brou.

The representation of Margaret of Austria in the guise of a Christian virtue marks an important step in northern European culture. Throughout the sixteenth century many female members of the high nobility achieved positions of political authority. Women like Louise of Savoy, Mary of Hungary, Margaret of Parma, Catherine de' Medici and Queen Elizabeth I of England were increasingly acting as independent patrons of the arts. These women were in a position to devise their own iconography and increasingly searched for images which would adequately visualise their role as Regent or Head of State. Margaret of Austria was one of the first to explore this new terrain and laid the foundations for those who followed in her footsteps.

## Notes

1. This lecture is a tribute to Professor Emeritus Margaret Manion, who has more in common with Margaret of Austria than her first name and the same patron saint. Both have shown a passionate love and concern for the Arts throughout their active public life. The lecture was delivered in November 1999 at the University of Melbourne as the annual Margaret Manion Lecture and was held in conjunction with the conference *Reflections on Medieval & Renaissance Art and Patronage* organised by the School of Fine Arts, Classical Studies and Archaeology in honour of Professor Emeritus Margaret Manion (IVBM), AO. I wish to express my gratitude to the organisers of this conference who made it possible for me to return to Australia. I would like to thank in particular Charles Zika, but also Maryan Ainsworth, Jens Burk and Paul Matthews who all made helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
2. Two recent Ph.D. theses have begun to take up the challenge and looked at aspects of Margaret's architectural patronage or at the artists working at her court; see Hörsch, 1994, and Rivière, 1987.
3. The material presented in this paper is part of a larger study on the art patronage, collection and residence of Margaret of Austria. See D. Eichberger, 'Die Sammlung der Margarete von Österreich. Mäzenatentum, Sammelwesen und Kunstkenntenschaft am "Hof van Savoyen" in Mechelen', unpublished Habilitationsschrift, to be published by Brepols [London and Turnhout], 2002.
4. Blockmans and Prevenier, 1998, pp.206–34.
5. Debae, 1995, pp.3–8, 234–41, 495–98.
6. London, National Gallery, inv. NG 186. See Campbell, 1998, pp.174–211.
7. For further information on the art collection, see Eichberger and Beaven, 1995, pp.225–48; Eichberger, 1996, pp.259–79 and Eichberger, 1998.
8. Panofsky, 1955, p.176. See also Silver, 1993.
9. Poirret, 1994 and Hörsch, 1994.
10. Officially the church was built in order to fulfill a vow taken by Margaret's mother-in-law, Margaret of Bourbon, but Margaret of Austria was equally interested in strengthening the claims to the territory for her family, see Hörsch, 2001.
11. Budapest, Museum of Decorative Arts, inv. 14764, Van den Boogert and Kerkhoff, 1993, p.44.
12. Brussels, B.R., ms.10512, fol.2r. See Debae, 1995, p.213.
13. Debae, 1995, pp.504–7.
14. Debae, 1995, pp.509–11.
15. The medal with *Virtue conquering Fortuna* will be discussed below.
16. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.130. See Sterling, Ainsworth, Talbot *et al.*, 1999, pp.10–18.

17. Stecher, 1891, 3, p.64.
18. 'Inventaire des bagues, joyaux, vaisselles d'or et d'argent et plusieurs autres choses appartenans a madame Marguerite d'Autriche', Valenciennes, 14 June 1493, Wien, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Habsburgisch Lothringisches Familienarchiv, Familienurkunde, n.827, f.2v: 'Item quatre bordures d'or dorillettes, dont l'une est vng tortis d'or et de noir, l'autre de C et de M, l'autre a coquilles et l'autre de chainne plattes' and 3r: 'Item une de velours cramoisie, fourree d'ermynes'.
19. *Ibid.*, fol.2r: 'Item ung cuer de ballay a tout une grosse perle y pendant et une pointe de diamant dessus le dit cuer'.
20. Simons, 1988, pp.4–30 and Kress, 1995.
21. Eichberger and Beaven, 1995.
22. Soly and Van de Wiele, 1999, cat. no.43, p.195.
23. Bronze *jeton*, dating from 1519, Mechelen, Stedelijk Museum Hof van Busleyden, MARG: CESARV: AUSTRIE: VNICA: FILIA: ET: AMITA. See Baudson, 1981, cat.97, p.118. An earlier medal commissioned in 1502 by the city of Brou on the occasion of the marriage between Margaret and Philibert also referred explicitly to Margaret as the daughter of Emperor Maximilian. Jean de Marenne, PHILIBERTVS: DVX: SABAVDIE: VIII: MARGVA: MAX: CAE: AUG FI: D: SA. See Baudson, 1981, cat.98, p.119. A third medal, dating from circa 1505 carries the inscription: MARGARITA CAESARIS MAXIMILIANI FILIA, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, Inv. 2479 bß, see note 48 below.
24. Eichberger and Beaven, 1995, p.239.
25. Poiret and Nivière, 1994, p.54–55.
26. Bruchet, 1927, p.170–85, and Hörsch, 1994, p.112–48. Jens Burk is completing a doctoral thesis on Conrat Meit's sculpture at the Hochschule für Gestaltung, Karlsruhe.
27. Kavalier, 2000, p.226–27.
28. Bruchet, 1927, pp.171–75.
29. Lemaire, 1891, p.135: 'Et qu'il soit vray, quand son feu trescher seigneur le Prince de Castille, travailloit aux extremitez de la mort, elle non sachant le mal tel qu'il estoit (pource qu'on luy faisoit accroire le contraire) et cuidant aller en certain pelerinage pour la santé de luy...'
30. Eichberger and Beaven, 1995, pp.240–41.
31. These two half-length busts, which were put up in the library before 1516, no longer exist and are only known through the entries in several inventories and through a contemporary descriptions. Two of Conrat Meit's box-wood sculptures of Philibert and Margaret, now in the British Museum, may have served as models for the two marble portrait busts (Fig.11).
32. This practice can be traced back to the thirteenth century, but is employed more systematically in the sixteenth century, see also: Pollerros, 1988.
33. Paravicini-Bagliani, 1990.
34. Eichberger, 1998, p.266–67.
35. Evans, 1992, p.15; Evans and Brinkmann, 1992–1995.
36. Evans, 1992, p.28.
37. Margaret also adopted the children of Isabella and Christian of Denmark.
38. Gachard, 1833, vol.1, pp.293–94, letter to Antoine de Lalaing, comte de Hochstraeten, dated 3 December 1530: 'j'ay ce jourdhuy au vespre receu voz lettres du xviiiij<sup>e</sup> du mois passé, contenant la maladie de madame ma bonne tante, de laquelle me desplaist et la sens tant extremement que plus ne pourroie, pour l'avoir et tenir en lieu de mere, comme aussi je suis et me tiens obligé en reciproque de l'amour plus que maternelle et entiere affection, exploits et bon office dont elle a toujours usé envers moy, et en affaires et au gouvernement de mes pays de pardela.' Also pp.295–96, letter to Antoine de Hochstraeten, dated 6 December 1530: '... nour receusmes dernièrement sur nostre partement de Spire, voz lettres contenant le trespas de madame nostre tante, que avons extremement senty et sentons, tant pour la proximité de sang, que la singuliere amytie comme maternelle, avec toute entiere confidence, que luy portions a bon droit, pour le continuel soing, cure et sollicitude qu'elle a tousjours eu jusques à la fin en tous ce que nous touchoit et empourtoit, signamment en l'endroit, conduyte et gouvernement de nos pays d'embas et cognoissons de y avoir faict tres grant perte ...'
39. 'Henrici Cornelii Agrippae oratio, habita in funere divae Margaritae Austriaeorum & Burgundionum principis aeterna memoria dignissimae', in Henrici Cornelii Agrippae Ab Nettesheim, *Opera*, Lugduni, 1600, vol.2.2.
40. Tolley, 1996, pp.237–58.
41. Lunefeld, 1981, p.158.
42. Martens, 1998, pp.57–58.
43. Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), 'Drei gut kristin', 1516, woodcut. See Müller and Noël, 1985, p.134.
44. Delmarcel, 2000.
45. Michel Colombe, Nantes Cathedral. See Poiret, 1994, p.69.
46. Michele Riccio, *Changement de fortune en toute prosperité*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod.2625, Paris, 1507–9. See Debae, 1995, pp.509–12.
47. Already Jean Lemaire de Belges had employed Prudence and Fortitude to console the grieving widow after the death of her second husband. The accompanying miniature shows how these two female personifications have been dispatched from heaven by Virtue to support Margaret of Austria. See *La Couronne Margarithique*, fol.14v.
48. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. Nr.2479 bß, 39.3 mm diameter. I am grateful to Hofrat Dr Karl Schulz for providing detailed information on the bronze medals in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, letter, 10 October 1999.
49. Duverger, 1942, pp.101–2.
50. Delmarcel, 1992.
51. Some of the letters on the original tapestries are no longer clearly legible, according to Delmarcel, 1992, p.144, they read as follows: 'PROTHOPARE(N)TIS SA(N)GVINE SOLVI DEBITA M(V)LTA QUOD SUPER EST MISERICORDIA PARTICIPA'.
52. Reiss, 1992.
53. Lammertse, 1994, pp.180–83.
54. According to the funerary oration delivered by Agrippa of Nettesheim at the church of St Peter and Paul in Mechelen, Margaret indeed showed concern for the poor and needy within her own territory, as long as they did not turn against the established church. This claim is substantiated by the stipulations in her testament and by her last orders of payments. Margaret made provisions for the education and nourishment of several children, paid for the studies of a priest from the Franciscan monastery of Chambéry and paid for the care of a mentally handicapped woman, all 'pour l'honneur de Dieu'. See De Quinsonas, 1860, 3, pp.401–3.
55. De Vos *et al.*, 1983–1984.
56. She equally cared for the well-being of her subjects as her testament reveals so clearly. See Baux, pp.345–67.

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