

MARIE DE BOURGOGNE/MARY OF BURGUNDY

BURGUNDICA

XXXI

*Publié sous la direction de*  
Jean-Marie Cauchies

Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)



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# Marie de Bourgogne

*Figure, principat et postérité d'une duchesse tardo-médiévale*

# Mary of Burgundy

*'Persona', Reign, and Legacy of a Late Medieval Duchess*

*sous la direction de / edited by*

MICHAEL DEPRETER, JONATHAN DUMONT,  
ELIZABETH L'ESTRANGE & SAMUEL MAREEL

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# Collection BURGUNDICA

Peu de périodes, de tranches d'histoire ont suscité et continuent à susciter auprès d'un large public autant d'intérêt voire d'engouement que le « siècle de Bourgogne ». Il est vrai qu'à la charnière de ce que l'on dénomme aussi vaguement que commodément « bas moyen âge » et « Renaissance », les douze décennies qui séparent l'avènement de Philippe le Hardi en Flandre (1384) de la mort de Philippe le Beau (1506) forment un réceptacle d'idées et de pratiques contrastées. Et ce constat s'applique à toutes les facettes de la société. La collection Burgundica se donne pour objectif de présenter toutes ces facettes, de les reconstruire – nous n'oserions écrire, ce serait utopique, de les ressusciter – à travers un choix d'études de haut niveau scientifique mais dont tout « honnête homme » pourra faire son miel. Elle mettra mieux ainsi en lumière les jalons que le temps des ducs Valois de Bourgogne et de leurs successeurs immédiats, Maximilien et Philippe de Habsbourg, fournit à l'historien dans la découverte d'une Europe moderne alors en pleine croissance.

Illustration de couverture : *Mary of Burgundy* (c. 1532-1541),  
GAASBEEK CASTLE (Belgium). © Gaasbeek Castle.



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# Table des abréviations / Table of abbreviations

## Institutions

ADCO:	Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or
ADN:	Archives Départementales du Nord
AGR:	Archives Générales du Royaume (Belgique)
AM:	Archives municipales
ANF:	Archives Nationales de France
BL:	British Library
BM:	Bibliothèque municipale
BnF:	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CA:	City Archives
JPGM:	J. Paul Getty Museum
KBR:	Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
LB:	Library of Congress
MET:	Metropolitan Museum of Art
ÖNB:	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
ÖSHHS:	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
PL:	Public Library

## Dictionnaires/Dictionaries

B.N.B:	<i>Biographie Nationale de Belgique</i>
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## Revues/Journals

A.B.:	<i>Annales de Bourgogne</i>
A.P.A.É.:	<i>Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États</i>
B.C.R.H.:	<i>Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire</i>
B.N.B.:	<i>Biographie nationale de Belgique</i>
B.M.G.N.:	<i>Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i>
L.M.A.:	<i>Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie</i>
N.B.N.:	<i>Nouvelle Biographie nationale</i>
N.B.W.:	<i>Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek</i>
P.C.E.É.B.:	<i>Publication du Centre européen d'Études bourguignonnes (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)</i>
R.B.P.H.:	<i>Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
R.H.:	<i>Revue historique</i>
R.N.:	<i>Revue du Nord</i>

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Ce livre se situe dans le prolongement d'un colloque pluridisciplinaire tenu en mars 2015 à Bruxelles et à Bruges. Les communications présentées à cette occasion furent complétées par plusieurs articles d'auteurs n'ayant pas participé au colloque, et ce afin de couvrir les trois axes de recherche de la manière la plus complète possible.

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This book is the result of a journey that began in March 2015 with an interdisciplinary conference held in Brussels and Bruges. The majority of the articles were presented as papers at the original conference but we are also pleased to have been able to

include several additional articles by authors whose work complements and expands the three areas of investigation into Mary's life and principate around which the volume is organized.

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## 14. The House of Croÿ and Mary of Burgundy

### *Or How to Keep Noble Elites at the Burgundian-Habsburg Court (1477-1482)*

Mary of Burgundy's rule is conspicuously lacking from the standard history of the House of Croÿ.<sup>1</sup> Over the course of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, this noble family of Picard origin represented a true success story, with its noblemen rising from modest knights to rich dukes, who, for a long time, held the only ducal title in the Low Countries and controlled territories that straddled the southern borderlands along France and the Empire. To be fair, the family's spectacular rise in power and prestige was greatly facilitated by Burgundian-Habsburg patronage. As a result, almost all family members have been linked in an intimate way with either the Burgundian dukes or their Habsburg successors and their splendid courts. In the mid-fifteenth century, Philip the Good, then duke of Burgundy, allegedly had Antoine de Croÿ as his eternal confidant and favourite, even against the will of his own son and heir.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the same century, his great-grandson, Philip the Fair, was mockingly said to be guided by a *croit conseil*, a pun pointing at the

- 
- 1 While the history of the House of Croÿ still awaits a modern study, the core bibliography for the late fifteenth century consists of two important editions and an article by Werner Paravicini: L.-P. GACHARD, *Notice des Archives de M. le duc de Caraman, précédée de recherche historiques sur les princes de Chimay et les comtes de Beaumont*, in *B.C.R.H.*, t. 11, 1845, pp. 1-148; M.-R. THIELEMANS, *Les Croÿ, conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne. Documents extraits de leurs archives familiales, 1357-1487*, in *B.C.R.H.*, t. 124, 1959, pp. 1-141; W. PARAVICINI, *Moers, Croÿ, Burgund. Eine Studie über den Niedergang des Hauses Moers in den zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, t. 179, 1977, pp. 7-113 (repr. Bonn, 1978). Two modern genealogies of the family should be handled with care: R. BORN, *Les Croÿ. Une grande lignée hennuyère d'hommes de guerre, de diplomates, de conseillers secrets, dans les coulisses du pouvoir, sous les ducs de Bourgogne et la Maison d'Autriche (1390-1612)*, Brussels, 1981; G. MARTIN, *Histoire et généalogie de la maison de Croÿ*, Lyon, 1980 (repr. 2001). *Arenberg in de Lage Landen. Een hoogadelijk huis in Vlaanderen & Nederland*, ed. J. ROEGIERS, M. DEREZ, M. NELISSEN, J.-P. TYTGAT and A. VERBRUGGE, Leuven, 2002, situates the history of the House of Croÿ within that of its main successors, the House of Arenberg. Also important is J. SCOHIER, *La Généalogie et descende de la très illustre maison de Croÿ*, Douai, Widow Jacques Boscard (= Christine de Roovere), 1589 (anastatic repr. Brussels, 1996).
- 2 R. VAUGHAN, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy*, London, 1970, pp. 334-372 (chap. 11: *Burgundy, France and the Crusade, 1454-1464*), pp. 372-378 (chap. 12: *The Close of the Reign*). This should, however, be compared to the critical observations in C.A.J. ARMSTRONG, *Had the Burgundian Government a Policy for the Nobility?*, in *Id., England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1983, pp. 213-236 (here pp. 234-235).

Violet Soen • Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

*Marie de Bourgogne/Mary of Burgundy*, ed. by Michael DEPRETER, Jonathan DUMONT, Elizabeth L'ESTRANGE & Samuel MAREEL, *Burgundica* 31 (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 237-250.

family's dominance in Burgundian politics.<sup>3</sup> Even in the sixteenth century, the young Emperor Charles V had Guillaume de Croÿ, lord of Chièvres, as his infallible companion.<sup>4</sup> This makes it all the more surprising that Mary of Burgundy's reign seems to have faded out of the pages of the Croÿ family history. This lacuna even occurs in a recent overview on the late medieval nobility in the Low Countries: while this work specifically highlights both the hesitations felt by many noblemen to stay loyal to the Burgundian party when Mary's rule started in 1477, and the decision of others to turn to the French king for support, it neglects to examine the Croÿ family at this crucial stage.<sup>5</sup>

Mary of Burgundy might be absent from the historiography on the rise of the House of Croÿ, yet this contribution argues that she still played a prominent role in the family's history at a particularly eventful moment of time: the duchess smoothed over the relations between the House of Burgundy and this crucial noble family after her father had first exiled its members from court in 1465, and then had individually pardoned them throughout the next decade. By doing so, she succeeded in reintegrating a powerful "frontier family" along the southern borderlands in a troubled era, when many similar aristocratic families chose to serve the French king instead. To achieve this aim, Mary, and eventually her consort, Maximilian of Habsburg, implemented a three-pronged approach to the Croÿ family. First, as specifically requested by the Croÿ family, they restored functions and restituted confiscated lands as already promised by Charles the Bold. Secondly, they gradually and selectively provided the family members with prestigious functions at court, in the army, and in the border provinces where they were the main fief holders. Thirdly, in doing this, they copied Charles the Bold's *divide et impera* strategies and played upon the inner rivalries between the main and collateral branch of the House of Croÿ. Hence, Mary and Maximilian used the different sources of patronage available to them to tie the Croÿ family to their sphere of influence between 1477 and 1482, while turning two nephews, both named Philippe de Croÿ, into competitors at court.

## 1. Exile

Before detailing how Mary of Burgundy engaged with the extended House of Croÿ, it is first necessary to describe the latter family's history. The Croÿ took their dynastic

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- 3 J.-M. CAUCHIES, "Croÿ conseil" et ses "ministres". *L'entourage politique de Philippe le Beau (1494-1506)*, in *À l'ombre du pouvoir. Les entourages princiers au Moyen Âge*, ed. A. MARCHANDISSE and J.-L. KUPPER, Liege-Geneva, 2003, pp. 291-411; B. STERCHI, *Über den Umgang mit Lob under Tadel. Normative Adelsliteratur und politische Kommunikation im burgundischen Hofadel*, Turnhout, 2005.
- 4 G. DANSAERT and T. DE LIMBURG-STIRUM, *Guillaume de Croÿ-Chièvres*, Kortrijk, 1942, to be supplemented with the more recent biographical entry in H. COOLS, *Mannen met Macht. Edellieden en de Moderne Staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse landen (1475-1530)*, Zutphen, 2001, pp. 200-201.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100 discusses the "peripatetic movements" of the members of the Croÿ clan in a chapter dedicated to the "choices of Burgundian-Habsburg noblemen", but the crucial years surrounding 1477, as discussed here, are omitted.

name after the Picard lordship of Crouy(-Saint-Pierre) on the left bank of the river Somme, next to the town of Picquigny and the better-known city of Amiens. The lordship of Crouy itself, part of which had initially been donated to the monastery of Gard, lacked a castle, but compensated for this default by generating income from the rural activities performed on the land; the family castle was in nearby Airaines, a territory later joined to the Crouy seigneurie.<sup>6</sup> Originally belonging to the warrior nobility from Picardy that rose to fame during the unpredictable course of the Hundred Years War, the Croÿ family made their fate and fortune by serving the duke of Burgundy at court and on the battlefield. After the signing of the peace treaty of Arras in 1435, the brothers Antoine (c. 1402-1475) and Jean (after 1402-1473) became invaluable advisors of Philip the Good, guiding him through most of his financial, diplomatic, and martial decisions. The brothers advocated a Francophile policy, a logical move due to the patronage of the French king, their positions at his court, and their lordships within French territory. In fact, Antoine (later dubbed “le Grand”) took great pride in his purchase of the county of Château-Porcien in Champagne, which bestowed upon him the important rank of count and forced him to pay direct homage to the king of France.<sup>7</sup>

Jealous of their status as Philip the Good’s favourites, the duke’s heir, Charles, count of Charolais, expelled the members of the House of Croÿ from the court of Burgundy by March 1465.<sup>8</sup> The scene had all the ingredients of an ancient drama, and it was, in fact, theatrically staged by the participants themselves. Charles’s outspoken views on lese-majesty made him framed the expulsion of the Croÿ as an inevitable result of ingratitude, deception, and even fraud from his vassals, who, he alleged, ought to show him unconditional loyalty and service.<sup>9</sup> As a result, Charolais denounced the members of the House of Croÿ as “enemies”, confiscated their lordships, and required them to leave the Burgundian court and its territories. The Croÿ deeply felt

6 R. FOSSIER, *La Terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu’à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, t. 2, Paris, 1968, map between pp. 678-679; J. SCOHIER, *La Généalogie*, op. cit., p. 5.

7 The position of the family under Philip the Good is best treated by W. PARAVICINI, *Moers, Croy, Burgund, passim*; G. ROBERT, *Documents relatifs au comté de Porcien*, Monaco, 1935, discusses how Antoine de Croÿ could buy the county from its imprisoned owner Charles d’Orléans, in return for his ransom in 1437-1438. The deal was clearly facilitated by Duke Philip the Good.

8 The rival factions at Burgundian court were an important reason for the downfall of the favourites: M. DAMEN, *Rivalité nobiliaire et succession princière. La lutte pour le pouvoir à la cour de Bavière et à la cour de Bourgogne*, in *R.N.*, t. 91, 2009, pp. 361-383; W. PARAVICINI, *Acquérir sa grâce pour le temps advenir. Les hommes de Charles le Téméraire, prince héritier (1433-1467)*, in *À l’ombre du pouvoir*, op. cit., pp. 361-383.

9 *Ce sont les points que le seigneur de Charroloys mēt et impose au seigneur de Croÿ* (PARIS, BnF, MS fr. 5040, ff. 170v-171r, published and dated 22 March 1465 in *Mémoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, seigneur d’Argenton* [...]. Nouvelle édition, ed. D. GODEFROY and N. LENGLET DU FRESNOY, t. 2, London-Paris, pp. 443-444). However, the views expressed by these chroniclers should be read within the context of their political stance: C. THIRY, *Les Croÿ face aux indiciers Bourguignons. George Chastelain, Jean Molinet*, in *Et c’est la fin pour quoy nous sommes ensemble. Hommage à Jean Dufournet. Littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Âge*, ed. J.-C. AUBAILLY, E. BAUMGARTNER, F. DUBOST, L. DULAC and M. FAURE, t. 3, Paris, 1993, pp. 1363-1380; for the exceptionally outspoken ideas of the future Charles the Bold on lese-majesty: W. BLOCKMANS,

this violation of the codes of chivalry, as they had believed that they were assisting their overlord with *consilium et auxilium*. To add to the drama, as described by at least one chronicler, family leader Antoine *le Grand* alleged that he did “not want to give up service to a French king for a count of Charolais”, pointing out that the duke of Burgundy was still a member of a collateral branch of the Valois dynasty, and that he had to recognize French suzerainty over their territories in Artois and Flanders.<sup>10</sup> When asked to leave Burgundian lands, the Croÿ did so, henceforth taking up residence in their castles in the kingdom of France, with Antoine sojourning in and around Château-Porcien in Champagne for the next eight years.

This is the point at which the historiography usually ends. Richard Vaughan, though a prolific writer on the reign of Philip the Good, explained the expulsion by remarking that “it was not till after Charles had become duke that they were pardoned and reinstated”.<sup>11</sup> Still, there were many complications and complexities in this prolonged and painful reconciliation between the members of the House of Croÿ, a process which I have previously described at great length; in this case, a brief summary will be sufficient.<sup>12</sup> The eventual outcome — the reconciliation of Croÿ with Burgundy — was unpredictable, as Antoine’s ability to easily “stay away” in France for eight years shows. Instead, the reconciliation of the family clan happened in three troublesome stages between 1468 and 1475: the many contingencies of each episode underline the fact that Croÿ family members had a remarkable resilience towards the centralization policies of the duke of Burgundy. Rather than simply genuflecting before the duke, they negotiated their reconciliation on their own terms, securing for themselves increased family properties and prestige in the end.

The first to reconcile were Jean, Antoine’s younger brother, and his son Philippe (1434-1482), both of whom did so in 1468, three years after their initial expulsion.<sup>13</sup> Before their banishment, both father and son had served as grand bailiffs and

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Crisme de leze magesté. *Les idées politiques de Charles le Téméraire*, in *Les Pays-Bas bourguignons. Histoire et institutions. Mélanges André Uytendaele*, ed. J.-M. DUVOSQUEL, J. NAZET and A. VANRIE, Brussels, 1996, pp. 71-91.

- 10 [ ... ] *cesser le service d'un roi de France pour un comte de Charolais* (GEORGE CHASTELAIN, *Œuvres*, ed. J.-B.-M.-C. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, t. 5, Brussels, 1864, p. 192; translation provided by H. ZMORA, *Monarchy, Aristocracy and the State in Europe 1300-1800*, London, 2001, p. 63).
- 11 R. VAUGHAN, *Philip the Good*, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-378 (here p. 378).
- 12 V. SOEN, *La Causa Croÿ et les limites du mythe bourguignon. La frontière, le lignage et la mémoire (1465-1475)*, in *P.C.E.É.B.*, t. 52, 2012, pp. 81-97.
- 13 Philippe de Croÿ, lord of Sempy and Quiévrain and count of Chimay (c. 1434/1436-1482): Général GUILLAUME, *Croÿ (Philippe de), comte de Chimay, baron de Quiévrain*, in *B.N.B.*, t. 4, 1873, col. 563-564; M. DEBAE, *Philippe de Croÿ, comte de Chimay, seigneur de Sempy et de Quiévrain*, in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. R. DE SMEDT, Frankfurt, 2000, pp. 174-176; H. COOLS, *Croÿ, Filips, graaf van Chimay, heer van Sempy en van Quiévrain*, in *Id.*, *Mannen met Macht*, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195 (but with a couple of instances in which he is wrongfully equated with his homonymous cousin, the count of Porcien, listed in the next footnote); *Prosopographia Curiae Burgundicae (1407-1477)*, nr 1263; J. MARIS, *De aanstelling van Philips van Croy, graaf van Chimay, tot stadhouder van Gelderland in 1474*, in *Gelre. Bijdragen en mededelingen*, t. 60, 1961, pp. 157-162. His bibliophily is discussed by: J. DEVAUX, *Un Seigneur lettré à la Cour de Bourgogne. Philippe de Croÿ, Comte de Chimay*, in *Liber Amicorum Raphaël De Smedt*, ed. A. TOURNIEU, t. 4, Leuven, 2001, pp. 12-33, and earlier but shorter

provincial governors of Hainaut. They were also among the main fief holders within the county of Hainaut: Jean held the frontier lordship of Chimay, and his son inherited the lordship of Quiévrain after his mother's death in 1461. Upon Charles the Bold's pardon, they could firmly establish themselves as a collateral, but powerful, cadet branch of Chimay within the House of Croÿ. Although they would no longer gain special financial privileges or commissions at court as under Philip the Good, they did receive *gages spéciaux extraordinaires*, and, by 1470, they were again paid regularly as *chambellans*. By two separate acts, passed in 1469 and 1470, they recovered their lordships in Hainaut, and, more importantly, took possession of some of Antoine's confiscated lands in and around Louvain in Brabant. In January 1473, Charles the Bold elevated the lordship of Chimay to county, most likely with the aim of providing the sick Jean with a status and rank similar to that of his elder brother, who was then still in exile in the county of Château-Porcien. Two months after Jean's death, his son Philippe, henceforth count of Chimay was accepted as knight of the Golden Fleece at the chapter of Valenciennes. The brief period of exile, as well as the rapid reconciliation of father and son Croÿ-Chimay, eventually led to an honourable ascent within the Burgundian court.

The same return to favour cannot be documented for Antoine's son, Philippe (1433-1511), lord of Renty in the county of Artois.<sup>14</sup> He also reconciled in 1468, and is registered as having received *gages ordinaires* at the court from at least 30 March until 26 August 1470. However, in a sequence of events, Philippe de Croÿ-Renty discovered that his return to Burgundian service did not convince Charles the Bold to restore all of his personal and family goods and lands; instead, as mentioned, he had to accept the fact that some parts of it went to his uncle and nephew. His frail position likely facilitated his "volte-face" in 1471, when he returned to the service of the French King Louis XI. By making this decision, Croÿ-Renty followed in the footsteps of his father-in-law, Louis of Luxemburg, the (in)famous count of Saint-Pol. As such, he found himself sent back to the French camp, where his father had remained since his expulsion. He could participate in the royal council, commanded over 600 knights, and, most importantly, controlled Boulogne-sur-Mer, a crucial position to anyone holding Picardy. It was around this time, that he was likely admitted to the Order of Saint Michel. Even if his "volte-face" implied a new confiscation of his lordships in Burgundian territories, he could at least boast of proximity to a king, a governorship

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by M. DEBAE, *Une Lignée de chevaliers bibliophiles. Jean, Philippe et Charles de Croÿ, comtes de Chimay*, in *L'Ordre de la Toison d'Or de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505). Idéal ou reflet d'une société*, ed. P. COCKSHAW and C. VAN DEN BERGEN-PANTENS, Brussels, 1996, pp. 201-205.

14 Philippe de Croÿ, lord of Renty and Aarschot and count of (Château-)Porcien (c. 1433-1511): H. COOLS, *Mannen met macht*, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196; *Prosopographia Curiae Burgundicae (1407-1477)*, *op. cit.*, nr 3059; additional information about his ambitions to obtain a membership of the Golden Fleece: A. CHÂTELET, *Antoine de Croÿ et Hugo van der Goes*, in *Der Fall des Günstlings. Hofparteien in Europa vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. HIRSCHBIEGEL and W. PARAVICINI, Stuttgart, 2004, pp. 481-487. As mentioned, his biography often suffers from the authors wrongfully equating him with his homonymous cousin, Philippe de Croÿ-Chimay (both named after their godfather, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy).

over a crucial port, and a substantial number of soldiers under his command.<sup>15</sup> By making his troops plunder the Picard family castle of the Croÿ in Airaines in the campaign of 1472, Charles the Bold reacted violently against this “volte-face”.<sup>16</sup>

The second round of reconciliation began in 1473, when family leader Antoine de Croÿ literally went on his knees before Charles the Bold during a meeting of the aforementioned Valenciennes chapter of the Golden Fleece. Taking matters into his own hands, Antoine tried to reclaim his family’s goods and possessions, especially as Jean de Croÿ had died just two months earlier. With vast confiscated lands that he had once owned still under the guardianship of his brother, Antoine likely wanted to ensure the property rights of his main branch, especially as his son was now serving the French king again. This time, allegedly due to the applicant’s *estat et l’ancien eaige*, the attempt at reconciliation worked. Still, Duke Charles would only accept a reconciliation on the condition that Antoine returned to live in Burgundian territory.<sup>17</sup> This did not deter Antoine to be buried in the chapel at Château-Porcien on his main property in France when he died in 1475.

Even then, Philippe, Antoine’s son, continued in French service. There are some clear indications that reconciliation with Burgundy was being prepared in the spring and summer of 1475, as Philippe had the positions of *conseiller et chambellan* conferred upon him.<sup>18</sup> Yet, for unknown reasons, he was excluded from the Franco-Burgundian treaty of Soleuvre on 13 September 1475.<sup>19</sup> When soon after Soleuvre his father died from natural causes, and his father-in-law met his own violent death on the scaffold, Philippe de Croÿ definitively reconciled with the Burgundian duke, in December 1475. Rather than a capitulation, his final reconciliation should be perceived as a strategic attempt to regain confiscated goods as the new head of family and count of Château-Porcien.<sup>20</sup> Even if some questions and peculiarities surrounding this reconciliation remain unanswered, we can confidently say that the whole Croÿ family had reconciled with the duke of Burgundy by the end of 1475. When the widow of Antoine de Croÿ, Marguerite de Lorraine, member of the princely House

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- 15 W. PARAVICINI, *Peur, pratiques, intelligences. Formes de l’opposition aristocratique à Louis XI d’après les interrogatoires du connétable de Saint-Pol*, in *La France de la fin du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Renouveau et apogée. Économie – Pouvoirs – Arts – Culture et conscience nationale*, ed. B. CHEVALIER and Ph. CONTAMINE, Paris, 1985, pp. 186-189; D. SOUMILLION, *Le Procès de Louis de Luxembourg, comte de Saint-Pol, connétable de France (1418-1475)*, Enghien, 2007.
- 16 H. COOLS, *Mannen met macht*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- 17 B. STERCHI, *Über den Umgang*, *op. cit.*, p. 524.
- 18 NEUSS, 18 March 1475: DÜLMEN, *Herzog von Croÿ’sche Verwaltung*, MONS, Archives de l’État, 38, listed by M.-R. THIELEMANS, *Les Croy*, *op. cit.*, p. 131, but not indexed by H. STEIN, *Catalogue des Actes de Charles le Téméraire (1468-1477)*, Sigmaringen, 1999.
- 19 Treaty of Soleuvre, 13 September 1475: JEAN DUMONT, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens; contenant un recueil des traités d’alliance, de paix, de trêve [...] depuis [...] Charlemagne jusques à présent*, t. 3, Amsterdam-The Hague, Brunel and Wetstein-Husson and Levier, 1726, pp. 505-507.
- 20 *Lettre de mainlevée pour Philippe de Croÿ*, 18 December 1475, LEUVEN, University Archives, Arenberg, 39b (*chartarium*): *instigations d’aucuns [...] gens ses serviteurs natifz du Royaulme de France, et aussi pour complaire a MMr Loys de Luxembourg connetable de France son beau-pere, il fut legierement meü de partir de noz pays et seigneuries et soy distraire de notre obeissance et à le demeurer en party a nous contraire.*

of Lorraine-Vaudémont, died in Reims on 23 May 1477, the younger generation of Croÿ family members took over in the crucial year where Mary of Burgundy ascended to power.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. Reintegration

As Mary of Burgundy succeeded her father after his unfortunate death on 5 January 1477, the entire House of Croÿ had been reconciled with the Burgundian family for a little more than a year. It had two new heads of the family: the homonymous and similarly-aged nephews Philippe de Croÿ-Porcien (the former Renty), from the family's main branch, and Philippe de Croÿ-Chimay (the former Quiévrain), from the collateral cadet branch. Both men held the title of count, a precious possession in the context of the Burgundian Low Countries. Philippe took his title from the county of Château-Porcien in Champagne in the kingdom of France, where his father and mother had been buried in the chapel of the castle. The younger Philippe was count of Chimay in Hainaut, a Burgundian province, where his father and his mother were both buried in the new family chapel in the collegial church.

Despite their similar ranks and titles, the status of the two nephews at the Burgundian court was very unequal. Since his reconciliation in December 1475, head of the family Philippe de Croÿ-Porcien, had yet to enjoy all of his landed property, and the longer standing confiscation of the crucial Hainaut lordship of Beaumont had not been overturned after all. While at court, he had retained the fairly common status of counsellor and chamberlain, and was chiefly employed as the head of a Burgundian "compagnie d'ordonnance" during the ducal campaign in Lorraine in 1476-1477. In contrast to this profile of stemming from a cadet branch, his longer-reconciled nephew held all his lordships in full rights, had been admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1473, had been granted the privilege by Ferdinand of Aragon to carry the Spanish arms in his blazon, and had received a senior commission during the Lorraine campaign (even if he primarily tried to disengage the duke from his ambitious plans).

As for all noble families along the Franco-Burgundian frontier, the year 1477 came with many uncertainties for the Croÿ family as well, aggravated by the fact that both nephews had been imprisoned after the battle of Nancy, and thus had to steer family affairs from captivity. The renewed war with France once again turned their cross-border properties into a clear liability. Before trying to annex all the territories that the duke of Burgundy held from him in fief, Louis XI had initially sent his armies throughout Picardy and occupied a number of Somme towns. The French king clearly targeted his former ally, Croÿ-Porcien, as he confiscated the lordships of Crouy and Airaines in Picardy and Château-Porcien and Bar-sur-Aube in Champagne in January,

21 J.-B. LÉPINE, *Histoire de Château-Porcien*, Vouziers, 1858 (facsimile repr. Paris, 1989), even if the county was legally confiscated after the battle of Nancy. See also J. SCOHIER, *La Généalogie*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

while sacking the already-damaged family castle of Airaines.<sup>22</sup> In a well-known contemporary observation, chronicler Philippe de Commines suggested that many noblemen turned to Louis XI out of necessity, “because they were staying near or in cities which already were in the power of the French king.”<sup>23</sup> Given the new balance of power and the many confiscations, the Croÿ nephews could have chosen to act similarly, at least after being released from captivity.

During the early French invasions in 1477, a significant minority of “frontier families” soon switched sides, most notably Philippe de Crèvecœur, lord of Esquerdes, the then-serving Burgundian governor of Picardy and Artois, who handed the crucial city of Arras over to the French king on 5 March 1477. Esquerdes had a very similar background to that of the Croÿ nephews: he shared their Picard roots, had married into an Artois family, had been appointed as a knight of the Golden Fleece, and had served the Burgundian duke at court and during his last campaigns in France. Still, his switch meant that he could exert the same influence as the governor of Picardy and Artois. As a result of his new French loyalties, he also received stricter control over the recently occupied crucial Somme towns. He was promoted to knighthood of the Order of Saint Michel, and could take part in the royal council, just as Philippe de Croÿ-Porcien between 1471 and 1475.<sup>24</sup>

One could ask why the Croÿ did not take advantage of their French connections, especially when the count of Porcien had so many landed properties and assets in Picardy and Artois which now mostly fell under French rule. An obvious reason is that many bridges had been burned with the decapitation of Philippe’s father-in-law in 1475. Another reason might have been the immediate confiscation of his Picard and Champagne lordships by Louis XI in January 1477, which was probably a clear signal not to return to the French king. It might also have been the fact that the Croÿ nephews were still being held captive during the first months of this turbulent period, and that Philippe de Crèvecœur used this time to take over all the positions they may have hoped to obtain, the Burgundian option only being left to the Croÿ. As a result, the Croÿ nephews did not engage in what Commines (himself a turncoat since 1472) famously dubbed the “marché des nobles”.

It seems more likely that the reconciled Croÿ family had more to gain from holding firm with the Burgundian dynasty, especially by advocating an alliance with the House of Austria. The Croÿ henceforth turned to their connections in the Holy

22 J.-M. ROGER, *Le Don de Bar-sur-Aube à Antoine de Croÿ (1435-1438)*, in *Actes du 104<sup>e</sup> Congrès National des Sociétés savantes, Bordeaux, 1979, Section de Philologie et d’Histoire jusqu’à 1610*, t. 1, Paris, 1981, pp. 161-215 (here p. 182). Although we are only certain that the last one was really confiscated and given to his marshal Pierre de Rohan, it is clear that the revenues fell back.

23 *Ils se tournoient (vers le roi) par nécessité, pour ce qu’ilz estoient situéz ou demourans près des villes ou dedans celles qui estoient jà en l’obéissance dudit seigneur (le roi)*, cited by H. COOLS, *Mannen met Macht*, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

24 *Id.*, *Noblemen on the Borderline. The Nobility of Picardy, Artois and Walloon Flanders and the Habsburg-Valois Conflict, 1477-1529*, in *Secretum Scriptorum. Liber alumnorum Walter Prevenier*, ed. W. BLOCKMANS, M. BOONE and Th. DE HEMPTINNE, Leuven-Apeldoorn, 1999, pp. 371-382. He was ousted from the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1478.

Roman Empire, which represented a stark contrast to most noblemen from the county of Flanders, who continued to lobby for a French match. Louis of Bavaria, count Palatine of Zweibrücken, married to Jeanne of CroÏ, who was the sister of Porcien (still being held in captivity after Nancy), became both one of the main intermediators in arranging the matrimony between Mary and Maximilian and stood as *procurateur* of the marriage on 21 April 1477. At the same time, Chimay, who must have been released by this time, activated his own imperial connections that linked him to the network of his spouse, Walburgis of Moers. He was chosen to accompany the archduke to the Low Countries, and joined him in Cologne during the summer. While French incursions into Burgundian territory gradually slowed to a standstill, Maximilian's arrival in the Low Countries made the Burgundian-Austrian match tangible and viable, while Chimay's presence at these ceremonies underlined the CroÏ's family continued support.

Throughout these early stages of Mary's reign, troubled with external threats and internal revolts, the still-imprisoned count of Porcien showed considerable concern about his lordships, and tried to secure the arrangements he had made with the duchess's father. By 1 May at the latest, he sent mediators to "Mademoiselle de Bourgogne" in Dendermonde, where she found herself in a precarious position after the decapitation of her closest noble advisors, Humbercourt and Hugonet. In these tense circumstances on the eve of her Joyous Entry into Brabant, Philippe de CroÏ-Porcien requested that the duchess confirmed the acts that her father had passed in 1475 confirming his reconciliation. She "voluntarily" did so, endorsing the pardon of any action committed when "seduced by the enemies in France", and reiterating Charles's letter of withdrawal regarding the confiscated lands.<sup>25</sup>

This deliberate action towards the new duchess shows that Philippe de CroÏ wanted to have certainty over his recent reconciliation and that he offered her his continued loyalty, even if the recent decapitations did not exactly foretell good tidings for aristocrats. Mary of Burgundy understood the challenge: by the summer, the duchess had raised an assignation of 3 000 florins from lands in Tournai to have his ransom paid.<sup>26</sup> The French concurrently declared open war by sending troops to Franche-Comté, Cambrai, and Hainaut, further helping to push the CroÏ nephews to the Burgundian side, as they would obviously try to protect their castles and properties in Hainaut as well as those remaining in what was left of Burgundian Artois. Thus, over the course of the summer, Chimay chased the French troops out of his province and the now-released Porcien had to immediately proceed to Flanders and Artois to do the same.<sup>27</sup>



- 25 *Re-Confirmation pardon*, 1 May 1477, LEUVEN, University Archives, Arenberg, 41 (*chartarium*): [...] *avons audit comte et à sesdits serviteurs remis, quicté, pardonné et aboly, et par ce presentes de grace especial remettons, quittons, pardonnonns et abolissons.*
- 26 *Assignation de 3 000 florins*, July 1477, DÜLMEN, Herzog, *op. cit.*, MONS, Archives de l'État, 1, s.f. relating to the *Extraits des titres de la Maison de CroÏ tires des archives de Mgr. Le Duc d'Orléans au palais Royal de Paris dans une grande caisse des papiers de la maison de CroÏ venant D'Avesnes extrait en 1750*, s.f.; L.-P. GACHARD, *Notice*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- 27 H. COOLS, *Mannen met Macht*, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

### 3. Serving Mary

While Charles the Bold formally reconciled the branches of Croÿ-Chimay and Croÿ-Porcien, Mary and Maximilian more firmly reintegrated the House of Croÿ into the Burgundian sphere of influence. The first important moment occurred during the reconfiguration of the court after their marriage in August 1477. Chimay was appointed by Maximilian of Austria as his first chamberlain, with a salary of 200 francs per month, and benefiting from the same prerogatives as his late uncle, Antoine.<sup>28</sup> In the following years, the count received additional pensions, sums, and gifts in order to compensate for the damages caused by French incursions on his properties, while he stood as godfather at the baptism of Philip the Fair. Curiously, Porcien did not immediately receive an appointment at the court. Yet he soon provided Mary and Maximilian with the patent letters Charles the Bold had given him to confirm his appointment as “conseiller et chambellan ordinaire”. Just as he had done in the previous spring, when still imprisoned by the French, he used the final favours of Mary’s father as his bargaining base: by obtaining the confirmation of these letters and, thus, a subsequent appointment, he likely sought another method of rehabilitation after not having been included in the first list, and resorted to a final desperate attempt to not give too much leeway to his nephew.<sup>29</sup>

A second round of French confiscations in late 1477 forced Porcien to also sort out his seigniorial affairs, since Louis XI now firmly denied Croÿ claims over the previously-gifted county of Guînes, transferring it to his new ally, Anthony of Burgundy. He simultaneously donated the confiscated Croÿ-lordships of Renty and Seneghem in Artois to Crèvecœur.<sup>30</sup> To make things worse for Porcien, his Hainaut lordships of Beaumont, Fumay, and Revin, all of which were in Burgundian territory, had still not been restored, leaving him with only his Brabantine and Flemish possessions. By December 1477, he finally convinced Maximilian and Mary to raise the restraints (the accompanying letter of withdrawal stated quite flatly that this had not happened earlier because Porcien had been imprisoned).<sup>31</sup> After this date, Porcien received firmer support from Mary and Maximilian. In 1478, they wrote to both the “drossard” of Brabant and the city of Louvain to inform them that Porcien legally possessed the lands of Aarschot, despite former confiscations and the ongoing litigation of the

28 DÜLMEN, *Herzog, op. cit.*, MONS, Archives de l’État, 206 (28 August 1477), listed in M.-R. THIELEMANS, *Les Croÿ, op. cit.*, p. 130.

29 DÜLMEN, *Herzog, op. cit.*, MONS, Archives de l’État, 39 (16 October 1477); M.-R. THIELEMANS, *Les Croÿ, op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

30 PARIS, ANF, *Trésor des chartes*, J 794, fol. 19r.

31 J. HAEMERS, “Ende hevet tvole goede cause jehens hemlieden te rysene”. *Stedelijke opstanden en staatsvorming in het graafschap Vlaanderen (1477-1492)*, t. 1, PhD thesis, University of Gent, 2007, p. 81: Philippe de Croÿ received in December 1477 the lordships “Beaumont, Fumay, Revin, Esperlesques et Bello,” with a right of Maximilian of Austria to buy them back. Reference given is to LILLE, ADN, B 1610, fol. 202v; B 17725, *Croy*. In September 1480 Maximilian used his option of purchase and paid 21 011 lb. 18 s. par. (LILLE, ADN, B 2121, fol. 555v). I thank my colleague Jelle Haemers for his help in providing these citations and other suggestions for this chapter.

Lorraine and Harcourt families-in-law.<sup>32</sup> The archduke would also help favour Porcien's plaint with a local rival over a conflict on the use of the windmills of Steenberg, near the Meerdalwoud in Brabant.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the Burgundian-Habsburg couple not only confirmed the acts initially signed by Charles the Bold, but also gradually restituted his confiscated goods and lands under their control to Porcien.

Even if both nephews chose to support Mary and Maximilian in 1477, it did not mean that they would turn into amicable friends and staunch allies. Instead, the division between the nephews grew as more lavish favours were handed down to Chimay. The frustration and competition certainly had its origins in the different positions of each branch after their reconciliation with Charles the Bold, but it also seems that Mary and Maximilian simply favoured Chimay over Porcien. One crucial anecdote hints at the continued rivalries. In an attempt to regain what his father had lost, Porcien sought to be included in the Order of the Golden Fleece, but this never happened. In one of the Order's first chapter meetings under Maximilian, Chimay aired bitter complaints that one of the knights had told Porcien that he was solely responsible for obstructing this nomination. The affair was brought before the archduke, but put off to a later date. Moreover, Chimay was later formally accused of having acted to the detriment of Porcien's brother-in-law, Pierre of Luxemburg, and had to stage an official reconciliation with him.<sup>34</sup>

Despite their ongoing competition, the two nephews received similar commissions in 1478, as both were sent as envoys in ducal inquiries to pacify counties and cities after the troubles of the previous year. Yet their missions differed significantly in importance. In October, Porcien headed the delegation which Maximilian and his ambulant "grand conseil" sent to the city of Ypres in the county of Flanders. This was likely meant to represent a kind of safe appointment, as the city had (vainly) solicited Porcien to be its governor. On 20 March 1479, together with other noble delegates and a ducal secretary, the count formulated a verdict which went more or less uncontested.<sup>35</sup> Three months later, Chimay was sent on a more important embassy to the county of Holland, where he was meant to pacify both the troubles of 1477 and the longer-standing factional strife between "Hoeken" and "Kabeljauwen". He would receive a similar task in 1480.<sup>36</sup>

In the summer of 1479, both nephews joined ducal campaigns in France and Luxemburg. While Porcien maintained a minor command, Chimay served as the captain of a company of 50 lances of Maximilian's army and was made provincial governor of Luxemburg afterwards. His son, Charles (c. 1450-1527), was knighted after the famous battle of Guinegate in 1479. These decisions continued to show the

32 LEUVEN, University Archives, Arenberg, 40, s.f., and Arenberg, 2468 (*chartarium*).

33 P. DE FRAINE, *Het artsengeslacht van Wesele (Vesalius) en het "Zoet Water" bij Leuven*, in *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, 1962, pp. 285-295.

34 F.-A. DE REIFFENBERG, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Toison d'Or depuis son institution jusqu'à la cessation des Chapitres généraux*, Brussels, 1830, pp. 99-103.

35 J. HAEMERS, "Ende hevet tvolc goede cause", *op. cit.*, t. 1, pp. 168-170. Their final report, with collected testimonies against the chief insurgents, was probably well-documented, yet the city leaders did not further oppose the conclusion of the commission.

36 H. COOLS, *Mannen met Macht*, *op. cit.*, p. 195.



favouritism for the Chimay line, and it left the head of the family distinctly in his nephew's shadow. The archduke perhaps hoped to redress the unequal situation by promoting Porcien to the position of general lieutenant of the county of Hainaut, but the then-serving Adolph of Cleves protested through his receiver-general that this would bring *la diminucion totale de son dit etat de lieutenant*.<sup>37</sup> The unexpected death of Mary of Burgundy on 27 March 1482, and the new cycle of violence aimed against France that followed, finally brought about Porcien's desired promotion. By August, he was installed by Maximilian as provincial governor and lieutenant of the troops in Hainaut, with the responsibility of mastering the musters and campaigns against the French king. Thus, like his father, he finally seemed to have emerged as an omnipresent nobleman covering both sides of the southern border of the lands de "par-deçà".<sup>38</sup>

The treaty of Arras, signed in December 1482 between Burgundy and France, indeed codified the "in-between" position of the count of Porcien. While Maximilian had to temporarily accept that Louis XI had incorporated Picardy, Artois, Burgundy and the Franche-Comté into his own kingdom, he also attempted to secure the property rights of some of the important noblemen in these areas. In the second part of article 53, Porcien's name appears, as the treaty promised to return the *biens, terres & seigneuries* inherited by his father and mother to him, specifying the county of Porcien, the dependencies in Montcornet, the lordship of Bar-sur-Aube, and "other lands in Picardy" (with the county of Guînes now having disappeared from the list). According to the treaty of Arras, Porcien would be able to profit from the incomes of those lands in France, but he was not expected to return to them in person. If problems arose from the implementation of these clauses, he would be able to pursue a solution with the French king at his convenience.<sup>39</sup>

As such, the Arras treaty recognized the Croÿ family, and particularly its main branch, to be a part of a transregional elite, with properties on both sides of the border, although without any rights to visit those in France for the time being. When Porcien's commission as governor of Hainaut ended in June 1483, he seemed to completely withdraw from government matters. The exact reasons for his nineteen year political "retirement" after this date remain unclear. On the one hand, his youngest son, the lord of Chièvres, was acquiring significant power and prestige of his own during the regency of Philip the Fair, and thus seemed more successful on securing the influence of the main branch of Croÿ. On the other hand, Porcien probably needed

37 LILLE, ADN, B 2121, fol. 350v, cited by J. HAEMERS, *Philippe de Clèves*, *op. cit.*; H. COOLS, *Mannen met macht*, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

38 J. HAEMERS, "Ende hevet tvolc goede cause", *op. cit.*, t. 1, pp. 168-170; H. COOLS, *Mannen met macht*, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

39 Treaty of Arras, article 53: [...] & pareillement Monsieur de Croy Comte de Porcien, pour lequel ils ont requis qu'il retourne en ses biens, Terres, & Seigneuries, dont feu Monsieur de Croy son Père, & Madame Marguerite de Lorraine sa Mere ont esté jouyssans; é nommément à la Compté de Porciens, les Greniers à Sel du Chasteuau de Cambarsoy, Montcornet, & autres appendances dudit Compté, à la Seigneurie de Bar-sur-Aube, & autres Terres en Picardie, ladite Veuve & enfans dudit feu Messire Pierre de Luxembourg, & ledit Sieur de Croy jouïront du benefice de la Paix, sauf qu'ils ne retourneront présentement à leurs biens, & pourront poursuivre leur cas devers le Roy quand bon leur semblera (JEAN DUMONT, *Corps Universel*, *op. cit.*, t. 3/2, p. 104).

time to administer his seigniorial affairs within the continued Franco-Burgundian rivalry, playing safe on both sides. In any case, he had for the time being to render homage directly to the French king for his Artois lordship of Renty. He also initiated requests with the French king to lift the confiscations of the Champagne lordships, which eventually happened by 1484. Three years later, he even received wages as chamberlain from the French king.<sup>40</sup> Soon hereafter, he invested in the area surrounding Château-Porcien in an attempt to re-establish local economic activity, and started to refurbish his castle and decorate its chapel, where his parents were buried.

One could allege that the death of Mary coincided with the end of the reign of the homonymous nephews Philippe de CroÏ, as one retired and the other one died shortly after the duchess. On either the 13 or 18 September 1482, the powerful Chimay died in Bruges.<sup>41</sup> The nephews passed the baton to their sons Chièvres and Chimay junior, who turned into important councillors for the young Philip the Fair. Another generation later, their respective grandson and granddaughter married in order to reunite the properties of the two branches, as the CroÏ-Chimay line had not produced a male heir of its own.<sup>42</sup> This union temporarily ended the strife between the two branches, but the regrouping of properties across borders would cause difficulties for future generations, providing for a whole new sequence of family stories and political intrigue.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4. Conclusions

A two-part conclusion can be drawn from the particular and peculiar fate of the CroÏ clan under the rule of Mary of Burgundy. First, from the perspective of the rulers, it is clear that both Mary and Maximilian aspired to reincorporate the members of the House

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- 40 J. SPANGLER, *Those in Between. Princely Families on the Margins of the Great Powers. The Franco-German Frontier, 1477-1830*, in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and beyond. Experiences since the Middle Ages*, ed. C.H. JOHNSON, D.W. SABEAN, S. TEUSCHER and F. TRIVELLATO, New York-Oxford, 2011, pp. 131-154 (see also the introduction of the editors); C. LIPP, *Being Noble in the Borderlands. The Family de Mahuet of Lorraine, 1599-1737*, in *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, t. 29, 2001, pp. 72-79 (here p. 75).
- 41 A poem related to his death, probably written by Jean Molinet, relates *Douloureuse complainte pour le trespas de hault et puissant seigneur, Monseigneur le comte de Chimay*, is edited in JEHAN and CHARLES BOCQUET, *Le "Livre de ballades" de Jehan et Charles Bocquet, bourgeois de Mons au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. A. LOUANT, Brussels, 1954, pp. CXXIII, 186-189.
- 42 V. SOEN and H. COOLS, *L'Aristocratie transrégionale et les frontières. Les processus d'identification politique dans les maisons de Luxembourg-Saint-Pol et de CroÏ (1470-1530)*, in *L'Identité au pluriel. Jeux et enjeux des appartenances autour des anciens Pays-Bas, XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. / Identity and Identities. Belonging at Stake in the Low Countries 14<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. V. SOEN, Y. JUNOT and F. MARIAGE, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2014, pp. 209-228.
- 43 V. SOEN, *The Chièvres Legacy, the CroÏ Family and Litigation in Paris. Dynastic Identities between the Low Countries and France (1519-1559)*, in *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe. Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities*, ed. L. GEEVERS and M. MARINI, Farnham-Burlington, 2015, pp. 87-102, and *Noblesses transrégionales. Les CroÏ et les frontières pendant les Guerres de Religion (France, Lorraine, Pays-Bas, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. V. SOEN and Y. JUNOT, Turnhout, 2021.

of Croÿ into their court, and to force them to loyally serve the Burgundian-Habsburg cause, especially in regard to the renewed campaigns against France and the internal troubles in Flanders and Brabant. Therefore, they first confirmed the acts of pardon and restitution that Duke Charles the Bold had granted to the family members. This symbolically and materially reinforced the alliance between the House of Burgundy and the House of Croÿ. Afterwards, Mary and Maximilian turned to more traditional channels of patronage by offering them positions at court, in the councils, and in the armies. Thus, the two homonymous nephews Philippe de Croÿ collected and combined a variety of roles, serving as captains, counsellors, and provincial governors, and defended their Burgundian-Habsburg overlords on the battlefield against the French troops. However, by playing upon the divisions between the two branches, Mary and Maximilian steered upon a *divide et impera* strategy. At the sudden death of Charles the Bold in 1477, and with much of the Burgundian nobility switching its allegiance to the French, the eventual reconciliation of the House of Croÿ might have seemed doubtful, but Mary and Maximilian successfully restored them to the Burgundian-Habsburg court, paving the way for their sons to continue service.<sup>44</sup>

A look at the same events from the perspective of the Croÿ family leads to a second conclusion. Here, their reintegration at the Burgundian court more closely resembles a deliberate and contingent choice made by family members rather than a fate forced upon them by their overlords. Their reconciliation might have brought them prestige and power under Mary and Maximilian, but they lost serious revenues due to the confiscation or destruction of their Picard, Artesian, and Hainaut lordships in the continued war. As such, the 1482 peace treaty of Arras endorsed that the main branch held on to an “in-between” position, as they served Burgundian-Habsburg rulers but maintained properties in France. Moreover, family members would continue to advocate Francophile policies at the Burgundian court, which became especially clear in the *croit conseil* under Mary’s son, Duke Philip the Fair.

The Croÿ family’s most tangible contact with Mary of Burgundy was the validation of its acts of pardon initially given by her father, which symbolically guaranteed the family’s continued service to the dynasty. These confirmations, first by Mary, and then by both Mary and Maximilian, were copied and recopied many times. As such, the familial archives bear an enduring modern witness to the claim that Mary of Burgundy and her consort might have had a much greater share in Croÿ family history and tradition than has been acknowledged by recent genealogists and historians.

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44 Fr. BUYLAERT and J. DUMOLYN, *L'Importance sociale, politique et culturelle de la haute noblesse dans les Pays-Bas Bourguignons et Habsbourgeois (1475-1525). Un état de la question*, in *Entre la ville, la noblesse et l'Etat. Philippe de Clèves (1456-1528), homme politique et bibliophile*, ed. J. HAEMERS, C. VAN HOOREBECK and H. WIJSMAN, Turnhout, 2008, pp. 279-294; Th. DE HEMPTINNE and J. DUMOLYN, *Historisch adelsonderzoek over de late middeleeuwen en de vroegmoderne periode in België en Nederland. Een momentopname*, in *B.M.G.N.*, t. 103, 2008, pp. 481-489.