

## Jacqueline of Bavaria in September 1425, a lonely princess in Ghent?

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**Burgundy and Bavaria: from good neighbours to bitter enemies**<sup>1</sup>  
In 1385 in the city of Cambrai, Philip the Bold, the first Valois duke of Burgundy to extend his authority into the Low Countries, married two of his children – his heir, John of Nevers, (afterwards known as John the Fearless) and his daughter, Margaret – to the children of Albert of Bavaria, Regent of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland.<sup>2</sup> The Burgundian princess Margaret married Count William VI of Hainault and Holland; John the Fearless took Margaret of Bavaria as his wife. This double wedding was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the age and left an impressive number of testimonies in literature. It offered one of the earliest manifestations of the power and prestige of the Burgundian dynasty. It would be anachronistic and give a false teleological interpretation of history to see them as proof of the far-reaching political ambitions of Philip the Bold, the marriages celebrated in Cambrai in the spring of 1385 were to have important consequences for the future of the Low Countries.

Both dynasties, the Valois of Burgundy, counts of Flanders and Artois, and the Wittelsbach of Bavaria, counts of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland could by this time aspire to being the dominant political power in the Low Countries. The double wedding and the connection with the ducal house of Brabant –

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Dr Susie Sutch (Berkeley, USA), who corrected my English, and Dr Graeme Small (Glasgow University) for their help. Abbreviations: ADN: Archives départementales du Nord (Lille, France); ADCO: Archives départementales de la Côte d'Or (Dijon, France); AGR: Archives générales du Royaume (Brussels, Belgium); *CEEB*: *Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.)*. Research for this article was done during a stay as visiting professor at the Université de Bourgogne (Dijon), following an invitation from my friend and colleague, Alain Saint-Denis.

<sup>2</sup> The most comprehensive account of Burgundian history in English is still the series of monographs Richard Vaughan wrote on each of the four Burgundian dukes of the Valois dynasty; on the first: R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London 1979, pp. 86–88. A general survey of Burgundian history: W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier, *The Promised Lands. The Low Countries under Burgundian rule, 1369–1530*, Philadelphia 1999, pp. 57–58. The Bavarian dynasty of Wittelsbach has long been in the shadow of the Burgundians as to their role in the Low Countries; this has changed since the book by F.P. Van Oostrom, *Het woord van eer. Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400*, Amsterdam 1987, English trans. by A.J. Pomerans, *Court and Culture: Dutch Literature, 1350–1450*, Berkeley 1992. A biography of Albert of Bavaria is being prepared by Prof. D.E.H. de Boer (Groningen).

in 1406 a younger son of the house of Burgundy, Anthony, became regent of that duchy – knitted the two families together by bonds of blood and mutual interests, as became clear in 1408, when the prince-bishop of Liège, John of Bavaria, another member of the Wittelsbach-family, appealed to his relatives for help against his rebellious subjects. The rulers of Flanders, Brabant and Hainault-Holland all came to his aid, crushing the people of Liège on the battlefield of Othée. The deaths of Anthony of Brabant at Agincourt in 1415 and of William VI in 1417 threatened this alliance and its peaceful prospects. In Brabant the Burgundian John IV became duke in 1415; three years later in 1418 he married Jacqueline, only daughter of William VI of Bavaria and Margaret of Burgundy and widow of the French dauphin, John of Touraine. John of Touraine himself was the son of Isabella 'Isabeau' of Bavaria, daughter and sister of the dukes of Bavaria-Ingolstadt of the same Wittelsbach-dynasty. It looked as if the old coalition between Burgundy and Bavaria would control the Low Countries for another generation. William VI, however, had died in 1417, and after his death his brother John, Bishop of Liège, backed by the Emperor-elect, Sigismund of Luxemburg, and his daughter, Jacqueline, both laid claim to Hainault and Holland-Zeeland. John the Fearless had to act as arbiter. In 1419 he imposed the peace of Woudrichem, to a great extent the work of his son and heir, Philip of Charolais (the future Philip the Good), then residing at Ghent: Bishop John of Bavaria and John IV of Brabant became joint regents of Holland in Jacqueline's name for five years. John of Bavaria would inherit the counties if she died without an heir and he was authorised to keep the important areas of Holland he already occupied (Dordrecht and Rotterdam).<sup>3</sup> John IV of Brabant, however, spoiled everything: both his reign and his marriage came to grief through a strange mix of domestic or sexual incompatibility and political failure. Duchess Jacqueline fled from the court in Brussels on 11 April 1420<sup>4</sup>. These events took place not long after Duke John the Fearless had been murdered in 1419 and his heir, Philip the Good, had allied himself to the English in order to avenge his father on his French (Armagnac) murderers.<sup>5</sup> Jacqueline never went back to John IV and on 19 February 1421 in Valenciennes she declared before the estates of Hainault that her marriage to him was no longer valid; their blood relationship made such a move comparatively easy. A few weeks later she fled to England. Chastellain describes in his chronicle how she waited for days in Calais for a ship to take her

<sup>3</sup> R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy*, London, 1970, pp. 32–40.

<sup>4</sup> Jacqueline's life: H.P.H. Jansen, *Jacoba van Beieren*, Den Haag, 1967, pp. 44–53, and old but interesting, R. Putnam, *A Mediaeval Princess*, London 1904. The contemporary observer Chastellain notes, not without his usual misogyny: *elle s'accordoit au divorce, et querroit la franchise de son plaisir, pour transporter son corps ailleurs ou à autre*, Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 1, Brussels 1863, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Events and diplomacy which led to the Anglo-Burgundian alliance: P. Bonenfant, *Philippe le Bon. Sa politique, son action*, Brussels 1996, which reprints e.g. his *Du meurtre de Montreuil au traité de Troyes*, of 1958.

across the sea, where two unmarried younger brothers of Henry V, John, Duke of Bedford, who had been interested in marrying Jacqueline once, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, were available for a lonely princess, driven away from her lands and looking for a husband to win them back for her.<sup>6</sup>

### The English connection: Jacqueline and her English husband

In some sections of the Burgundian upper classes anglophilia may have dominated, but anglophobia was actually more common and quite wide spread, as the chronicle of Georges Chastelain testifies<sup>7</sup> and Jacqueline's flight complicated relations still further. For a while Henry V succeeded in delaying his brother's marriage, but shortly after Henry's death Humphrey married Jacqueline, and by the spring of 1423 he was frequently using the title Count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. Jacqueline had not only found herself a new husband, but also a knight willing to serve her cause, sword in hand. While Philip the Good was negotiating a diplomatic settlement with his brother-in-law, John, Duke of Bedford, who represented English interests in Paris, events took a dramatic and critical turn.<sup>8</sup> On 16 October 1424 Jacqueline and Humphrey landed in Calais, bringing with them a small but effective English army. Their purpose was to win back the county of Hainault for Jacqueline. In theory Burgundy took a neutral stand in this conflict, but Philip the Good, who had been cherishing for some time the idea of getting hold of Hainault and Holland-Zeeland, was waiting for an opportunity to justify his intervention. Philip's lieutenants in Flanders were busily raising troops to come to the rescue of John IV of Brabant, who was no match for the English troops of Jacqueline and Humphrey, when news reached them that John of Bavaria, effective ruler of Holland, had been murdered on 6 January 1425. It was later said that a poisoned prayer book had been used and a Dutch nobleman, Jan van der Vliet, was executed for the murder. Though his principals were never discovered, serious suspicion still rests on Jacqueline and Humphrey.<sup>9</sup> On 6 April 1424, shortly before his death, John of Bavaria had made Philip the Good heir to his extensive Dutch estates and the latter was well positioned to put an end to Jacqueline's ambitions. The intense diplomatic activity displayed by Burgundian officers and official bodies, such as the Council of Flanders, whose

<sup>6</sup> Chastelain, ed. de Lettenhove, vol. 1, p. 215. When she fled to England Jacqueline was helped by a Hainault nobleman, Jean de Robersart (1370–1450), a long-standing ally of the English, who hated Burgundy, P. Bonenfant, 'Les Robersart. Seigneurs hennuyers au service des rois d'Angleterre (1326–1450)' in Bonenfant, *Philippe*, pp. 343–44.

<sup>7</sup> G. Small, 'Some aspects of Burgundian attitudes towards the English during the reign of Philip the Good: George Chastelain and his circle', *Publication du CEEB*, vol. 35 (1995), *Rencontres d'Oxford (22 au 25 septembre 1994) 'L'Angleterre et les pays bourguignons: relations et comparaisons (XVe-XVIe s.)'*, pp. 16–25.

<sup>8</sup> Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 35–38.

<sup>9</sup> Jansen, *Jacoba*, pp. 58–60.

correspondence reveals the efforts deployed to force the course of events, leaves little doubt as to the outcome.<sup>10</sup>

Jacqueline and Humphrey met with few difficulties while setting up a form of government in Mons, but in the middle of March 1425 they were forced to leave the town of Braine-le-Comte because the threat posed by the Burgundian-Brabantine army had become too great. In January, Humphrey and Philip the Good had agreed to fight each other in single combat on St George's Day, 23 April 1425, a scheme that greatly impressed contemporary observers and led to elaborate preparations and displays of chivalric splendour, at least on the Burgundian side; Duke Philip retired to Hesdin and went into strict training. The fight never took place, however: Humphrey, furnished with safe-conducts by Philip himself, left his new county and deserted Jacqueline on 12 April 1425; he fled to England, taking with him the beautiful Eleanor Cobham, one of Jacqueline's ladies-in-waiting, whom he later married.<sup>11</sup> In a pathetic letter 'written in the false and treacherous city of Mons, with a heart full of sorrow' Jacqueline appealed to her English husband, in vain: the letter was intercepted by Burgundian troops and Jacqueline had to surrender herself into the hands of Philip of Burgundy.<sup>12</sup>

**Jacqueline of Bavaria from Ghent to the hunting-castle of Teilingen**  
 Duke Philip ordered her to remain under house arrest in Ghent. The adventures of this tragic princess were grist to the mill of 'romantic' authors and they spread the image of Jacqueline of Bavaria imprisoned in the grim 'Castle of the Counts', an image that has withstood the ravages of time so well that it can still be found in modern historiography.<sup>13</sup> In reality the feudal castle of

<sup>10</sup> Ghent appears to have been the administrative centre from which Burgundian representatives, such as the nobleman, Jan van Uutkerke, or the ecclesiastical dignitary, Henri Goethals, led the Burgundian diplomatic offensive, M. Boone, 'Une famille au service de l'Etat bourguignon naissant. Roland et Jean d'Uutkerke, nobles flamands dans l'entourage de Philippe le Bon', *Revue du Nord*, vol. 77 (1995), pp. 233–55; the same and J. Dumolyn, 'Henri Goethals, doyen de Liège († 1433): un homme d'église gantois au service des ducs de Bourgogne Jean sans Peur et Philippe le Bon', *Publication du CEEB*, vol. 38 (1998), *Rencontres de Dijon-Dole, 25 au 28 septembre 1997. 'Hommes d'Église et pouvoirs à l'époque bourguignonne (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)'*, pp. 89–105. For obvious reasons (knowledge of local political culture and language) the Burgundian dukes used Flemish civil servants to facilitate their coming to power in Holland-Zeeland (and to a lesser extent in Hainault), M. Damen, *De staat van dienst? De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482)*, Hilversum 2000, pp. 184–98.

<sup>11</sup> Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 37–40.

<sup>12</sup> Transcription: Jansen, *Jacoba*, pp. 69–70, and Blockmans and Prevenier, *Promised Lands*, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Jansen, *Jacoba*, pp. 70, 73–74; J.G. Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan. Studies over Holland en Zeeland in de late middeleeuwen*, Leuven 1995, p. 180. The former even talks about a 'naargeestig kasteel' (a gloomy castle) where Jacqueline had only limited freedom, stripped of her jewels

the counts housed the jurists of the Council of Flanders, and Jacqueline was actually housed in the former residence of the counts of Flanders, the *Posteerne*, where the last Dampierre count, Louis de Male, father-in-law of Philip the Bold, preferred to stay while in Ghent.<sup>14</sup> The accounts of the Burgundian receiver general leave little doubt about the expenditure that allowed Jacqueline to live in accordance with her rank. Philip the Good had paid 2298 lb. 1s. 6d. of 40 groten flemish each to her *de quoy vivre et soustenir son estat*. It did not reconcile her to her fate and on 2 September 1425, very early in the morning, she managed to escape from Ghent, dressed as a man. The Burgundian administration, frustrated by this flight, could only make up an inventory of what was left behind and thus try to recoup part of its investment: *depuis le secret partement de la dicte dame Jaque d'icelle ville de Gand ont par plusieurs journees vaqué a faire l'inventoire de ses biens qu'elle avoit laissiéz en icelle ville et a lez faire mettre en garde et depest en l'ostel du bailli du dit lieu, comme pour lez y mener, lez chargier et deschargier* ('since the secret departure of the said Lady Jacque from this city of Ghent [they] have been occupied for several days in making an inventory of her goods that she left behind in this city and in having them put safely away in the house of the bailiff of the same, for taking them there, loading and unloading them').<sup>15</sup>

Not long ago I found this inventory among the remnants of the ducal archives in Dijon, in a place where one would not expect to find it and where it has, indeed, escaped attention so far.<sup>16</sup> It sheds quite a different light on the conditions of Jacqueline's forced stay in Ghent, but before studying it in detail, some final words are needed about Jacqueline's further adventures after she fled from Ghent.

She escaped before Philip of Burgundy was able to transfer her to the more secure city of Lille and she headed for the only part of her Bavarian inheritance where she could hope to muster support for her cause: Holland and Zeeland. The two knights who helped her to escape from Ghent, Arnold

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and accompanied by only a few servants. Her fairy-tale fate clearly posed a challenge to the more chivalric among her supporters, who came to her rescue.

<sup>14</sup> M. Boone and Th. de Hemptinne, 'Espace urbain et ambitions princières: les présences matérielles de l'autorité princière dans le Gand médiéval (12<sup>e</sup> siècle-1540)', in W. Paravicini, ed., *Zeremoniell und Raum, 4. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Potsdam 25. bis 27. September 1994*, Sigmaringen 1997, pp. 285–86.

<sup>15</sup> ADN, B 1933, ff. 80v-81, account of receiver general Gui Guilbaut for the year 1425–26.

<sup>16</sup> One would expect to find a reference in the recent inventory of the sources of the central administration and of the *hôtels* of the ducal dynasty. A survey of comparable sources: R.-H. Bautier, J. Sornay, *Les sources de l'histoire économique et sociale du Moyen Âge. Les États de la maison de Bourgogne*, vol. 1, 1, *Archives centrales de l'État bourguignon (1384–1508)*, Paris 2001, pp. 55–59, the ducal jewels, pp. 72–107, accounts of the *hôtels* of members of the ducal family. The document is in ADCO, series B 302; it was mentioned briefly as a curiosity in the part of this inventory dealing with the counts of Hainault, the same, *Les sources de l'histoire économique*, vol. 1, 2, *Les principautés du Nord*, Paris, 1984, p. 560.

Spierinc, from Aalburg, and Vos van Delft, both came from Holland.<sup>17</sup> The counties of Holland and Zeeland had acquired new economic importance at the beginning of the fifteenth century, but were burdened by the party struggle between the Hooks (Hoeken), who found their support mainly among the townsmen, and the Cods (Kabeljauwen), who were to be found mostly among the nobility. Jacqueline, like her father, William VI, whose heir she was in Holland, was a Hook; her opponent, her uncle John of Bavaria, had favoured the Cod party. After his death, the Cod-party turned to Philip the Good, though he was regarded as a foreign prince and therefore had to win the hearts and minds of the people of Holland.<sup>18</sup> Confronted with Jacqueline and a strong Hook party he was forced to engage for the first time in a real war to satisfy his territorial ambitions. It was also a civil war, between supporters of Jacqueline and of Philip, and between the feudal elements of Dutch society on the one side and the merchants and burgers of the towns on the other.<sup>19</sup> Initial success for Jacqueline obliged Philip to rally the Dutch towns to his cause and to stir up resistance to an English invasion, for Jacqueline had turned once more to Gloucester for military help. In the battle of Brouwershaven (13 January 1426) English forces were beaten by Philip the Good, but resistance against Burgundy was not broken. In the summer of 1426 Philip had to return to Holland to crush the revolt in Kennemerland in the North and though he was successful, some Hook strongholds still remained, such as Gouda, Oudewater and Zevenbergen, and Jacqueline also received support from the new bishop of Utrecht, Rudolf of Diepholt. The (natural) death of John IV of Brabant on 17 April 1427 changed the situation again. Jacqueline, despite her clandestine marriage to Humphrey, was officially still John IV's wife and now officially became a widow. With her ambitious mother, the dowager countess Margaret, who continued to use the title 'Duchess of Bavaria, Countess of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland', she again became a possible alternative to Philip the Good. Again she looked to England and to Gloucester for help. Humphrey obtained a parliamentary subsidy for the undertaking, but finally his brother John, Duke of Bedford (and brother-in-law of Philip the Good), fearing that Gloucester's ambition would jeopardize the English position in France, restrained him from further action. Abandoned again by her English husband, Jacqueline continued the war from Holland helped by her ally, the bishop of Utrecht, while Philip took over Hainault where the Estates recognised him as governor. On 24 June 1427 the first Burgundian bailiff of Hainault, Guillaume de Lalaing, was sworn in. To Jacqueline it must have been clear that an agreement with her powerful

<sup>17</sup> Jansen, *Jacoba*, p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> The literature on the party feuds in Holland is abundant, e.g.: H. Brokken, *Het ontstaan van de Hoekse en Kabeljauwse twisten*, Zutphen 1982; M.J. Van Gent, *'Partijelike saken': Hoeken en Kabeljauwen in het Bourgondisch-Oostenrijks tijdperk*, Den Haag 1994. The coming to power of the Burgundians in Holland: Damen, *Staat van dienst*.

<sup>19</sup> Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 40–51; Blockmans and Prevenier, *Promised Lands*, pp. 86–91.

Burgundian cousin would mean abandoning her territories to him. Only effective English help could have strengthened her position. Early in 1428 this hope received a severe blow, for on 9 January Pope Martin V finally ruled that her marriage to Duke Humphrey was not valid. Humphrey used this sentence to marry his mistress, Eleanor Cobham. When Jacqueline learned that the earl of Salisbury, who she hoped was sailing to Holland to help her (and to take revenge on Philip the Good who had once seduced his wife in Paris); was instead heading for France, she gave in. Jacqueline may have been *de grande entreprise et toutes fois sage et subtil, pour sa volonté conduire selon son désir* ('of great enterprise and always wise and clever to do things as she wished') as the Burgundian chronicler Olivier de La Marche described her, but too much English treachery and Philip's siege of her headquarters in Gouda in the spring of 1428 made her finally accept the Peace of Delft (*Zoen van Delft*) on 3 July 1428: Philip recognised Jacqueline as countess of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland; she accepted Philip as her heir and governor of her lands and promised not to marry again without his consent. Philip was to appoint six members of the regency council of Holland, Jacqueline three and they would share the revenues of the three counties.

In October 1430 Philip leased out the administration of Holland for eight years to three brothers of one of Zeeland's most influential noble families: Frank, Philip and Floris van Borsele, in return for part of the revenues.<sup>20</sup> They represented Jacqueline's last chance to enter the world of romantic imagination; she was, after all, *belle et bien formée, de noble et haut entendement en plusieurs manières* ('fair and well formed, noble and high minded in many ways'), in the words of Monstrelet.<sup>21</sup> In the summer of 1432 Jacqueline secretly married Frank van Borsele, thus enabling Philip the Good to implement fully the 'Peace of Delft'.<sup>22</sup> Frank was imprisoned and only released after his wife had solemnly abdicated and recognised Philip count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. This ceremony took place in The Hague on 12 April 1433. Jacqueline retired to her own estates and dedicated her life to hunting in the neighbourhood of her castle of Teilingen. This time she apparently officially married Frank van Borselen, who as a knight of the Golden Fleece became one of the pillars of Burgundy's growing influence in Holland and Zeeland.<sup>23</sup> On 9 October 1436 Jacqueline of Bavaria died from tuberculosis in her castle of Teilingen. She was thirty-five years and she died before she could play any part in the new Anglo-Burgundian

<sup>20</sup> Financial history of Holland and Zeeland: J.A.M.Y. Bos-Rops, *Graven op zoek naar geld. De inkomsten van de graven van Holland en Zeeland, 1389–1433*, Hilversum 1993, pp. 196–97.

<sup>21</sup> Engueran de Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. L. Douët d'Arcq, 6 vols, Paris 1857–62, repr. New York 1966, vol. 3, p. 280; also Chastellain, ed. de Lettenhove, vol. 1, pp. 210–11.

<sup>22</sup> Borsele family, their influence and naval power, and the marriage between Frank and Jacqueline: Damen, *Staat van dienst*, pp. 269–309.

<sup>23</sup> P. De Win, 'Frank II de Borselen, seigneur de Sint-Maartensdijk, comte d'Ostrevant', in R. de Smedt, ed., *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2nd edn, Frankfurt-am-Main 2000, pp. 99–102.

conflict that broke out and brought Duke Humphrey of Gloucester once more to the Burgundian Low Countries to fight yet another hopeless war.

### Jacqueline of Bavaria in Ghent: the luxurious life-style of a noble prisoner

The inventory of the goods left behind by Jacqueline of Bavaria when she fled from Ghent leaves little doubt that the life she led there had been only partly restricted. It starts by naming four officials and officers appointed by Philip the Good to put the inventory together: Master Henry Goethals,<sup>24</sup> Guy de Jaucourt, Lord of Villerval<sup>25</sup>, Jehan de Kielent, *maitre d'hôtel*<sup>26</sup> and Master Jehan de la Keythulle, all councillors of the duke.<sup>27</sup> Two were experienced, high ranking officers of the ducal court who knew what they were dealing with, and two were high-ranking lawyers from the Ghent-based inner circle of counsellors who had a strong influence on Philip during the first years of his reign and had close links with the city elite of Ghent, to which they belonged.<sup>28</sup> All was done in the presence of Margaret of Burgundy, Jacqueline's mother, and four members of her council.<sup>29</sup> Also present was Gautier Merciaen, bailiff of Ghent, and a deputation of the city's aldermen, whose names the document does not cite.<sup>30</sup> That some of Ghent's politically important aldermen were

<sup>24</sup> On Goethals, Boone and Dumolyn, *Goethals*, pp. 96–97.

<sup>25</sup> Jaucourt family: M.-Th. Caron, *La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne, 1315–1477*, Lille 1987, p. 163; M. Sommé, *Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne. Une femme au pouvoir au XVe siècle*, Lille 1998, p. 265. Guy(or) de Jaucourt is mentioned among the highest members of the Burgundian court, W. Paravicini, 'Die Hofordnungen Herzog Philipps des Guten von Burgund, II', *Francia*, vol. 11 (1983), pp. 257–301, esp. 262.

<sup>26</sup> Or *Kielent* (a Flemish variant) or *Jehan de Quillanc*, *ibid.*, p. 266 (no. 49), and the same, 'Hofordnungen, IV', *Francia*, vol. 15 (1987), pp. 183–231, esp. 198 (no. 61).

<sup>27</sup> Jean de la Kethulle: e.g. J. Dumolyn, *Het hogere personeel van de hertogen van Bourgondië in het graafschap Vlaanderen (1419–1477)*, unpublished PhD thesis Ghent, 2001 (edition in preparation).

<sup>28</sup> De La Kethulle in particular. The cleric Henry Goethals was a self-made man, but one of the most influential members of the ducal administration in the early years of Philip's reign and highly aware of the complex international consequences of everything concerned with Jacqueline, Boone and Dumolyn, 'Goethals'.

<sup>29</sup> Named were: the lord of Steenkerke, Gilles de Gogenies, Jehan de Santengines and Pierre Le Fevre, of the personal 'court' of Margaret of Burgundy, which was similar to that of the other Burgundian princesses; the only one studied in detail is that of Isabella of Portugal, Sommé, *Isabelle*, pp. 221–371. Very few of Margaret's accounts are left: R.-H. Bautier and J. Sornay, *Les sources de l'histoire économique . . .*, vol. 1, Paris 2001, p. 632 (chapter on Holland by M. Van Gent), to be completed by the same, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 2, Paris 1984, p. 564.

<sup>30</sup> Merciaen: M. Boone, *Gent en de Bourgondische hertogen, ca. 1384 – ca. 1455. Een sociaal-politieke studie van een staatsvormingsproces*, Brussel 1990, *Verhandelingen van de koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, vol. 52 (1990), pp. 184–86.

involved is only to be expected: as judges they took the oath of the members of Jacqueline's *hôtel* and made sure that they gave as complete a survey of the goods and furniture as possible. As members of the representative institutions of the county of Flanders they followed the progress of the political crisis around Jacqueline of Bavaria with obvious interest;<sup>31</sup> representatives of the Flemish cities had acted as go-betweens for the duke and his leading noblemen and taken part in the numerous and high-powered embassies to the cities of Holland.<sup>32</sup> Finally, the inventory names the members of Jacqueline's household and her ladies in waiting who were involved in the deposition of the lists.<sup>33</sup>

Jacqueline, her mother and her ladies-in-waiting lived in the Ghent residence, *de Posteerne*, as other dignitaries or members of the dynasty had done, among them Jean de Thoisy, Bishop of Tournai and Chancellor of Burgundy, and Duchess Michelle de France, first wife of Philip the Good, who had been forced to leave the court and died in the *Posteerne*. The building also comprised a chapel, stables, kitchens and even *une maison des chiens de monseigneur*.<sup>34</sup> *Posteerne* (postern) means, of course, 'backdoor', which may indicate that an escape from this building, which stood a little away from the city centre, was not impossible?<sup>35</sup> The fact that numerous servants and officers belonging to her court were passing in and out of the building all the time presumably helped Jacqueline to escape without drawing attention to herself.

The inventory follows the usual scheme of the organisation of a princely household.<sup>36</sup> The list starts with the *panetrie*, pantry, followed by the *bouteillerie*, buttery, the *cuisine*, kitchen, the *fruiterie*, confectionary, the *taillerie*, wardrobe, *tapisterie*, where tapestries and hangings were kept. After these 'services' follows a list of movable items kept in chests, a section concerned with horses, harness and carts, overseen by Hughenin Du Ble, *escuyer d'escuierie de monseigneur de*

<sup>31</sup> W.P. Blockmans, *Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Regering van Filips de Goede. Deel I: tot de onderwerping van Brugge (4 maart 1438)*, Brussels 1990, pp. 235–36, 236–37, 239–41, 256–57.

<sup>32</sup> W. Prevenier and J.G. Smit, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der dagvaarten van de Staten en steden van Holland voor 1544*, vol. 1, 1276–1433, pt 2, *Texts*, RGP, Grote serie 202, The Hague 1987, pp. 667–74.

<sup>33</sup> Named: Estienne Dytre, *maître d'hôtel*, and the ladies of Heemstede and Van Vliet, the damoiselles of Heemstede, Doulz (or d'Oulz?), Dorin et Waregny, *servanter*, these ladies, often girls from important families, together with servants formed a hierarchical community that still awaits proper study. For Isabel of Portugal, Sommé, *Isabella*.

<sup>34</sup> Boone and de Hemptinne, *Espace urbain*, pp. 285–86.

<sup>35</sup> M. Gysseling, *Gent's vroegste geschiedenis in de spiegel van zijn plaatsnamen*, Antwerp, 1954, p. 69.

<sup>36</sup> The Burgundian court is being systematically studied by Werner Paravicini (German historical institute, Paris) who edits the series of household ordinances, *Menschen am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. K. Krüger, H. Kruse, A. Ranft, Stuttgart 2002; M. Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380*, Oxford 2001, pp. 34–56.

*Bourgogne*, and finally a list of arms and armour kept in the *l'artillerie*.<sup>37</sup> Remarkable is the absence of jewels and money in cash, which Jacqueline had presumably taken with her when she fled.<sup>38</sup> In some cases the quantity of the items, such as twenty-four napkins for the dining room, shows that the ladies would have been able to receive a large number of guests. The same impression is given by the quantity of tableware, almost all *dorés*, gilded, or of pure gold or silver, most of the items engraved with the arms of Burgundy and Hainault or Bavaria and Hainault, a few with the arms of Gloucester.<sup>39</sup> For the metal items a precise weight is given (in pounds Troyes), but no estimated value. The same is true of items of dress, many of which are lined or trimmed with the fur of various of animals (ermine, marten) and made out of luxury fabrics: *velours, tissu d'or, drap violet, drap noir, damas*. There are tapestries for the chapel, the dining-room and the bed-room, some of the latter showing chivalric or romantic scenes that may have inspired Jacqueline during her marital adventures,<sup>40</sup> and many of them decorated with heraldic figures, including many coats of arms of Hainault, Burgundy, even Flanders, and in a few instances, England.<sup>41</sup> In the chests were luxury items for use during hours of leisure, such as books and manuscripts (no titles given)<sup>42</sup>, a chess set, golden spurs, a panel painting (artist's name not given, of course),<sup>43</sup> liturgical objects, such as a chalice, crucifix, altarcloths, candlesticks, bells, and prayerbooks, and, less prominent than the references to her English husband, a souvenir of Jacqueline's first husband, John of Touraine.<sup>44</sup> The chests also contained a large quantity of fabrics, hats and pieces of fur. The inventory ends with a list of

<sup>37</sup> Huguenin du Blé was, according to the list and ordonnance of the ducal household, one of Philip's two principal '*escuiers d'escuierie*': Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen, II', pp. 275-76.

<sup>38</sup> List of Jacqueline's jewels: P.L. Tack, 'De juwelen van Jacoba', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudbeidekunde*, vol. 8 (1941), pp. 106-14.

<sup>39</sup> An example: *En la cuisine. Premiers, grans plas et petitiz et petites escuilles (plates or bowls) d'argent jusques a xxx pieces qui furent ou cofre Jehan de Quartes et sont armoyés les v grans des armes de Baviere et de Hainau, ung autre grant armoyé de Haynau et de Bourgogne, vi petites escuilles armoyees de Haynau et de Bourgogne et deux telles armoyés de Baviere et de Haynau. Item, ung grant plat et iiii petitiz armoyés des armes du duc de Gloucestre, ung grant plat sans armoye ne enseignes par dehors de deux anneaux, poissent ces parties en tout boev mars et demye onca pois de Troyes.*

<sup>40</sup> E.g. *Item, ung chiel et ung dossael et une quarture de lit de taffetas brodee a personnaiges a maniere de joustes et tournois, and: Item, en ung autre cofre petit v oreilliers dont les trois sont de satin blanc et les deux de draps de damas empliz de violettes et de roses etc. et une chemise de torquia. Item, ung grant oreiller de toile empliz de plumes.*

<sup>41</sup> E.g. *Item, iiii tapis vermaux semmé de feuilles blanches aux armes de Engleterre. Item, iiii tapis bleus semmé de roses aux armes d'Engleterre.*

<sup>42</sup> *Premierement, en ung cofre de cuir noir unes sept saulmes en françois convertes de satin figuré. Item, ung livre de chanchons. Item, ung romant (. . .) Item, deux beuras l'une couverte de villeau noir et l'autre de cuir vermeil. Item, deux messeaux.*

<sup>43</sup> *Item, ung tableau ront ou il y une ymage de notre dame a ghise de miroir.*

<sup>44</sup> *Item, ung pot d'ausmoisme d'argent doré armoyez des armes du daulphin pesans viii mars iiii onches et demye.*

the arms found in the residence, axes, lances, pieces of armour and forty-six crossbows. The account of the receiver general, Guy Guilbaut, for the year 1425–26 specifies the cost of carrying these crossbows to Bruges, where Duke Philip was staying, which shows that they were considered valuable.<sup>45</sup>

This unusual document allows us to relinquish any 'romantic' views of Jacqueline's enforced stay in Ghent. This was no prison, even the phrase 'armed custody' seems excessive. Jacqueline was first cousin to Philip the Good, her mother was his aunt and they were allowed to keep their court in one of the minor but nevertheless well provided ducal residences.<sup>46</sup> The efforts made to prepare the *Posteerne* to receive Jacqueline and her mother indicate what their stay was meant to be: a golden cage, where life could go on as smoothly as possible, in the hope that Jacqueline would gradually forget her English lover and submit to the pope's verdict on her marriage to John IV of Brabant.<sup>47</sup> This hope was dashed by Jacqueline's temperament and her desire for recognition of her role as a woman, a princess and a political force. She distanced herself from the pomp and ceremony of life at court and chose to ride away, dressed as a man, in order to regain what she considered was hers by right. The century dominated by the Valois dukes of Burgundy was indeed, to quote Johan Huizinga's famous words, an era characterised by '*levens felheid*, the ardour of life.'<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> After mentioning the cost of drawing up the inventory, the account continues *pluseurs autres menuex frais et aussi pour mener et conduire devers mon dit seigneur en la ville de Bruges certaine quantité de gros arbalestres qui estoient entre les dis biens*, ADN, series B, no. 1933, f. 81.

<sup>46</sup> One should not forget that between 18 June and 1 September 1425 Burgundian officials worked hard to embellish the *Posteerne* and make it suitable to house two princesses who were, after all, closely related to the duke himself: see the accounts of the works, AGR (Brussels), Chambres des comptes, no. 27421, ff. 30–33.

<sup>47</sup> The account of Guy Guilbaut leaves no doubt: *pris en sa main et fait venir en sa ville de Gand [madame Jaque de Baviere, duchesse de Brebant] comme en main sequestre, jusques a ce que par notre saint pere le pappe fust décidé et déterminé du proces et discord estant entre les dis duc et duchesse. Et pour ce que par certain traité et appointment fait par mon dit seigneur du consentement de la dicte dame Jaque avec le dit monseigneur de Brebant elle devoit avoir par les mains de mon dit seigneur de la revenue de ses pays et seignories certaine part et porcion sans laquelle ou sans l'aide de mon dit seigneur elle n'avoit de quoy vivre et soustenir son estat*, ADN, series B, no. 1933, f. 80v.

<sup>48</sup> J. Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, (*The Waning of the Middle Ages*), any edn, ch. 1.