

Introduction to 2002 Edition

Richard Vaughan's *Charles the Bold*, published in 1973, was the first scholarly book on the reign of this turbulent prince since John Forster Kirk's three volumes appeared between 1863 and 1868. John Bartier's biography, published in 1944 (and republished with wonderful illustrations in 1970) was informative and more up to date but it had no footnotes. Reviewers have underlined Vaughan's achievement, though C.A.J. Armstrong claimed that 'a society was founded for the defence of de Commynes' and he and others would have liked to read more about the importance of Louis XI, about culture, institutions and finance (Strayer); Vaughan was even accused of writing 'old-fashioned narrative' (Kaminsky).¹ In fact, Vaughan's feat has not been superseded. There have been biographies published since: in 1976 Werner Paravicini produced a short book (127 pages, like Bartier without notes) in which, drawing perhaps rather heavily on historical psychology, he sought to explain the motivation of his restless protagonist as the result of personal problems. Other authors published useful popularisations and novels (Brion 1977, Schelle 1977, Grafteaux 1981, Le Cam 1992, Soisson 1997). In 1996 Jean-Marie Cauchies wrote an interesting work on Charles' life and his relationship with Louis XI, coming out strongly for 'Charles le Hardi' instead of 'Charles le

¹ C.A.J. Armstrong in *English Historical Review* 91 (1976), pp. 374-78 (378). Cf. A.R. Myers in *History Today* 24 (1974), pp. 210-11; J.R. Strayer in *The American Historical Review* 80 (1975), p. 624; C.C. Willard in *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975), pp. 238-39; J.B. Hennemann in *Historian* 28 (1976), p. 325; H. Kaminsky in *Speculum* 52 (1977), pp. 175-77; M.G.A. Vale in *European Studies Review* 7 (1977), pp. 449-50, and W. Paravicini in *Francia* 4 (1976), pp. 757-73.

Téméraire' (pp. 147–259, cf. Lope 1995, pp. 43–63: 'Karl der Kühne im Urteil der Zeitgenossen'); the latter terminology had dominated in France since the early nineteenth century. Vaughan, who initially intended to refer to 'Charles the Rash', changed to 'Charles the Bold' too. But 'Charles le Hardi' is Burgundian propaganda; in January 1477 the French already found him *temerarius*², and Thomas Basin followed suit. Sadly, Karl Bittmann, the man who initiated the re-evaluation of Charles the Bold, died in 1974, and the continuation of his important work has never been published.

The siege of Neuss (*Neuss, Burgund und das Reich* 1975), the great battles of Grandson (Grandson 1976), Murten/Morat (*Die Murtenschlacht* 1976) and Nancy (*Cinq-centième anniversaire de la bataille de Nancy* 1979) and the reunion of the duchy of Burgundy with France (*De Charles le Téméraire à Louis XI*, Dijon 1977) were commemorated shortly after the publication of Vaughan's book and gave rise to publications of varying significance, the most important being the catalogue of the exhibition at the Royal Library of Brussels (*Charles le Téméraire* 1977: cf. Contamine, Fossoyeur 1977/1992; Schneider 1977, 1978; Gunn 1998 (drawing a parallel between Charles the Bold and Henry VII)).

Naturally the general works on the Netherlands and on the Burgundian state contain useful information about Duke Charles: the [*Nieuw*] *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 4 (1980); Prevenier/Blockmans 1984 and 1999; Prevenier (ed.) 1998, superbly illustrated, and Schnerb 1999. *Splendeurs de la Cour de Bourgogne*, a useful reproduction of sources with informative introductions and bibliography, appeared in 1995.

Sources: archival

Since 1973 great progress has been made in the publication of sources and calendars. The calendar of charters and *mandements* of the count and the duke, compiled by the great scholar Henri Stein (†1940), is now available in print (Stein/Dünnebeil 1999). A. Le Cam 1985 collected a large quantity of the manuscript material at the National Library in

² W. Paravicini in *Francia*, 4 (1976), p. 773

Paris. There is now an inventory of Charles's correspondence; it is not quite complete and gives the contents only in the case of *deperdita* (in the hope that there will be an edition of all extant material): *Briefwechsel* 1995 (2 vols.). Vol. 2, pp. 465–537 contains the most complete bibliography yet published of Charles the Bold and his times. Some of the material at the Düsseldorf archives, preserved from destruction in 1945 thanks to the copies made by H. Stein, has been utilized by Paravicini, Kleve 1996, and by Ehm 2002. The sources of his legislation, both general and concerning the county of Hainaut, have been calendared by Cauchies 1982–84 (1986).

The single most important edition is undoubtedly Sestan's publication of the Borgogna file in the Milanese archives (Sestan, ed., 1985–1987, 2 vols.), which is supplemented by Zambarbieri 1982; the Naples file is published up to 1461 and will be continued (Storti 1998–). The important systematic publication of the France file has not gone beyond the year 1466 (Kendall/Ilardi 1970–1981, 3 vols.; see too Lorenzo de Medici, *Lettere*).

With regard to accounting information, in 1995 (see too Albrecht 1996) Chr. Albrecht published the *Argentier's* monthly roll for October 1475; the years 1468 and 1469 have been published in 2001/2002 by Greve, Lebailly, Paravicini; and 1470, the last year for which complete records remain, will follow.

The first volume of the Proceedings of the Order of the Golden Fleece, covering the reign of Philip the Good, has been published in 2001, to be followed by the second volume on the chapter at Bruges in 1468 and the third on the chapter at Valenciennes in 1473 (*Protokollbücher*, vols. 1–3).

A data-bank listing the names in the *écroes*, i.e. the daily accounts of wages etc. of the court, is well under way, and the long awaited edition of the court ordinances is progressing, both of these at the German Historical Institute in Paris. W. Paravicini, 'Ordre et règle' published in 1999/2000 contains the most complete list to date of these ordinances and gives a close description of Charles' character as revealed in these eloquent texts.

A new itinerary of Charles the Bold is badly needed as there has been none since that of H. van der Linden in 1936; but see

the thesis on all ducal itineraries written by Ewert in 1998 and published on microfiche in 1999.

Sources: historiographical

Little has been done to further the (re)publication of chronicles and other historiographical texts. The new part of the work of Georges Chastellain (ed. Duclos 1991) concerns the years 1456–1457 and 1459–1461, when Charles was Count of Charolais. But now there are important studies on the historiographers: Chastel(l)ain (Small 1997, cf. 1998), Molinet (Devaux 1996, cf. 1989 and 1994), Basin (Spencer 1997; Guinée 1987; cf. Contamine 1977/1992), Commines (Blanchard 1996; Blanchard's 2001 edition of the letters begins only in 1478; cf. Dufournet 1975, 1994; Kamp 1998; J.-M. Duvosquel in Brussels is preparing a study on Commines' Burgundian period). There has been no overall study on Olivier de la Marche since H. Stein, but see Heitmann 1981 and Quérueil 1994; the colloquium of the Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes in 2002 at Chalon-sur-Saône will be devoted to him. On Jean de Haynin see de Nève de Roden 1997. Zingel 1996 gives a practical overview of Burgundian chroniclers, especially their opinions on relations with the German Empire, and Hartmann 1981 synthesises what the Franco-Burgundian chroniclers and memorialists say about the Empire, Germany and the Germans. Himmelsbach 1999 reflects the views of the 'Burgunderkrieg' in contemporary Swiss chronicles (Diepold Schilling, Albrecht von Bonstetten, the monk Nicolaus and anonymous of Basel). Finally, there is a fine study on Aurelius, the author of the Dutch *Divisiiekroniek* (Tilmans 1991), published in 1517, but containing much earlier original material.

Sources: monumental

Art history has finally recognised the production of the Burgundian Netherlands as an entity and as a subject in its own right. An informative introduction to this area was written by Franke/Welzel in 1997, covering not only painting, sculpture and miniatures, but also pious foundations, architecture, tapestry, gold and silver works, and feasts and cere-

monial entries. The two authors have also written valuable in-depth studies, especially on the reign of Charles the Bold (see bibliography). The monograph by H. van den Velden 2000 on Gerard Loyet discusses the only surviving sculptural portrait of Charles the Bold, part of the reliquary given in 1470 to the Cathedral of St. Lambert at Liège, cf. Bruyère 1999, Welzel 1999. The exhibition ‘Splendours of Flanders. Late medieval art in Cambridge collections’ was held in 1993; and see *infra* on Burgundian manuscripts.

Biography, Prosopography, and Networks

Much has been done (and much remains to be done) in the area concerning people and organisations who served or opposed Charles the Bold. Only one of the duke’s top councillors has been the subject of a detailed biography: Guy de Brimeu, lord of Humbercourt (Paravicini 1975); the 800 page study may have been excessively detailed and footnoted: less might have been more. Paravicini has also written on two adversaries of Charles the Bold: Vincent of Moers (Paravicini, ‘Moers’ 1977, see also Paravicini, ‘Königswahl’ 1975, and Paravicini, ‘Kleve’ 1996, p. 65), and Louis de Luxembourg Count of Saint-Pol (Paravicini, ‘Peur’ 1985; a biography by Soumillon is forthcoming, cf. Soumillon 1997, and, for memory, Dollar 1985; for Jacques de Luxembourg-Richebourg see Paviot 2000). Paravicini complemented his study of the will of Chancellor Guillaume Hugonet, published in 1972, with a study of his library (A. and W. Paravicini, ‘L’arsenal intellectuel’ 2000; cf. also the articles of A. Vanderjagt 1980 and ss.*). There is still no definitive study on Hugonet’s friend, the Italian Raymondo Marliano (cf. Bartier 1980, Kamp 1995, on amortization, and Theurot 2000). The very important Croy family still awaits its scientific historian (cf. Paravicini, ‘Moers’ 1977; Thiry 1993; Devaux 2001), as does Philippe Pot (cf. Bouchard 1949/1994), and Louis de Bruges Lord of the Gruuthuse (see Martens 1992, Laffitte 1997). Only the Flemish Kethulle family has received full treatment (Douxchamps 1996), and H. Brand 2000 gave a lively picture of Floris en Jan van Boschhuijsen from Leiden.

* and ss. = subsequent publications.

There is some new work on Peter von Hagenbach (*infra*), and there are good articles on the banker Thomaso Portinari (Boone 1999), the financier Pieter Bladelin (Martens 1994), the *Argentier* Guilbert de Ruple (Papin 1999), the *garde des joyaux* Jaques de Brégilles (Pavio 1995 and de Schryver 2000), also on Pieter Lanchals (Boone 1990), Gau(l)tier Poulain (Boone 1992, 1993), and the very lowborn favourite Guillaume de Bisches (Chevalier 1997; de Moor 1990; Ward, forthcoming; a biography written by G. Desmedt, Lille, is forthcoming), and two of Duke Charles' bastard brothers: Anthony (Bergen-Pantens 1993) and Baudouin (Cauchies 1995), on whom and on others there is much material to be found in Carlier 1998–1999 and 2001.

Two important ecclesiastical councillors have recently been the subjects of detailed biographies: Jean Jouffroy d.1473 (Märtl 1996) and Guillaume Fillastre the younger d.1473 (Prietzl 2001, who is also preparing an edition of Fillastre's selected works); see also de Schryver et al. 1989 on Ferry de Clugny. There is work in progress on the important lawyer Philip Wielant (D. van Auweele/G. Tournoy/J. Monballyu 1981; Monballyu, ed., 1995); a general account of learned councillors serving the duke is given by Theurot 1998, and Theurot 2000 (concerning the University of Dole).

Much prosopographical material is contained in the biographies of the Knights of the Golden Fleece (*infra*), of the Councillors of the Great Council (Kerkhoffs-de Heij 1980), the personnel of the Chambre des comptes de Lille (Jean 1992), the latter two after 1477, in Caron's book on the nobility of the duchy of Burgundy 1988, and in some recent Dutch theses: Cools 2000 (cf. Cools 2001), Damen 2000 (Holland-Zeeland, cf. Damen 2001, and see for the Glymes-Bergen op Zoom Ham 2000), Dumolyn 2001 (Chambre des comptes and Council of Flanders, forthcoming). For the nobility in general: *Les élites nobiliaires* 2001.

The database of court officials (*supra*) will be crucial, as will the future results of the international project 'Prosopographia Burgundica' (cf. Francia 24/1, 1997, pp. 147–48).

On patronage, clients, creatures, networks, and representation see Blockmans/Janse (ed.), *Showing Status* 1999. R. Stein (ed.), *Powerbrokers* 2000, and Paravicini, *Invitations* 2001, both with rich bibliographies, and the seminal articles by

Derville in 1974 and 1985 should not be missed. On jurists: Boone 1996; on Flemish finance officials: Boone 1999.

Charolais

The young Charles the Bold has never been studied thoroughly. On his court, however, see the book published by Kruse in 1996; on his early youth, entourage and relationship with his mother Isabel, see Sommé 1982 and ss., especially her biography 1998, the exhibition catalogue *Isabelle de Portugal* 1991, and Paravicini, 'Acquerir sa grâce' 2002; on his journey to Tours in 1461 see Paravicini 1989. His entourage and politics in Holland have been studied by Groothuis 1990 (not published) and Ward (forthcoming), but much remains to be done. On his first wife, Michelle de France, see de Schouwer 1998, on his second, Isabelle de Bourbon, Verdonck 1989 (both not published).

Ideas on Government and Beginning the Reign

The political ideas of Charles, both as count and duke, have not yet been closely examined. There is some coverage of sovereignty and royal ambitions (cf. *infra* on the meeting at Trier) in Jongkees 1980/1990, R. van Answaarden 1990 and de Roos 1996; Vanderjagt 1980 and ss. tries to establish the outlines of the political theory of his close circle, especially of Hugonet (see also van Hijum 1999), and Blockmans 1996 stresses the early application of *crimen laesae majestatis* while he was still a count in Holland. Some material is to be found in Paravicini, 'Pax et justitia' 1995/1997; Paravicini, 'Ordre et règle' 1999/2000, and in A. and W. Paravicini, 'L'arsenal intellectuel' 2000. These works also provide an introduction to the intense activity of Charles 'le Travaillant' during the winter of 1467/68, studied admirably by the late Maurice A. Arnould in 1981 and 1985; cf. Gresser 1980 and ss for the regional finance of Franche-Comté. For the initial crisis relating to the entry at Ghent see Arnade 1991 and 1996, Paravicini, '“Magnificences”' 2001, and Boone (forthcoming). Charles as justice and legislator for the province of Hainaut, is treated by Cauchies 1982; Cauchies also published in 1982–84 (1986) the list of his ordinances relating to Hainaut.

Court Organization and Court Culture

A new analysis of sources, allowing detailed study of the court was published by Kruse 1996, with the reconstruction of the first, lost, court ordinance for Charolais dating from 1456; his study of the ordinances of Philip the Good 1999 (cf. 2002), and the publications of Sommé, especially 'Que représente un gage journalier de 3 sous' 1999, are complementary publications. For the feminine aspects of Burgundian court society see Bousmar 1994/1998 and Bousmar/Sommé 2000. For the ducal court, its ordinances and daily accounts, see Paravicini, 'Ordonnances' 1986, and Paravicini, *Ordre et règle* 1999/2000, paving the way for the publication of these most valuable texts in the near future; some extracts from the 1469 ordinance have already been published by J. van Rompaey in 1981; see also Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung' 1977/78, 'Expansion et intégration' 1980, 'Model for Europe?' 1991. Economic and quantitative aspects are treated by W. Blockmans et al. 1998 and M.-Th. Caron et al. 1998. There is a volume on *Les étrangers à la cour de Bourgogne*, also in the time of Charles the Bold (2002). The music of the royal chapel, so much loved by Duke Charles, forms part of the subject of a forthcoming thesis by D. Fiala (Tours). For his residences consult Paravicini, *Residenzen* 1991, and de Jonge 1999.

On feasts, rituals and representation see Paravicini, '“Magnificences”' 2001, with sections on Charles' Wedding at Bruges (1468), the feast of the Golden Fleece at Bruges (1468) and Valenciennes (1473), Charles' judicial Audience (1468), the humiliation of the town of Ghent (1469), Charles' navy (1470), the reception of the French embassy (1470), the meeting at Trier (1473), the removal of the remains of Duke Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal (1473–1474), Charles at his Parlement at Mechelen (1474), and the siege of Neuss (1474–1475), with an extensive bibliography; see also Paravicini, 'Königliche Schlichtheit und herzogliche Pracht' 2002, comparing Charles with the very unceremonious Louis XI. Hurlbut's thesis of 1990 on the ceremonial entries of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold will soon be published. Lecuppre-Desjardins has her thesis on this subject in progress; see her already-published articles 1999. É. van den Neste

1996 deals with much more than just tourneys in Flanders. The many publications on art and monuments are all relevant to this subject. On banquets see Quérue! 1996. The thesis of Sterchi 2002 on *Lob und Tadel* will renew debate on the importance of 'virtue' and 'chivalry' at court. Magic and divination, of great interest to the princes, have been treated by Veenstra 1998.

Our knowledge of the Order of the Golden Fleece, a subject long the preserve of dilettanti, has been much improved by recent publications. Not only is there now a prosopographical register for the fifteenth century (ed. R. de Smedt, 2nd enlarged ed. 2001), but also a useful study of the different chapters (Gruben 1997, and Devaux 1996 on 1473) and a most valuable catalogue of the exhibition held in Brussels (L'Ordre de la Toison d'Or, 1996); the proceedings of the chapters are being progressively published by Dünnebeil 2001–, the second and third volumes will contain the criticism of Duke Charles and his response, some of which was previously translated into English by R. Vaughan. Boulton 1987/2000, pp. 356–96 contains sound pages on the Order; Melville 1997 and Horwitz 2000 are sophisticated on its internal functioning, and so is Sterchi 2002 who is drawing heavily on unpublished material in the Order's archives at Vienna.

Literature, Art, Ideas, and Religion

Important studies have been published by Thiry and Quérue!, especially Thiry (ed.) 1997. On manuscripts and manuscript illumination, see the exhibition catalogue *Charles le Téméraire* 1977, especially Cockshaw 1977 and Tournoy 1977, also Thoss 1987 (Vienna) and Leguay (Froissart). The *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, vol. 5, will contain a new edition of the inventory of his library. On individual artists: Bousmanne 1997; Brinkmann 1997; de Schryver 1999. See *supra* on some important bibliophiles: Anthony Bastard of Burgundy, Louis de Bruges-Gruuthuse, the Croy family, Hugonet and Jean V de Créquy (Willard 1996). For the mss. of the duchess see *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal* 1992. Blondeau 1997 and 2001 deals with some of the principal heroes of the Burgundian court (Alexander, Arthur and

Charlemagne), subject of the 2000 conference at Edinburgh/Glasgow *Le héros bourguignon* 2001. For Alexander see also Franke 2001, for Hercules Cheyngs-Condé 1994. For tapestries with subjects taken from antiquity, Franke 1997 and ss. and the magnificent publications of Buri/Stucky-Schürer 2001; see also Cassagnes 2001. On antiquity and Burgundy see also Heitmann 1981; Walsh 1976, 1980 and his book (forthcoming). Gallet-Guerne 1974 presents the *Cyropédie* of Xenophon as an adapted model for Duke Charles. Little research has been carried out into Duke Charles' religious views. But there is hope, see H. van der Velden 2000, and his recent article 2001 on Charles on pilgrimage. On the charterhouse of Champmol, sepulchre of the dukes (except Charles the Bold), see Prochno 2002.

Administration: central

Useful overviews of the different institutions are contained in *Les institutions du gouvernement central* 1995, cf. Boone 1993: finance, Boone 1995: chancellor – for the secretaries of the chancery, Cockshaw 1982 and forthcoming. For their archives, see Bautier/Sornay 2001 *supra*, and Paravicini, 'Embarras' 1996/97. On Charles' finance in general see Mollat 1979, Albrecht 1996, Ewert 2000, and see *supra* (Portinari). The financing of war is described by Garnier 1997. On bureaucracy and centralisation, R. Stein 2001; Wellens 1974 is the basic work on the General Estates. The standard study on the Great Council and the Parlement of Malines is by J. van Rompaey 1973; he also published the essential texts of December 1473. In 1973, there was an important exhibition at Mechelen with a catalogue entitled *500 [Vijfhondert] jaar Grote Raad*; on the pictorial representation of this Parlement see now de Vaivre 1994/1996, and Paravicini, '“Magnificences”' 2001. On relations with the Parlement of Paris, texts and studies are published by Caenegem 1966–1977 and Dauchy 1993, 1995 and 1998. On Charles' 'lettres de rémission' in the Low Countries, most interesting material, see Pannekoecke 1997 (not published). On information, a crucial area when judging the efficiency of Charles' reign, there is von Seggern 1999 (to be published soon), and see his articles published in 2000.

Administration: provincial and local

Flanders has received considerable attention in regional studies: Rompaey 1967 (bailiffs), Blockmans 1978 and ss. (representative assemblies, with important publication of sources 1971); Boone *passim* (town of Ghent and general); Brown 1997, 1999 (Bruges); Clauzel 1982 and ss. (Lille). On the Council and Chambre des comptes of Flanders see Dumolyn 2000 and ss.; after 1477: Jean 1992 and 1996. Recently, Holland has been a favourite area of research, see Smit 1995, Groothuis 1990, Ward (forthcoming), v. Seggern 1999 and 2000, Damen 2000 and 2002, Janse 1997 and 1998, Brand 1993, 1996, 2000. On Hainaut: *Valenciennes aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* 1996, and Servant 1998. The Council of Brabant has been covered up to 1467 by Godding 1999; for the following years, see Oosterbosch/van den Auweele 1993; the Leiden-research group will soon provide the missing prosopographical information. On Luxembourg see Petit 1993, on Franche-Comté Gresser 1980 and ss., and on the important salt-pans of Salins H. Dubois 1995 (who is now preparing for 'Instrumenta' the edition of the Livre des délibérations du Bourg-Dessus zu Salins, which contains copies of 78 letters of Duke Charles). Charles the Bold tried to have inventories made of all fiefs and services due: these lists are important political, economic and demographic documents, especially for the provincial nobility of the Burgundian state: see Derville 1989 (Flandre wallonne), Zoete 1990 (Veurne), Caron 1995 and 1996 (Artois), Janse 1997 and 1998 (Holland). There is no study which synthesises the findings of these texts.

Allies and Enemies

Even if the Swiss, the Germans and the Duke of Lorraine finally defeated Charles the Bold, his most hated enemy was King Louis XI of France. A new biography of him by Heers, 1999, tries once again to save his honour; Favier 2001 is broader, and less polemical. There is a short, useful article, including recent bibliography, by Kruse 1996; Braive 1992 provides a bibliography, while Kaiser-Guyot 2000 suggests that Louis XI was a drunkard – not a totally satisfactory

interpretation. Fundamental on royal finance is Lassalmonie 2002. On his relations with Charles the Bold see Cauchies 1999, Contamine *passim*, and Paravicini, 'Königliche Schlichtheit' 2002 and, on his sickness and death (a confirmation of what Commynes wrote), Paravicini, 'Sterben und Tod' 1993. On royal relations in general see Leguai 1992.

Emperor Frederick III is the subject of monumental publications by Heinig 1993 and 1997, whilst Maximilian I dominates the even more monumental volumes by Wiesflecker 1971–1986 and 1991. The whole question of relations with the Empire has been revived by Ehm's 2002 book; on details see Gensicke 1972 (Count of Sayn); Paravicini *passim*; *Pays bourguignons et terres d'Empire* 1996, and *Entre royaume et empire* 2002.

On the meeting with Frederick III at Trier, Ewert 1996 and Paravicini, '“Magnificences”' 2001, and cf. Maleczek's 1968 unpublished thesis.

Relations with the Count Palatinate (Ehm 2002, pp. 101 ff.), the Emperor's enemy, had important consequences; on Count Frederick I, see Probst 1989; the exhibition catalogue *Der Griff nach der Krone* 2000; Paravicini, 'Wittelsbach' (forthcoming); there is plentiful material on Kleve, Jülich and Berg in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte* 1984, especially Hilger 1984, supplemented by Paravicini, Kleve 1996. On Württemberg, Pégeot 1979 and *Württemberg und Mömpelgard* 2000, on Baden, Kimm 1976 and Schneider 1978 (Metz). All these studies are now to be crowned by *Der Oberrhein im 15. Jahrhundert* (forthcoming), by *Spätmittelalter am Oberrhein* 2001, and by Ehm 2002; cf. also *Vorderösterreich* 1999. On Hungary and the Balkans, see Nehring 1989 and Hoensch 1998.

On the competing English kings of his period, see Ross 1974 (Edward VI) and Griffiths 1981 (Henry VI); for the important Earl of Warwick, Hicks 1998. Anglo-Burgundian relations have been covered by Armstrong 1977/1983; see also Stark 1993, *L'Angleterre et les pays bourguignons* 1995, especially Vale 1995, Ballard 1995, Ballard's Thesis of 1992 (not published), and Ehm 1995 (not published), and several articles published by Visser-Fuchs 1986 and ss. On the duchess see *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal* 1992 (on her mss.); the catalogue *Marguerite d'York et son temps* 1967, and the not entirely satisfactory biography by

Weightman 1989 (²1993); cf. van Kwikkelberghe 1991 (unpublished), Robins 1991 and 1993; on the marriage 1468 at Bruges, see Paravicini, ‘“Magnificences”’ 2001. On James III of Scotland, see Macdougall 1982.

Italy is treated at length by Walsh (forthcoming), with a bibliographical supplement by Paravicini, though in less detail than the present essay; also worth mentioning are *Milan et les Etats bourguignons* 1988, Lubkin 1994 on the court of Milan, and Savy, 1996 and forthcoming (on Rodolfo Gonzaga at court); Savy is at present working under the direction of B. Schnerb (Lille) on a thesis about the del Verme family, who also served Duke Charles. Some material can be found in the publications of Soldi-Rondinini 1976 and ss.; and see *supra* for recently published Milanese sources.

The Dukes of Bourbon have found their historian in the person of Mattéoni 1998; Brittany is covered by Kerhervé 1987, Contamine 1984/1992, Jones 1995, Lefort des Ylouses 1995/1998; on Saint-Pol see *supra*. The colloquium on the ‘Chambres des comptes’ of French princes, 1996, is highly relevant to the whole subject of princely power at the time of Charles the Bold. On the Swiss and on Lorraine see *infra*.

The stormy relations with towns are described by Blockmans 1988 and 1989; Arnade 1991 and 1996 (and by Boone, *passim*); for Liège see *infra*. In general: *Les relations entre princes et villes* 1993.

Armies and Wars

There is still much work to be done on the major subject of the armies of Charles the Bold; Brusten’s articles of 1976 and 1979 are not adequate. Schmidt-Sinns’s unpublished thesis of 1955 is better. Even the famous military ordinances have not yet been the subject of a critical edition (Scherff 1998 is not helpful). Interesting material concerning their formulation and distribution has been published by de Schryver 1999: 21 copies of which 5 remain, at Kopenhagen, Den Haag, Munich, Paris and Vienna. There are useful articles by Contamine 1998, Allmand 2001, and B. Schnerb *passim*; and Schnerb’s book of 2000 on the Burgundian Marshals and the *prévôt des maréchaux*. On desertion and Charles’ harsh countermeasures, see Allmand 2000, Schnerb 1991, and Cauchies

1977. Franck Fusibet (Paris) is working on a thesis on Charles' army, see Fusibet 1998. On Italian mercenaries see *supra* (Walsh, Schnerb 1999 (Troylo de Rossano), Schneider 1977 (Campobasso); Paravicini, 'Ein Spion in Malpaga' 2001 (Colleoni) and Savy (forthcoming, del Verme). On his navy: Paviot *passim*, also on the Portuguese element at the Burgundian court, the subject of Sommé's research, *passim*, and on (rhetorical) crusade, on which see also Walsh 1977.

There is still no synthesised study on the Guerre du Bien Public of 1465, only a few articles by Zambarbieri 1985, Krynen 1995, Mariotte 1996, Rimboud 1996, and Lassalmonie 2000.

On the wars of Liège, its destruction in 1468 and the Burgundian administration which followed, see Paravicini, Guy de Brimeu 1975, *passim*; Bartier 1972, Cauchies 1996, and Marchandise et al. 1999. On destroying cities in general, Blockmans 1988, 1989, and Boone 1998. Some material on one of the protagonists, Rasse de la Rivière, was provided by Paravicini 1974.

For the siege of Beauvais in 1472: Durvin 1978.

On the ducal court of Gelderland, see Nijsten 1992, on the conquest in 1473, Paravicini, Kleve 1996 (see also his studies on the count of Moers, *supra*), Ehm 2001 in the two-volume catalogue *Gelre – Geldern – Gelderland*, and Ehm 2002, pp. 46 ff. See also Kuys 1984, 1987 and 1994.

The siege of Neuss, covered by Paravicini, '“Magnificences”' 2001 (bibliography), was commemorated in 1975, with the valuable volume *Neuss, Burgund und das Reich* published by J. Lange for the occasion; the rich sources existing in the Burgundian archives had not then been explored. The present town archivist Rolf Nagel is gathering material to outdo it twenty-five years later; the triumphant German chronicle written by Christian Wierstraet was republished in 2000. There was also an exhibition at Cologne: *Köln 1475*. Recent contributions are Müller 1998 and forthcoming. For the county of Holland, see von Seggern 1999; and, for the German side, Nussen (forthcoming, Frankfurt), Brüning 2001 (Überlingen and the reluctant abbot of Salem), Fuchs/Krieger 1997. Cauchies, 'Neuss' 1996 (again in Cauchies, Louis XI 1996) explains why the duke could not extricate himself from

the siege without serious loss of honour. Most recently Ehm 2002, *passim*.

The House of Anjou and the dukes of Lorraine have mainly been the subject of general works (and see the recent exhibition at Fontevraud 2001; concerning the nobility: Coulet/Matz 2000). There will soon be a thesis on the Mediterranean diplomacy of King René by Chr. Ohnesorge, see already Ohnesorge 2000. Bénet 1997 on Jean d'Anjou duc de Calabre et de Lorraine (†1470) is the revised publication of a thesis of the École nationale des Chartes dating from 1939. On Lorraine in particular see *infra* and the important articles of J. Schneider 1977 and ss.; on Nancy 'capital' of the Burgundian State, Pégeot 1993. On the battle of Nancy, see also Devaux 1989, trying to show, that after the débâcle, his captains excused themselves by blaming the dead duke.

New work on Burgundy on the Upper Rhine and Alsace has been done by G. Bischoff 1982, 1990, 1997, and Sieber-Lehmann 1991 and ss. For individual studies of Charles' unlucky lieutenant Peter von Hagenbach, see Sieber-Lehmann 1993; Paravicini, *Invitations* 2001, no. 107 and 114, and Paravicini, 'Hagenbachs Hochzeit' (forthcoming). On Strasbourg: Rapp 1979 and Signori 1997.

The Wars of Burgundy are part of the national history of Switzerland and therefore regularly the subject of attention, see Asser 1973; the only value of Stein 1979 is its citation of some neglected documents. The same applies to the battles of Grandson and Murten (*Murtenschlacht*) in 1976. Nancy (*Cinq-centième anniversaire*) followed in 1977. On the way Bern went to war, see the excellent description by Esch 1988/1998, and several contributions to the volume named *Berns große Zeit* 1999. On Swiss chronicles and this war: Himmelsbach 1999. For discussion on the Duke's personality crisis in 1476, see Devaux 1989, Mortureux 1990, Hruschka 1999: the fact is undeniable, and nobody can excuse the duke for not having retreated in an untenable situation.

The succession crisis, Mary of Burgundy

To know what happened when the death of Charles the Bold was made known to his subjects contributes to an understanding of his reign and personality. See Paravicini, *Guy de*

Brimeu 1975, p. 450 and ss.; and Blockmans (ed.), 1985, in particular Arnould 1985. For the passing of the duchy of Burgundy to France cf. the catalogue *De Charles le Téméraire à Louis XI*, Dijon 1977. Most of the deserters and traitors have their biography in the huge thesis of Harsgor 1980, cf. Caron 1989, and Sterchi 2002. There is still no critical biography of Mary of Burgundy, only a scientific examination of her grave and her remains, published in 1982 (*Maria van Bourgondie*), and a lavishly illustrated catalogue *Bruges à Beaune* 2000. On the wars of succession see Devaux 1994, Contamine 2001 and, in detail, Sablon du Corail 2001.

Nachleben

From his death until the present no monograph has been devoted to the posthumous reputation of Charles the Bold. There is nothing on his ecclesiastical commemoration (but cf. Kamp 1995 and 1997); concerning his ‘nickname’ see Cauchies (*supra*). Walsh 1987–1988 has described his positive image as judge, also to be found in German Chronicles (Weber 1986). Olivier de la Marche’s ‘Chevalier délibéré’ has been studied by Heitmann 1981, and see the forthcoming *PCEEB* 2002 on this author. On the lamentation of Anthonis de Roovere at Bruges see Oosterman 1999. The memory of the battle of Nancy in Lorraine will be treated in the *Habilitation*-thesis of Chr. Brachmann (in progress). On Charles in poetry and in paint, especially since Romantic times and in French-speaking Belgium, see Loschelder 1975, Tauch 1975, Lope 1995, Pupil 1996.

Thus, Richard Vaughan’s work is still unique; it needs only to be brought up to date, and for someone to write the real biography which was not Vaughan’s aim. It should not be impossible. But Hermann Heimpel failed, as did his pupil Henny Grüneisen, and his protégé, Karl Bittmann. Between romance and well-written history there is a narrow pathway. Someone should dare to take it.

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