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## The Tree of Chivalry and the Black Lady: Juana of Castile's 1496 Joyous Entry into Brussels<sup>☆</sup>

NADIA T. VAN PELT , OLIVIA ROBINSON and MEG TWYXCROSS

Kupferstichkabinett MS 78D5 (Staatliche Museen Berlin) presents an account of the Joyous Entry of Juana of Castile into Brussels on 9 December 1496,<sup>1</sup> following her marriage to Philip 'le Beau', Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, in Lier on 20 October.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript combines pen-and-ink and watercolour images with descriptive rubrics in Latin, depicting the Archangel Michael, patron saint of the city of Brussels (f.1v); a procession featuring clerical and secular civic groups (ff.2v-31r; 16v-31r); assorted performers (ff.10v-16r); Juana herself, surrounded by guild members (f.31r) (Fig. 1); *tableaux vivants* presented to Juana (ff.32v-59r); two folios with escutcheons (ff.60r-61r); and descriptions of Brussels' Town Hall (ff.63r-v).<sup>3</sup> MS 78D5 was likely presented to Juana as a gift, and created a lasting memory of the Entry, and in particular the city's efforts made for this occasion.<sup>4</sup> In this article, we argue that MS 78D5 provides a rare visual record of a civic contribution to a tournament, argue for a shift in critical

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<sup>1</sup> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78D5.

<sup>2</sup> For Juana's journey to the Low Countries: Miguel-Ángel Ladero Quesada, 'El viaje de la infanta Juana a Flandes en 1496', *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico siglos XIII-XV* (Sevilla-Cádiz: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006), 835-52. Alonso de Morales's account books give a useful insight into the expenses made towards the armada that brought Juana across the sea: Rosana de Andrés Díaz (ed.), *El Último decenio del reinado de Isabel I* (Universidad de Valladolid, 2004). For the wedding: Henri D'Hulst, *Het Huwelijck van Filips de Schone met Johanna van Castilië te Lier op 20 October 1496* (Antwerp: Standaard Boekhandel, 1956).

<sup>3</sup> All these aspects of the manuscript are discussed in: Dagmar H. Eichberger (ed.), *A Spectacle for a Spanish Princess: The Festive Entry of Joanna of Castile into Brussels (1496)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023; hereafter *Spectacle*), which also presents an edition and translation of the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> Gordon Kipling, 'Brussels, Joanna of Castile, and the Art of Theatrical Illustration (1496)', *Leeds Studies in English*, 32 (2001), 229-53, 234; Wim Blockmans and Esther Donckers, 'Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (eds.), *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 81-111, 95. Eichberger furthermore notes that MS 78D5's watermark 'P' can be found on documents from 1497 respectively in the Ghent State Archive and Mechelen city accounts, suggesting the paper to originate from the same paper mill as the paper used for MS 78D5: 'This evidence supports the hypothesis that the manuscript under discussion was manufactured in the Brussels region not long after the festive entry'. Dagmar Eichberger, 'Manuscript 78 D5: a Codicological Description', *Spectacle*, 227-36, 233. For the participation of the city poet and rhetoricians in Juana's welcome, see: Remco Sleiderink and Amber Souleymane, 'In unam pacis accordantiam: The Role of City Poet Jan Smeken and Other Rhetoricians in Organizing the Brussels Entry', *Spectacle*, 107-22.



Fig. 1 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78D5, fol. 31r./Dietmar Katz. Public Domain Mark 1.0

attitudes to what the manuscript portrays, and we suggest the context in which it may be best understood.

Our starting point is f.13r, which details a group of performers dressed as wodwoses – mythical creatures much represented in medieval European art

and literature – and a Black Lady on horseback (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> In what follows we revise critical approaches to this image, identifying the object held in the Lady's hand as a Tree of Chivalry (also known as 'tree of arms'), an important symbol in chivalric and tournament culture. We also show how the other key elements of this illustration relate closely to aspects of Burgundian tournament culture, including the blend of fictional narrative, ceremony and martial sports found in the *Pas d'Armes* and other types of tournament. Identifying f.13r's iconographic engagement with tournament culture enables a deeper understanding of how the manuscript depicts Juana's welcome, and how that welcome unfolded, since we know that 'very great jousts and tourneys' were actually performed in Juana's honour, along with a banquet and a prize-giving ceremony, as chronicled by Don Lorenzo de Padilla.<sup>6</sup>

That a Tree of Chivalry appears in a civic-organized procession for the princess creates an overlap between the chivalric and the civic events, suggesting a connection between the city and the joust held in the princess's honour, which the Tree clearly represents. The illustration's accompanying rubric (f.12v), moreover, suggests that a 'gift' was presented to the prince(ss),<sup>7</sup> likely referring to the Tree depicted. We suggest that one way of understanding the illustration in MS 78D5 f.13r may be as a record of a gift-giving performance that proleptically announced the martial sports recorded by Don Lorenzo. Our revised reading of MS 78D5 f.13r adds another manuscript image to the existing body of iconographic representations of tournament culture; indeed, it offers a particularly rare contribution to this corpus, both in terms of its maker's civic perspective, and the manuscript's visual record of a civic performance situated on the margins of tournament culture. The boundaries between what we have been trained to think of as generically distinct phenomena – theatrical or quasi-theatrical performances, martial tournaments, and civic-organized, processional events – are profoundly indistinct in this image. To understand its iconography fully, we must think across these categories, and bring multiple sources of historical, performative, and iconographic information together in new ways.

#### TREE OF CHIVALRY

The performers represented in MS 78D5 f.13r have, by some scholars, been interpreted as characters of 'inversive self-definition' from carnival tradition,<sup>8</sup> or as contributing to a form of 'parody' within the processional element of the

<sup>5</sup> 'Black Lady' is here used to designate the character rather than the performer. We will discuss the performer in a separate study.

<sup>6</sup> Lorenzo de Padilla, 'Crónica de Felipe I llamado el Hermoso', *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, ed. Miguel Salvá and Pedro Sainz de Baranda (Madrid, 1846), VIII. Hereafter: 'Crónica'.

<sup>7</sup> The declension of the word 'princeps' in dative form (*principi*) is identical for singular masculine, feminine and neuter.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Vandenbroeck, 'A bride amidst heroines, fools and savages. The Joyous Entry into Brussels by Joanna of Castile, 1496 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78D5)', *JKMSK* (2012), 153–94, 188.



Fig. 2 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78D5, fol. 13r./Dietmar Katz. Public Domain Mark 1.0

*Joyeuse Entrée*, including a parodic inversion of the Spanish princess herself. For example, Wim Blockmans and Esther Donckers write: ‘the black-faced Ethiopian princess on a white horse, accompanied by wild men attired in green and armed with clubs, clearly parodies the real princess further in the procession’.<sup>9</sup> Along similar lines, the image has been understood as ‘a parody

<sup>9</sup> Blockmans and Donckers, ‘Self-Representation’, 104.

of Joanna's arrival in the city' by Laura Weigert: 'the two images' [ff.13r and 31r] 'are compositionally and visually similar, except they reverse the skin colour of the two princesses, one referred to simply as the 'Ethiopian Princess', and the colour of their mules'.<sup>10</sup> Both Blockmans and Donckers, and Weigert assume that f.13r's image is a parody in part because they read the Black Lady as an 'Ethiopian Princess'.<sup>11</sup> This is, however, a misleading epithet: the descriptive rubric actually reads:

Hoc schemate Representantur quidam qui se siluestres simulantes ac ethiopsam equo insidentem comitantes/quod prefert scema exenium principii gloriose obtulerunt (f.12v).

[In this drawing are represented certain people who, pretending to be wild people [literally: people of the woods] and accompanying a **female Ethiopian sitting on a horse**, ceremoniously offered the gift, that is shown in the drawing, to the prince(ss); emphasis ours].<sup>12</sup>

According to the Latin, the Black Lady is not understood to be a princess; her role, therefore, does not necessarily parodically mimic or invert that of Juana. To explain the workings of the supposed parody, Weigert further notes,

the red coat of arms that dangles from the miniature tree, held [...] by the Ethiopian Princess [...], resembles those hanging from the torches of the members of the Crossbowmen's guild.<sup>13</sup>

Leaving aside the somewhat misleading use of the phrase 'red coat of arms', suggesting a single escutcheon whereas several can be seen in the image, the resemblance to the shields hanging from the guild members' torches may suggest a visual form of unison between participants in the procession and the performers, but this does not necessarily imply a comic or parodic reflection on these individuals.

The object is clearly a miniaturized Tree of Chivalry. Artificial trees were a regular feature of medieval and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century tournament culture.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the most well-known visual documentation of one such tree can be found in a sixteenth-century oil painting preserved at Hampton Court,

<sup>10</sup> Laura Weigert, 'To Move the Hearts and Spirits of Men towards Joy and Recreation', *Spectacle*, 165–80, 172.

<sup>11</sup> Likewise referred to as: 'eine äthiopische Prinzession' (Dagmar Eichberger, 'Illustrierte Festzüge für das Haus Habsburg-Burgund: Idee und Wirklichkeit', in Christian Freigang and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), *Hofkultur in Frankreich und Europa im Spätmittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 73–98, 75); 'Ethiopian princess' (Claire Billen and Chloé Deligne, 'Self-Representation of Brussels in Times of Uncertainty', *Spectacle*, 77–106, 81); and 'dark-skinned princess' (Vandenbroeck, 'A bride', 185).

<sup>12</sup> Translation by Dr Renske Janssen.

<sup>13</sup> Weigert, 'To Move', 172.

<sup>14</sup> Trees of Chivalry are identified at numerous tournaments throughout Europe: Sydney Anglo, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 35–6.

depicting the meeting of Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France at the Field of Cloth of Gold in June 1520.<sup>15</sup> Edward Hall's *Chronicle* explains how it was used:

the shieldes of all these nobles were hanged on the trees, with thre tables of the Challenges, to the which al noble menne that would answeere, brought in their shieldes to the same trees, and them presented to the kynges of Armes.<sup>16</sup>

Visualizing by their shields both the Challengers and the knights who were to face them in combat, the Tree of Chivalry had a clear ritual and heraldic function. According to a herald's account preserved in College of Arms MS. M.13bis, it had a similar use at the tournament for the marriage of Arthur Tudor and Katherine of Aragon at Westminster Hall on 18 November 1501:

a certen space beside from the seid tilte, there was a goodly tre enpayntid with plesaunt levys, floures, and frute, and sett upp, encompassid, and closid, with pale rownde about, undre the which tre upon railyes were hangyd the skochons and shildes *with* tharmys of the lordes and knightes chalengers and they that entendid to take uppoun them the nobill and valiant actes, justis, and turneamentes riall [royal].<sup>17</sup>

The Tudors were probably engaging with the existing Burgundian *Pas d'Armes* tradition.<sup>18</sup> In the Burgundian context, the most spectacular use of an artificial tree can be found in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* [*Pas* of the Tree of Gold] which had been organized by Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, to celebrate the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, at Bruges in 1468.<sup>19</sup> Apart from the usual, practical use of the artificial tree, displayed in the market place bearing the coats of arms of the knight-participants,<sup>20</sup> the Tree in this *Pas* also took central stage in the allegorical fiction informing the event's ritual combat, which held that the Bastard of Burgundy had been commissioned by the fictitious Lady of the Secret Isle to defend a golden tree against a number of challengers helped by a 'dwarf' and a 'giant'.<sup>21</sup> Both are depicted in the fifteenth-century Douai MS 1110, con-

<sup>15</sup> Royal Collection, The Field of Cloth of Gold, RCIN 405794.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Hall, *The Triumphant Reigne of King Henry VIII*, ed. Charles Whibley (London, 1904), I, 201–2.

<sup>17</sup> Gordon Kipling (ed.), *The Receipt of the Ladie Kateryne*, EETS no. 296 (Oxford: OUP, 1990), 52. Kipling follows the designation on the spine: '1st M.13'. As this could also refer to the MS labelled 'M. 13', we follow the published catalogue's shelfmark: 'M.13bis'. We thank Dr James Lloyd (College of Arms) for his advice.

<sup>18</sup> Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance*, Sir Thomas Browne Institute, General Series 6 (The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1977), 9.

<sup>19</sup> Anglo, *Great Tournament*, 28–30.

<sup>20</sup> Ralph Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2010), II, 241.

<sup>21</sup> Anglo, *Great Tournament*, 29.

taining the *Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen* (f.268v) (Fig. 3).<sup>22</sup> This manuscript's iconographic representation of the Bruges Arbres d'Or – its small shields hanging from branches – is reminiscent of the small shields in the tree held by the Black Lady and the wodwoses in MS 78D5; a revealing comparison which strongly suggests the need for a reconfigured reading of MS 78D5 f.13r, not as a parody of the procession but as one part of a complex and carefully organized chivalric spectacle. We create a more precise understanding of each element of this image by moving beyond the time, space, and performance of the procession itself, piecing together a range of events and evidence, and as a result, rethinking the relationship between different parts of Juana's welcome.

#### WODWOSES AND THE PAS D'ARMES

While Blockmans and Donckers, for example, consider the wodwoses to be part of the supposed parody or reinforcing it,<sup>23</sup> there are other ways to read these figures. The figure of the wodwose was closely associated with Burgundian *Pas d'Armes* culture in the fifteenth century, as well as with royal, noble, and civic spectacle more broadly, and with heraldic display.<sup>24</sup> We here explore this association through the example of the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage*, organized by Claude de Vauldray, and held in Ghent in January 1470.<sup>25</sup> This *Pas* offers detailed insights into the ways wodwoses might be thought to function symbolically and performatively in chivalric culture, ways which are not limited to the parodic. The fictional narrative behind the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage* introduces the figure of a 'dame sauvage' as the healer and Lady of the Entrepreneur:

Et, pour esclarcir a ung chascun l'entendement et la vérité de ceste aventure, ceste dame ouquel servaige et soubz quel pouvoir se trouva ledit chevalier, estoit une Dame Sauvage, couverte naturellement par toutes les parties de son corps, de cheveux et de long poil, le plus bel et le plus blond que l'on porroit veoir, sans quelque aultre vesture, ayant sur son chief une moult belle couronne de petis rameaux fleuris. Et par la beaulté, douceur et courtoisie d'elle, le chevalier reprint couraige'.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Douai, Bib. Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, MS 1110, f.268v. For the early printed edition by Willem Vorsterman: *Dits die excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen* [...] (Antwerpen, 1531), Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, ABTHO:RAR 10–36.

<sup>23</sup> Blockmans and Donckers, 'Self-Representation', 99.

<sup>24</sup> Florent Pouvreau, *Du Poil et de la Bête. Iconographie du corps sauvage en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIIIe-XVIe siècle)* (Paris: CTHS, 2015), 63–9 provides an overview.

<sup>25</sup> Olivier de la Marche, 'Tractié d'ung tournoi tenu à Gand par Claude de Vauldray, Seigneur de l'Aigle, l'an 1469 vieux style', *Tractié de la forme et dévis comme on fait les tournois*, ed. Bernard Prost (Paris, 1878), 55–95. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are our own.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 59–60.



Fig. 3 Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. Credit: BM Douai, Ms 1110, f.268. Cliché: IHRT-CNRS

[And to make clear to everyone the meaning and the truth of this adventure, this Lady in whose service and under whose power the said Knight found himself was a *Dame Sauvage*, naturally covered all over her body with hair and long fur, the most beautiful and blond that could be seen, without any other clothing, having on her head a most beautiful crown of little flowering branches. And through her beauty, sweetness and courtesy, the knight recovered his strength.]

The fictional Lady's hairy body, lack of clothing, and her crown of flowering foliage render her clearly recognizable as a lady woad-woman. She is unmistakably 'sauvaige': her bodily hairiness is underlined, as is the length and luxuriousness of its 'long poil'. However, she is just as clearly, in this context, attractive and desirable, possessing 'beaulté, douceur et courtoisie', and her hair is blond and beautiful. It is for her sake that, within the fictional narrative, the emprise is undertaken. Although she makes no physical appearance at the *Pas* itself, she sends female emissaries from her personal retinue at the Entrepreneur's request:

[P]our ce que je désire de monstrier à celle qui me tient en seruaige que j'ay pris nourreture en maison florissant et plaine de noblesse [...] j'ay requis et supplié à la dame dessusdite de moy prester deux damoiselles errans, ses plus féables et privées, affin que en leur présence et pour tesmoing, je me puisse mettre en devoir d'aucun bien faire, ou au mains de l'emprendre.<sup>27</sup>

[Because I desire to show to her who holds me in service that I was raised up in a house that was flourishing and filled with nobility, I asked and begged the above-mentioned Lady to lend me two travelling young ladies, of her most trusted and close [women], so that in their presence and [with them] as witnesses, I could put myself in the way of a good [and noble] deed, or at least attempt one.]

The spatial position of these *demoiselles* at the *Pas* is carefully determined, as is their role as emissaries and transmitters of the signifiers of chivalric participation and acclaim. They act as witnesses from the *sauvaige* realm to the *Pas* as it unfolds, and they then transport the material record of the combat, a large shield with combatants' names and mottos inscribed upon it, back to the *Dame Sauvaige*.

...les dites damoiselles auront leur eschafault sur les rencz; et devant elles, aura ung grant pavais à la facion de Castille, tout bleu, ouquel pavais je seray escript ou millieu. Et selonc que les nobles hommes deveront venir à l'encontre de moy, ilz se feront escrire audit pavais, c'est assavoir leur nom ou leur mot, l'un ou tous les deux. Et par icestui pavais raporté à ma dame, elle pourra cougnoistre en quel compaignie j'ay esté nourri.<sup>28</sup>

[The said young ladies will have their viewing platform overlooking the lists, and in front of them, they will have a large shield in the Castilian fashion, all in blue, on which shield I [de Vauldray] will be written in the middle. And as noblemen should come to meet me in combat, they will have themselves inscribed on the said shield; that is to say, their names, or their motto, one of these, or both. And by this shield carried back to my lady [the *Dame Sauvaige*], she will be able to recognise the [noble] company in which I was brought up.]

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

The emphasis on the spatial placement of the *demoiselles* as witnesses, flanking the shield on which the knights' names and mottos are written, is repeated in the choreography of the Entrepreneur's entrance into the lists. He is accompanied by a 'wild' retinue of six wodwoses, whose physical appearance and resemblance to the description of the original *Dame Sauvage* is underlined in the written account: 'n'est pas à oublier que les hommes et les femmes sauvages estoient tous de poil d'or moult bien fait' [do not forget that the wild men and women were all covered in golden hair, excellently done].<sup>29</sup> The six wodwoses comprise two male trumpeters, each with a banner bearing the monogram VV, a probable reference to 'J'ai valu, vaulx et vauldray' [I was valued, am valued and will be valued], one of the mottos of Claude de Vauldray, whose name is a homonym of the future tense of the verb 'valoir'.<sup>30</sup> Visually, the monogram may represent *j'ai valu* and *vaulx*, with the Entrepreneur himself embodying the third verb in the motto. The trumpeters are followed by two further male wodwoses, each leading by the bridle a white horse on which is mounted a female wodwose, who in turn bears one of the pieces of armour which are the prizes for excellence in combat at the *Pas*:

Tantost après, fut la porte de l'entrepreneur ouverte [...] premièrement, marchoient devant luy deux hommes sauvages qui estoient trompettes, et avoient grandes bannières d'azur à deux VV, en lettre de cyfre, l'un d'or et l'autre d'argent. Et après venoient deux autres hommes sauvages, chascun menant devant, en une main, une hagenée blanche [...] et sur chascune hagenée avoit une femme sauvage, dont ceste qui estoit au costé dextre avoit a son col pendu le targon d'azur, qui estoit ordonné pour le pris de celui qui fierroit le plus beau cop de lance à cestui pas. [...] Item: et l'autre femme sauvage avoit à son col le riche manicle qui estoit ordonné por le pris de cellui qui fierroit mieux d'espée.<sup>31</sup>

[Straight afterwards, the *entrepreneur's* gate was opened, firstly walked before him two *hommes sauvages* who were trumpeters, and they had large banners of azure with two 'VV's in coded letters, one in gold and one in silver.<sup>32</sup> And afterwards came two other *hommes sauvages*, each leading forward, with one hand, a white horse, and on each white horse there was a *femme sauvage*, the one on the left having the azure shield around her neck, which was the prize for the knight who would give the best blow of the lance in this *Pas*. Item, and the other *femme sauvage* had around her neck the rich armguard ordered as the prize for the knight would do best with the sword]

The entrance into the lists is carefully arranged, so that the two wild trumpeters walk before the Entrepreneur with the four other wodwoses, two on foot and two on horseback next, and then the Entrepreneur, 'après iceulx,

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>30</sup> See *Ibid.*, 67n1.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>32</sup> Our interpretation of this reference to the letter Vs as 'coded' or 'ciphered' is to understand them as an abbreviation of the de Vauldray motto, as above.



Fig. 4 BnF, MS Français 247, fol. 3r., detail

comme entre les deux' [after these, as if between them].<sup>33</sup> The details of this entrance, particularly the symmetry with which the Entrepreneur is escorted by his wild retinue – itself mirrored in the symmetry with which the *demoiselles errans* in the scaffold have been positioned as spectators in relation to the shield on which combatants' identities are inscribed – do not create a sense in which the wodwoses are parodying the action or chivalric participants of the *Pas*. Rather, they are presented as important aspects of its narrative framework, the means by which the original, imaginary story of de Vauldray and his *Dame Sauvaige* is brought into the here and now of spectators.<sup>34</sup> These wodwoses, in their performative roles as retinue, witnesses, and possibly, emissaries within the spectacle of the *Pas*, and in their spatial positioning as characters who flank or surround chivalric appearances can be read productively in the iconographic context of the tradition of the wodwose as heraldic *support*, flanking the presentation of a coat of arms, as in (Fig. 4).<sup>35</sup>

Within late medieval culture, wodwoses and their bodies function symbolically in a wide range of ways across a variety of media – painting and manuscript illumination, plastic and material arts, and embodied arts such as performance, ritual, and spectacle.<sup>36</sup> Richard Bernheimer, for example, emphasizes the sheer ubiquity of the wodwose as heraldic motif throughout

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>34</sup> Also discussed in Guillaume Bureaux, 'Pas d'Armes et vide iconographique', *Perspectives médiévales*, 38 (2017): <https://doi.org/10.4000/peme.12792>, paragraphs 34–5.

<sup>35</sup> Jacques, Duke of Nemours added his arms supported by wodwoses and mermaids to this manuscript when he inherited it; at least 15 manuscripts from his collection survive bearing this heraldic display. Jacques may have adopted the wodwose as supporter after a civic performance: on 2 December 1459, he was formally welcomed into Castres by a spectacle including wildmen, and apparently soon after, he brought wodwoses into his personal iconography. Susan Amato Blackman, 'The Manuscripts and Patronage of Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours' (PhD Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1993), 37n19; Louis Barbaza, *Annales de la ville de Castres [...] 647–1519* (Castres: Granier, 1886), 215–16.

<sup>36</sup> Pouvreau, *Du Poil*, 96; on the *Pas de la Dame Sauvaige*: 68.

the European Middle Ages, describing its range of ‘talismanic potentialities’ as well as its symbolic strength in defending the escutcheon.<sup>37</sup> Florent Pouvreau’s detailed investigation of the ‘corps sauvage’ likewise underlines that the appearance of the wodwose in heraldry, art or performance is not always and inevitably about order overcoming chaos, or about parody: rather, there are a range of nuanced roles that this figure can perform. Indeed, in relation to courtly spectacle in particular, he cautions against assuming a carnivalesque or parodic role for the wodwose: ‘l’homme sauvage conserve sa vitalité, son agressivité parfois, mais *il n’est qu’exceptionnellement une figure du désordre [...] que l’on doit craindre et détruire*’ (emphasis ours).<sup>38</sup> Pouvreau’s definition of *la vitalité sauvage*, a quality which he identifies as particularly linked to the *mise-en-scène* of the wodwose in royal and princely entries and in chivalric spectacle, draws on a sense of ‘force’ and ‘fécondité’. The wodwose’s presence in these performances in fact represents and promotes attributes and outcomes which are desired for those being celebrated.<sup>39</sup> These associations are important when re-considering MS 78D5’s illustration: like the Tree of Chivalry, the wodwose can, and frequently did, have a specific and non-parodic role to play within chivalric spectacle and heraldic iconography.

#### THE BLACK LADY AND TOURNAMENT CULTURE

The Black Lady who, according to MS 78D5’s rubrics, is not, in fact, a princess can also be rethought in the context of tournament culture. For example, the 1463 *Pas du Perron Fée*, which took place in Bruges, places a Black Lady in the role of choreographed emissary, and as conduit between the ‘fictional’ and ‘real’ worlds of the *Pas* in a way which we might read intriguingly alongside the mounted woman in MS 78D5 f.13r.<sup>40</sup> The *Pas du Perron Fée* has a more complex textual tradition than the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage*, since several

<sup>37</sup> Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 176–9, 177.

<sup>38</sup> Pouvreau, *Du Poil*, 95.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>40</sup> We discuss the Black Lady depicted in MS 78D5 f.13r in greater detail in a forthcoming article. James IV of Scotland’s Tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady, held in Edinburgh in 1507 and repeated in 1508, made use of a ‘Tree of Esperance’ bearing a shield to be touched by all comers, overlooked by a Black Lady figure and an entourage of ‘wild men’, as specified in the *Articles* for this tournament written by Marchmont Herald. For a translation of these *Articles*, see: Alan V. Murray and Rosalind Brown-Grant, ‘The *Emprise of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady*, Edinburgh, 1507’, *Pas d’Armes and Late Medieval Chivalry: A Casebook*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant and Mario Damen (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2025), 316–20 (Hereafter: *Pas d’Armes Casebook*). The *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877–1978) provide evidence for expenses made for the ‘Tree of Esperance’ (III, 394), costumes for the ‘wild men’ (III, 393), and ‘taffeti bocht in Flandrez’ for ‘the blak lady and hir madinnis’ [maids/companions] (III, 260). As ‘ane pair of blak sleffis and gluffis to hir of blak seymys leder’ bought for the Black Lady in 1507 (*Accounts* III, 259), Meg Twycross importantly stated this ‘suggests that she was not actually the ‘Black Moir’ of Dunbar’s poem, but a court lady dressed up as one’. Twycross, ‘John Blanke’s Hat and its Contexts Part I: Turbans and Islamic Dress at the Court of Henry VIII’, *Medieval English Theatre* 45 (2024), 3–67, 44n116.

different accounts of its events survive, each emphasizing different aspects.<sup>41</sup> Important for our purposes, however, is the fact that all versions accord in mentioning the ceremonial participation of a Black Lady in the closing banquet.<sup>42</sup> We here cite from Horn's edition of the B-version of the *Pas du Perron Fée*, which is the most widely circulated version, in terms of the number of surviving manuscripts:

A Saint Donas au soir envoia la dame une More montee a cheval au bon chevalier, qui menoit ung cheval en main richement houchiet d'un velours gris sur quoy avoit trois coffres de cuir bouilly bien gentement troussés, esquelz estoient enfermez les dons telz qu'elle avoit promitz donner a ceulx qui besoigneraient contre son chevalier prisonnier, dont la More portoit les clefs.<sup>43</sup>

[On the eve of St Donatian, the Lady [of the Perron Fée] sent *une More* mounted on horseback to the good knight; she was leading by the hand a horse richly decked in grey velvet, on which there were three boiled leather coffers nobly fastened, in which were enclosed the gifts, just as she had promised, to give to those who fought against her Knight Prisoner, of which [coffers] *la More* carried the keys.]

The *dons* distributed to the participating knights take the form of decorated *targettes*, miniature shields, not unlike those used on the Tree of Chivalry in MS 78D5 f.13r, bearing a parchment roll with an individual verse dedicated to each participant.<sup>44</sup> The *targettes* also remind us of the shields used to record combatants' names and display them on the Tree in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*: while used in different ways, they are a shared presence as a material and performative facet of these two *Pas d'Armes*, attesting to the visual and material overlap between different imaginative conceptions and choreographies of a *Pas*. The example of the *Pas du Perron Fée's* incorporation of a Black female emissary, like the wodwoses in the *Pas de la Dame Sauvaige*, offers us an alternative lens through which to view MS 78D5 ff.12v-13r. Black Ladies on horseback, bringing gifts, in the company of wodwoses, and bearing the records of chivalric achievement in the form of a Tree of Chivalry have a quite different resonance to the parodic reading in relation to Juana of Castile that has hitherto been advanced as a way of

<sup>41</sup> As its editors note, 'il existe plusieurs *Pas du Perron Fée*, décrivant certes la même manifestation, mais procédant de témoignages différents, ou au moins de mises en forme distinctes.' *Le Pas du Perron Fée, édition des manuscrits Paris, BnF fr 5739 et Lille BU 104*, ed. Chloé Horn, Anne Rochebouet and Michelle Szkilnik (Paris: Champion, 2013), 19.

<sup>42</sup> Similarly, in the later Edinburgh tournaments, the Black Lady can be placed at the banquet following the tournament, as seen in a payment of 27 June 1508 (*Accounts of The Lord High Treasurer of Scotland IV*, 129): 'for bukking and grathing of Martin and the blak lady agane the bancat, xiiij s.' Cf. Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677* (London: Routledge, 2008), 291.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 201. For the corresponding narration of the *More's* entrance in versions A and C of this *Pas*: 131 and 241–2.

<sup>44</sup> See *Perron Fée*, 132–45, 203–17, 241–2 for descriptions, and records of the verse *brevets* sent to each knight.

understanding this particular image. The core elements of this image (the Lady, the Tree, and the wodwoses), as we have shown, clearly relate closely to the fictive, imaginative and performative aspects of Burgundian tournament culture.

#### THE GIFT IN MS 78D5

Recognizing the image's connection with tournament culture may also help to decode the rather puzzling reference in f.12v's rubric to 'the gift that is shown in the drawing' which is offered to the Prince(ss). Although the manuscript's only depiction of Juana shows her on horseback surrounded by the Crossbow guild (f.31r), thus visualizing her *en route* among this privileged group of notables, various rubrics give the impression of the procession passing her by in 'defilé' style and ceremonially greeting her. For example, the almost 300 'talented disciples of the city of Brussels' apparently 'began the procession being the first to meet with the most illustrious Lady of Brabant' (f.2v).<sup>45</sup> And the 'venerable assembly of the Canons Regular' are recorded to have 'presented themselves piously before the fair princess' (f.6v). The 44 Hundredmen did so 'with bent knees, in a well-formed row' (f.8v; depicted in f.9r), suggesting their bowing the knee as they passed the princess. The groups of ludic performers presented Juana with samples of their skills, as suggested by the rubric's description of the group of 'mimes' who 'went to meet [her] [...] playing various musical instruments' (f.10v; depicted in f.11r) (Fig. 5).

Spectators gathered to watch the groups in procession, their ceremonial interaction with Juana, and in turn, Juana's spectatorship of these groups. Impressing the crowds, both *en route*, and as they assembled in close proximity to Juana's stationary position, seems to have been an important part of the procession: the Crossbow Bearers with their splendid coats of arms, their glittering jewels and burning torches 'caused such a silence among the mass of people' (f.30v); a performer playing *Histrion* 'often elicited laughter from the people' (f.11v); one entertainer 'made many people laugh sitting on a big horse using a chair instead of a saddle on account of the spectacle' (f.13v); and the performers dressed as wild people waving clubs 'elicited an approving nod from the spectators' (f.14v).

The rubrics' recording the ceremonial of groups presenting themselves to Juana, and the responses from spectators to both ceremonial and ludic performance is invaluable. Interestingly, only one registered *interaction* between Juana and civic participants can be found, namely that pictured on f.13r: the costumed performers 'pretending to be wild people' and the 'female Ethiopian sitting

<sup>45</sup> The following translations of MS 78D5 are from: Verena Demoed, 'Manuscript 78 D5: The Latin Text: Transcription and Translation', *Spectacle*, 255–78. The exception is the translation of MS 78D5 f.13r, which is by Dr Renske Janssen.



Fig. 5 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78D5, fol. 11r./Dietmar Katz. Public Domain Mark 1.0

on a horse' must have encountered Juana, as they 'ceremoniously offered the gift, that is shown in the drawing, to the prince(ss)' (f.12v). Was this 'gift' the Tree of Chivalry held jointly by the mounted Lady and one of the wodwoses, as seems almost certain? And if so, what might this have meant?

As we have shown, tournament culture employed objects formally recording individuals' participation in combat which were often offered to associated

individuals.<sup>46</sup> In particular, the presiding Lady figure in the examples of the *Pas d'Armes* tradition which we have explored here is repeatedly associated with gift-giving and knightly identity in some form. Either she receives the shields which contain the names, arms or mottoes of the combatants (as in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* and the *Pas de la Dame Sauwaige*), or she gives them personalized acknowledgements of their participation (as in the *Pas du Perron Fée*). An important difference between the gift-giving in the *Pas d'Armes* and presenting Juana with the 'gift' of the Tree of Chivalry can of course be found in its timing, being pre-joust rather than post-joust, and its recipient. Juana's interaction with the costumed performers depicted in f.13r, as an example of ceremonial gift-giving,<sup>47</sup> casts the princess in the role of a central and favoured participant in a future joust through the presentation of the Tree of Chivalry. This piece of ceremonial enabled spectators to countenance an interaction through which the performers surprised Juana with a gift with which they both implied and effected a 'contract' between the princess and the performers. This contact held that Juana was to extend her symbolic patronage to a forthcoming joust, and to give her blessing to its *raison d'être*, namely, honouring her. At the same time, the performers' participation in the procession and their performance in front of Juana may have served as a proleptic advertisement for this joust,<sup>48</sup> which would have attracted crowds to witness the forthcoming event. Importantly, the performers used this moment during which they had the advantage of everyone's attention, to show off a symbolic gift – both to Juana as the primary spectator, and to other spectators. Physically gifting a Tree of Chivalry symbolically gifts its associated joust to Juana, from which follows the implication that such a joust could have been, at least in part, paid for by the city of Brussels, organizers of the procession.

Generally speaking, the civic sponsoring of jousts in the Low Countries is well-known.<sup>49</sup> And civic financial contributions to martial sports held under the auspices of key ducal events, such as the celebration of the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in Bruges, have been well-documented.<sup>50</sup> Brussels, for example, contributed 25 *ponden grooten* to 'steek spelen,

<sup>46</sup> In the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, the Golden Tree was handed to the Entrepreneur by the Lady of the Secret Isle. After being used to record the ceremony and sports, the Tree, 'enriched with the aforementioned noble blazons', was to be returned to the fictional Lady. Moffat, 'Medieval Tournament', 240, 244–5. The shield recording participants in the *Pas de la Dame Sauwaige* is likewise taken to the fictional wild lady at the end of the *Pas*.

<sup>47</sup> On ceremonial gift-giving: Marcel Mauss, 'Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques', *L'Année Sociologique*, 2nd series 1 (1923–24), 30–186.

<sup>48</sup> Late medieval examples of performances that gave a preview of a later show include the English banns. Bruce Moore, 'The Banns in Medieval English Drama', *Leeds Studies in English*, 24 (1993), 91–122, 91–2.

<sup>49</sup> Mario Damen, 'The Town as Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', *Urban History*, 43:1 (2016), 47–71; See also: Evelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, Pas d'Armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du Moyen Age (1300–1486)*, Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes, 47 (Paris: l'École des chartes, 1996); Andrew Brown, 'Urban Jousts in the Later Middle Ages: The White Bear of Bruges', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 78:2 (2000), 315–30, 329.

<sup>50</sup> Bruges, Stadsarchief Brugge, 216, 1468/8. Cf; Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, et al., 'Texts, Images and Sounds in the Urban Environment, c.1100–1500', in Andrew Brown and Jan Dumolyn (eds.), *Medieval Bruges: c. 850–1550* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), 389–444, 390n1.

tournoyspelen' [jousts, tourneys] and a financial contribution to the organizer of the martial sports, to celebrate the baptism of Eleonore, Philip and Juana's daughter in 1498.<sup>51</sup> Brussels' civic accounts for June 1503 to June 1504 include 'Anderre uutgeuen gedaen ten Steecspele dat onse [...] heeregehouden heeft opte merc'.<sup>52</sup> [Other expenses made for the joust that our [...] lord held on the Grand-Place]. This event, better known as the *Pas* of Brussels, was held to mark Archduke Philip's return from Spain, and was (partly) recorded by Antoine de Lalaing, who was also its Entrepreneur.<sup>53</sup>

The evidence for jousts and tourneys held at Brussels in Juana's honour is fragmentary but clear. One brief account, in the 1531 printed version of the *Excellente Cronike* records the practical civic preparations for jousting, noting that wooden barriers were erected to create a fighting arena for jousting in honour of the 'new princess and her joyous entry' ('*Ende daer waren baelgien ghemaect om te stekene ende te triumpherene ter eerder vander nyeuwer Princherse ende van harer blijden incomste*'),<sup>54</sup> proudly highlighting the contribution of the local artisans tasked with this work. A longer and more detailed account is given in Don Lorenzo de Padilla's *Crónica*, which notes that 'muy grandes justas y torneos' [very great jousts and tourneys] were held at Brussels' Grand-Place, among which was a joust fought in Juana's honour between two teams of three knights.<sup>55</sup> Don Lorenzo describes this particular joust in some detail, listing its 'caballeros' [knights], and suggesting the equipes were formed of an international mix of noblemen and gentlemen, which did not include local citizens.<sup>56</sup> The most prominent participant and higher Burgundian noble 'Musiur de Rabastan' [Ravenstein; Philip of Cleves], had been a leading rebel during the Flemish Revolt, but was now back in the archducal fold.<sup>57</sup> His father

<sup>51</sup> Louis Galesloot, 'Notes extraites des anciens comptes de la ville de Bruxelles', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 9 (1867), 475–500, 494.

<sup>52</sup> Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, BE-A0510/CCRK67, 30949, unpaginated: see scan 193 of 222. [https://search.arch.be/ead/BE-A0510\\_000014\\_806701\\_DUT](https://search.arch.be/ead/BE-A0510_000014_806701_DUT) [access after login]. Also cited in Damen, 'The Town', 54n30.

<sup>53</sup> L.P. Gachard, ed., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1876), I, 339–40. See also: Mario Damen, 'The Pas of Brussels, 1503', *Pas d'Armes Casebook*, 284–99.

<sup>54</sup> *Die excellente cronike*, f.283.

<sup>55</sup> 'Cronica', 42.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Amidst a decade of tension (1482–92), Maximilian of Austria's 3-month imprisonment in Bruges in 1488 appears to have been pivotal. On his release he was made to sign an instrument transferring power of governance to a council of regents, which included the safety net that if Maximilian were to break the treaty, Philip of Cleves would be appointed as Regent to protect the Flanders' lands (Jelle Haemers, *De strijd om het regentschap over Filijps de Schone* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2014), 274). Maximilian's subsequently shifted the blame for the conflict to Cleves, declaring him his enemy and accusing him – apart from being disloyal, ungrateful, and untrustworthy – of having attempted to kill himself and his son. (Valerie Vrancken, 'Opstand en dialoog in laat-middeleeuws Brabant. Vier documenten uit de Brusselse opstand tegen Maximiliaan van Oostenrijk (1488–1489)', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 181 (2015), 209–66, 216, 224–5). Philip of Cleves finally submitted to Maximilian's rule in 1492 (Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, 'Patterns of Urban Rebellion in Medieval Flanders', *JMH*, 31 (2005), 369–93, 381).

had taken part in some of the most glorious Burgundian spectacles, such as the *Pas du Perron Fée*, and the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*. Other participants whose names recur in lists of other tournaments are Felipe de Visan, who had been a challenger in the 1491 *Pas* of Mechelen, and Loys de Sansimon who participated in the 1484 *Pas du Chevalier au Souci*.<sup>58</sup>

Don Lorenzo does not provide a date for the 'justas y torneos'. The civic accounts between June 1496 and June 1497, the period in which Juana's entry falls, have not survived,<sup>59</sup> and other local records for 1497 that refer to expenses made for Juana's entry in the previous year give no information beyond the date, as also noted by Gordon Kipling.<sup>60</sup> However, a joint reading of local and ducal accounts suggests that the jousts presented to Juana did not take place immediately after Juana's entry, but in the first week of February 1496/7. The 'Compte la Chambre aux derniers de Philippe le Beau, pour l'année 1497' documented by ducal accountant Jehan Naturel records that on Monday 6 February, 'Après diner furent faites joustes et donnerent ceulx de la ville. Ung banquet a Monseigneur. Ou furent faitz viij platz De viande'<sup>61</sup> [After dinner jousts were held, and those of the town [lit.] gave a banquet to Monseigneur, for which were made eight dishes of meat]. This is supported by a local record which specifies that a 'steekspele' [joust] was held on the Grand-Place by Archduke Philip, for which the city gifted him a very generous 200 *guldens* in contribution.<sup>62</sup> Corresponding to the eight dishes of meat recorded by Jehan Natural, the local account confirms that on this occasion a banquet was served at the town hall, under the supervision of Guillaume de Mailly, 'joncheere van den cokene des hertoghen voers' [the young gentleman responsible for the archduke's food], paid for with civic money.<sup>63</sup> Food again takes pride of place in the ducal account for Tuesday 7 February, the 'jour des karesmeaulx', or Shrove Tuesday, when Juana herself features as spectator: 'furent fais trois platz de viandes joustes et tournois devant madame sa femme' [three dishes of meat were made, and jousts and tourneys before *madame* his (i.e. Philip's) wife].<sup>64</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See the database: *Pas d'Armes and Late Medieval Chivalry*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant, Mario Damen, Jacob Deacon, and others, (2023): <[https://pasdarmes.org/databaseactors.p/0.m/embed.v/viewer.p\[5\]2287\[object\]8758-9964384](https://pasdarmes.org/databaseactors.p/0.m/embed.v/viewer.p[5]2287[object]8758-9964384)> and <[https://pasdarmes.org/databaseactors.p/0.m/embed.v/viewer.p\[5\]2287\[object\]8758-9964619](https://pasdarmes.org/databaseactors.p/0.m/embed.v/viewer.p[5]2287[object]8758-9964619)>.

<sup>59</sup> For the civic records preceding and following this hiatus: Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, BE-A0510/CCRK67.

<sup>60</sup> Galesloot, 'Notes', 493. Kipling, 'Brussels, Joanna', 251n4.

<sup>61</sup> Rijksarchief Kortrijk, Goethals-Vercruysse. BE-A0516/925, 357: see scan 25 of 118. [https://search.arch.be/ead/BE-A0516\\_115904\\_114612\\_DUT](https://search.arch.be/ead/BE-A0516_115904_114612_DUT) [access after login].

<sup>62</sup> Galesloot, 'Notes', 493. The relevant Bruxellois civic accounts were destroyed in a fire in 1695; some entries, however, were transcribed in 1628 and are reproduced by Galesloot (475–8).

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 493–4. The only difference is that the local record noted this down for Sunday 5 February; a date on which Jehan Natural confirms the Archduke's presence in Brussels.

<sup>64</sup> Codex 357, scan 25–6.

Carnival season was a popular time for jousting,<sup>65</sup> and although Don Lorenzo does not provide dates for the martial combat he describes, we consider it plausible, if not likely, that Don Lorenzo's *Cronica*, the *Excellente Cronike*, Jehan Naturel, and the local account all document aspects of the same event, undertaken to welcome Juana. Furthermore, we suggest that the giving of the Tree of Chivalry to Juana as part of her procession on 9 December 1496, as documented in MS 78D5 f.13r, can be understood in relation to this evidence: it announces a future tournament event, in which Juana was to occupy an honoured role, taking place after the extensive Christmas season. Since the joust did not take place immediately after Juana's entry, the symbolic reference to this future event was perhaps even more important, to create a connection between the procession and the martial sports either side of Christmas and Epiphany. Knowing that the joust held in Juana's honour took place at carnival time may also help us to understand the presence of the ludic figures in the procession recorded in MS 78D5, such as the fool sitting on a horse using a stool (f.14r). Aside from musicians, dancers and fools being typical categories in shooting competitions and rhetoricians' competitions in which Brussels also participated,<sup>66</sup> and such figures generally bringing fun to spectators, their carnival aspect would also have reminded spectators when the joust was to take place, and contextualized the presence of the Black Lady on horseback holding the Tree of Chivalry, and her entourage of wodwoses. The carnival aspect of some of the ludic figures in the entry should, however, not be taken for a parody of the princess. The use of tournament imagery and characters is more complex than that, and revolves around communicating a message of gift-giving and openhandedness to the new princess, related to the city's financial contribution to a future joust to occur at a specific and easily memorable moment in time.

The Archduke had not been present at the joyous entry on 9 December 1496, presumably because he was attending to the States General in Breda.<sup>67</sup> He *was*, however, present alongside his wife in February 1496/7, as attested by Jehan Naturel. The event taking place after the Christmas and Epiphany period seems to have accommodated Archduke Philip's busy schedule. Philip's presence at this joust was crucial, especially as its Shrove Tuesday timing was symbolically significant.<sup>68</sup> This last day of carnival was not only festive, but traditionally also a day for penance and absolution. The event, we believe,

<sup>65</sup> The Lille Epinette jousts and associated festivities, for example, are held annually during this season. Other Shrovetide tournaments include the 1504 *Pas* of Carignano (Thalia Brero and Rosalind Brown-Grant, 'The Pas of Carignano', *Pas d'Armes Casebook*, 300–12, 300–1); and the tournament at Stirling in 1449 attended by Jacques de Lalaing (Alan V. Murray, 'The Pas d'Armes in Scotland', *Pas d'Armes Casebook*, 457–73, 458).

<sup>66</sup> Weigert, 'To Move', 170.

<sup>67</sup> J. Finot, *Collection des Inventaires* (Lille, 1895) VIII, 81: places him in Breda on 3 and 9 December.

<sup>68</sup> The political valence of this particular joust explains why Don Lorenzo singled it out to describe from the 'justas et torneos' (plural) which he witnessed. We will discuss this further in another article.

presented an opportunity to respond to the Flemish Revolts, and to ritually clear the air between the Archduke and the city and Ravenstein. Ravenstein's performance of loyalty to his liege in the joust in the context of Shrove Tuesday appears a ceremonial act of contrition for past behaviour.<sup>69</sup> Ravenstein's being honoured as winner of the joust suggests a formal, ducal acknowledgement of this extension of loyalty.<sup>70</sup>

Don Lorenzo's account seems to have been uninterested in Brussels' involvement in the joust, apart from his mentioning the Grand-Place and the Town Hall. This is, perhaps, unsurprising: Peter Arnade, for example, observed that Burgundian chronicles composed by high-ranking courtiers such as Olivier de la Marche do often present a selectively 'court-based' historical record, while Andrew Brown and Graeme Small note of the Bruges *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* that 'de la Marche ... has little to say about the involvement of the wider urban world in the event'. However, civic involvement nonetheless occurred: 'town funds partially subsidized the *Pas d'Armes*, which was doubtless the spectacle for a wider urban audience'.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, the creator of MS 78D5 seems to have gone out of his way not to represent anyone who was not a Brussels citizen apart from the Spanish princess herself,<sup>72</sup> and excluded elements from the procession and festivities that did not reflect on the city's achievements. In this context, the visual depiction of citizens' participation in the ceremonial surrounding a joust on f.13r may be as close to depicting tournament culture as the manuscript's creator was able to go whilst keeping the manuscript civic-focused. Perhaps, a simpler reason why the performance of the announcement of the joust was iconographically included in the manuscript, and the joust itself was not, is that MS 78D5 is a commemorative record of Friday 9 December 1496 alone.

The connection we here propose between MS 78D5's image, the jousts mentioned by Don Lorenzo, and surviving ducal and local account documents nonetheless attests to complex overlaps and collaborations between 'civic' and 'noble' or courtly groups, actors and interests in Juana's welcome festivities, spanning several weeks. It likewise attests to the necessity of drawing on a wide range of conventions, parallels, and historical circumstances if we are to understand performative practices associated with jousts and their iconographic depiction.

<sup>69</sup> 'Crónica', 42.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>71</sup> Peter Arnade, 'City, State, and Public Ritual in the Late-Medieval Burgundian Netherlands', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39:2 (1997), 300–18, 305; Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries, c. 1420–1530* (Manchester: MUP, 2007), 55; 213–14 on the 'reluctance' of court chroniclers 'to record ducal involvement in urban social events'.

<sup>72</sup> The woman riding side-saddle behind Juana in f.31r is unidentified.

A useful counterpoint to the hitherto unnoticed connection between Juana's civic procession and tournament culture which we have identified in MS 78D5's image can be found in a slightly later manuscript, Valenciennes, Médiathèque Simone Veil, MS 806 (olim. 601). MS 806 is a mid- to late-sixteenth-century manuscript, which anthologizes material relating to the fifteenth-century *Epinette* jousts at Lille, records of various earlier tournaments, including armorials, and a copy of Olivier de la Marche's account of the *Pas de la Dame Sauvage*.<sup>73</sup> The manuscript preserves iconographic evidence of civic engagement with tournament culture in the form of four full-page watercolour images accompanying (possibly responding to) written records of the formal reception of a contingent of joustiers from Valenciennes (the Damoiseaux de Valenciennes) at the Lille *Epinette* jousts, in the years 1435, 1438, 1442 and 1447.<sup>74</sup> These images each depict the King of the *Epinette* going to receive the Damoiseaux, and the manuscript also contains armorial records of participants in these *Epinette* contests, as well as a full list of the so-called 'Roys de l'*Epinette*' [Kings of the *Epinette*].<sup>75</sup> The annual *Epinette* jousts were organized and funded by the town of Lille itself. At their head was an annually elected King, elected from the bourgeois urban élite of Lille.<sup>76</sup> The town's most powerful citizens likewise took part in the jousts, alongside those of neighbouring towns and visiting nobility as well: on these occasions what Mario Damen terms 'inter-urban and urban-courtly contacts' were created and maintained.<sup>77</sup> The *Epinette* joust of 1438, for example, featured 14 knights sent by the Duke of Burgundy, plus the Valenciennes Damoiseaux, and groups from Tournai, Ghent and Bruges. There were also others who are described (in an echo of the kind of conceit used within a *Pas d'Armes*) as 'Jousteurs qui vindrent sans banniere de leurs villes comme chevaliers errantz cherchantz leurs aventures'

<sup>73</sup> For a description: J. Mangear, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Valenciennes* (Paris: Techner; Valenciennes: Lemaitre, 1860), 593–5. The manuscript is here catalogued under its previous shelfmark, 601.

<sup>74</sup> François Boniface notes that the armour and clothing of those depicted in these images is sixteenth-century in detail and aesthetic (*Les Rois de la fête de l'Epinette de Lille, 1286–1486*, in collaboration with Dominique Delgrange and Jean-Marie Van den Eeckhout [Lille: CHGW Genealo, 2014], 47). It seems likely that the artist has updated any pre-existing images they may have used as a model; or that they created the images in response to the textual description of events found in the manuscript's written accounts.

<sup>75</sup> Boniface discusses in detail some deliberately introduced sixteenth-century inaccuracies and falsifications in the armorial lists of the names and arms of the Kings of the *Epinette*, and the processes by which these inaccuracies were merged into official record and copied across armorials in the course of the sixteenth century and beyond: *Les Rois*, 21–9.

<sup>76</sup> On planning and financing the Lille *Epinette* jousts: Claude Fouret, 'La violence en fête: la course de l'*Epinette* à Lille à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Revue du Nord* 63 (1981), 377–90, esp. 377–85; Brown and Small, *Court and Civic Society*, 211–12; Van den Neste, *Tournois*, 87–93; 178–86.

<sup>77</sup> Mario Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', *Contact and Exchange in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Patrick Lantschner and Hannah Skoda (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 247–66, 250.

[Jousters who came without the banner of their towns, like knights errant seeking their adventures].<sup>78</sup> MS 806's *Epinette* documentation is, moreover, gathered in this codex with other records of martial events organized by and for the Burgundian nobility, in the form of the *Pas d'Armes*.<sup>79</sup> The manuscript's contents do not all appear to be in the same hand.<sup>80</sup> However, its overarching interest is clearly in the participants and organization of local and/or historical martial combats, an interest which spans civic-organized martial events such as the *Epinette* and noble or court-organised ones, such as the *Pas*.

Figure 6 shows the full-page illustration which accompanies the record of the Damoiseaux de Valenciennes' entrance into Lille in 1438. In this year, the costuming of both the visitors and the hosts was rather unusual; the Damoiseaux were 'acoustrez en hommes sauuaiges' [dressed up as wodwoses] riding horses which were 'deguisez en beste estrange' [costumed as strange beasts]: a further instance of the wodwise being deployed in civic festive events and tournaments. In what must have been an agreement to aim for coherence in theme of attire, the Lille contingent met the Damoiseaux-wodwoses apparelled in feathers and animal skins:

Hors de la ville de Lille, vint au deuant le Roy de L'Espinette a moult grande compaignie, tant a cheual comme a pied, Et estoit ledict Roy acoustré de peaux et plumes de chines. Et son cheual estoit caparansonniés de miroirs de plumes de paons. Et ses pages et lacquais aussy acoustrez de plumes de paons.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Valenciennes, MS 806, f.128r.

<sup>79</sup> Brown and Small (*Court and Civic Society*, 55) note a key difference between the *Pas d'Armes* and other types of Burgundian tournament: the technical restriction of martial participation at a *Pas* to those of noble birth.

<sup>80</sup> The manuscript has in the past been attributed to the sixteenth-century heraldic historian, artist and copyist Jacques le Boucq; see for example, Mangeart, n.73 above. It has been identified with a manuscript apparently produced by le Boucq in 1568. A surviving attestation by le Boucq about this manuscript reads: 'Moy, Jacques Le Boucq ... certifie a tous a qui il appartiendra que j'ai pourtraitee ce livre après un ancien livre autentique ou etaient plusieurs festes de l'Epinette mise en peinture ... et l'ait contrefait en Valenciennne l'an 1568.' *Histoire des choses les plus remarquables ... publiée par le Chevalier Amédée le Boucq de Ternas* (Douai: Veuve Ceret-Carpentier and A. Obez, 1857), 304. The 'ancien livre autentique' which served as source text is unidentified. We consider it doubtful that MS 806 and Le Boucq's 1568 *Epinette* manuscript are the same book; MS 806 appears in some respects more like an anthology of textual units than a copy by a single person (though features of its mise-en-page such as ruled margins are consistent, and Boniface does not identify it as a composite manuscript). Lorne Campbell likewise appears sceptical about this attribution ('The Authorship of the *Recueil d'Arras*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40 (1977), 301–13, 307), as does Boniface (*Les Rois*, 42, no. 3; 45–8, no. 7; and 58–9, no. 16). Boniface has, furthermore, suggested that MS 806 may have been commissioned by some of the descendants of the Kings shown in the full-page images. The sixteenth-century antiquarian and historian Simon le Boucq is also a possible commissioner (*Les Rois*, 47–8). Boniface notes that the style of MS 806's full-page watercolour images relates them to those found in Simon le Boucq's copy of a history of Valenciennes, now Douai, Bib. Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, MS. 1183. The Douai watercolour images have been tentatively attributed to the Valenciennnois painter Hubert Cailleau (c. 1526-c. 1590), and it is possible that Cailleau, or someone imitating his style, produced the images of the Kings of the *Epinette* in MS 806 (*Les Rois*, 47–8).

<sup>81</sup> MS 806, f.117v.



Fig. 6 Recueil sur les rois de l'ÉpINETTE à Lille, et sur divers combats et tournois du XIIIe au XVe siècle, Valenciennes, médiathèque Simone Veil, ms 806, f.118; reproduced with permission. Our thanks to the staff of the MSV for their assistance

[Outside the town of Lille, the *Roy de l'Espinette* came forward, with a very large company, on horseback as well as on foot, and the said king was decked in skins and swan feathers. And his horse was caparisoned with mirrors of peacock feathers (lit.; the very ends of the feathers). And his pages and escort were also adorned with peacock feathers].

This description clearly inspired the full-page illustration on f.118, which depicts the King of the *Epinette* with his peacock-bedecked horse and retinue.<sup>82</sup> The detail of costume and display reflected in the account suggests the degree of spectacle which could be associated with a civic joust, not to mention its financial cost, and the reciprocal effort made by participants performing their group identity.

The contents of MS 806 – particularly its anthologization of *Epinette* records alongside the account of the *Pas de la Dame Sauvaige* – underline particularly sharply some of the overlaps between the conceptualization of civic and noble cultures and pursuits in the territories of Burgundy in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>83</sup> The fact that the processional image on f.13 of MS 78D5 has never, until now, been associated with Don Lorenzo's account of Juana of Castile's *Joyeuse Entrée* into Brussels and its tournament games, or with the ducal and local accounts for February 1496/7, for that matter – despite depicting clearly unique elements of tournament culture such as the Tree of Chivalry – probably stems in part from the selective vantage points of the individual(s) who produced each record of the event, or by whom each record was commissioned. As we have suggested, some court chroniclers were selective in how they described such events; Don Lorenzo is probably no exception, and MS 78D5 is, likewise, focused primarily on the perspective of its likely civic commissioners. However, the contents of MS 806 remind us that the connection between image, civic procession, and jousts is an entirely plausible one.

#### CONCLUSION: RE-CONCEIVING THE IMAGE

We have newly identified MS 78D5 ff.12v–13r as a descriptive rubric and visual record of civic participation in the ceremonial display advertising and preceding a joust, adding another example to the very small corpus of manuscript images of civic input into Northern European jousts. Our reinterpretation of MS 78D5 f.13r furthermore contributes a vital source to the corpus of material through which we can understand the complex role of performers within tournament culture. MS 78D5's omission of the joust itself, regardless

<sup>82</sup> We differ from the interpretation of this image advanced by Franck Viltart and Henri Simonneau, who suggest it shows the Valenciennes woodwoses ('City Herald's in the Burgundian Low Countries', *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), 93–110, 94).

<sup>83</sup> Van den Neste also draws attention to this overlap: *Tournois*, 41.

of Brussels' clear involvement in facilitating it, is best explained by the fact that this manuscript records only the events held on 9 December 1496. Our research has, however, shown that MS 78D5 can confidently be read in conjunction with local and ducal accounts of February 1496/7 recording jousts for the ducal couple held at the end of the carnival period, and a chronicle account by Don Lorenzo de Padilla, detailing a specific joust held for Juana. This enriches our understanding of the gift-giving ceremony held during Juana's entry, and corrects assumptions about the Black Lady and her entourage, who have previously been thought to have parodied the Archduchess. Instead, it provokes new, and productive questions concerning the potential roles and status of the performers within processional and jousting spectacles. At a historical level, we furthermore propose that the joust's Shrove Tuesday timing, a day for both penance and celebration, reflects the symbolic qualities of the joust and post-joust award ceremony, ritually drew a line under the Flemish Revolts. MS 78D5, and f.13r, we propose, documents the greatest gift of all in this context: a promise of future good relations between Archduke, city, and higher nobility.

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## Abstract

Kupferstichkabinett MS 78D5 (Staatliche Museen Berlin) presents an iconographic account of the Joyous Entry of Juana of Castile into Brussels on 9 December 1496. In this article, we newly identify a rare visual record of a civic contribution to a tournament within the manuscript. Folio 13r depicts performers dressed as woodwoses and a Black Lady on horseback, holding in her hand an object, which we are the first to identify as a Tree of Chivalry – an important symbol in tournament culture. We argue for a shift in understanding this iconographic account and propose a new approach that acknowledges the overlap between fiction, performance, and tournament practice. By drawing on a range of conventions from Burgundian Pas d'Armes and broader tournament culture, as well as evidence from account books and chronicles, we deepen the understanding of the spectacle created for Juana's entry. Our reinterpretation of the manuscript image, which we situate alongside the Epinette iconography of Valenciennes MS 806, adds a revealing source to the material which can be used to understand the roles of performers, particularly in civic contexts, on the margins of the tournament.