

DUCAL PATRONAGE AND PERFORMANCE
AS A POWER EXPRESSION
IN CONQUERED CITIES: THE CASE
OF THE BURGUNDIAN LOW COUNTRIES

MECENAZGO DUCAL Y ESPECTÁCULO
COMO EXPRESIÓN DEL PODER
EN LAS CIUDADES CONQUISTADAS:
EL CASO DE LOS PAÍSES BAJOS BORGÑOÑONES

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ABSTRACT: At the end of the 14th century, the County of Flanders, held by Louis of Male, was inherited by his daughter Margaret and her husband Philippe the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. The new sovereigns had to prove their authority in the face of significant privileges previously gained by the cities in the county, one of the most developed territories in Europe. The Revolt of Ghent and the Battle of Roosebeke (1384), won by the ruler, confirmed the control of the Valois Burgundy Dynasty over the recently acquired lands. The conflict between cities and the political aspirations of the Dukes of Burgundy would be a constant problem throughout the 15th century in the Low Countries, as confirmed by the many other riots and revolts that took place in Ghent and Bruges. Every conflict between a city and the sovereign inspired the court to celebrate victory and applaud ducal control over Flemish cities. Ducal control was expressed in the iconography of art works, which portrayed the glorious entry of the duke into the humiliated city in question.

The aim of this paper is to investigate and describe the construction of the visual glory of the duke by analysing the chronicles that describe the celebrations associated with the ducal entry into a city. The comparison between the iconographical analysis of the manuscripts, tapestries and

other pieces from the collection of the duke and the chronicles of Jean Froissart, Georges Chastellain and Enguerrand de Monstrelet allows for a deep understanding of the image of mightiness, as created by the court around the figure of the Duke of Burgundy in relations to the collapsed cities. The result will finally show how the image of the early modern city in peace was constructed with a sovereign dominating it, as well as whether this corresponds to the ducal ideology of justice, equity and the common good.

Keywords: Duchy of Burgundy, XVth Century, *Joyeuses Entrées*, Philippe the Bold, Philippe the Good.

INTRODUCTION

Philippe the Bold, through his marriage to Margaret of Flanders, obtained political control over Flanders and, at the same time, introduced that territory into his Duchy of Burgundy.¹ In the final years of the reign of Louis of Male and following his death, Philippe's power and authority was confronted by the liberty and privileges of the Flemish cities. Therefore, even if the Duke had won the armed struggle, he would have lost some of the city privileges.² During the 15th century, Philippe's heirs had the same problem with controlling the cities, which resulted in successive revolts.³ On many occasions, but especially after the revolts, ceremonial entrances (also called *Joyeuses Entrées*) served a highly important role in establishing and maintaining good relations between the duke and the city and finally they form part of ducal propaganda in Flemish cities.

The *Joyeuses Entrées* as a spectacle and ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe were references to the ancient roman tradition that can be defined as «apotheosis of glory», «celebration of the military triumph» or «solemn procession of the roman general after won beattle». For making possible the *Triumphus* it was necessary to demonstrate virtues and the military success⁴. At the same time the entrance of the sovereign to the city could be

1. This research was supported by the James I University: Pla de promoció de la investigació de la Universitat Jaume I per a l'any 2016, programa de mobilitat del personal investigador, E-2016-09.

2. The city was pardoned and preserved all its privileges, as did all of its supporters. The duke granted free commerce, but demanded that its alliance with Pope Urban VI and England should end. Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 38.

3. Wim Blockmans, «Alternatives to Monarchical Centralisation: The Great Tradition of Revolt in Flanders and Brabant», *Republiken Und Republikanismus Im Europa Der Frühen Neuzeit*, 1988.

4. Juan Chiva Beltran, 'El Triumphus Romano. Una Ceremonia Del Mundo Antiguo Con Larga Proyección Histórica', in *Actas Del V Encuentro de Jóvenes Investigadores. Ideología, Estrategias de Definición*

perceived and compared with the entrance of Jesus to Jerusalem before his passion. Both parallelisms served to mark that the Duke was the legal superior power for the city and had a complete control of the local government. In order to arrive at a definition for a *Joyeuse Entrée* in the Burgundian case we refer to definition suggested by Holenstein and accepted by Blockmans:

Joyeuse entrée became the solemn moment when a ruler made his first visit to one of his territories or cities and swore to respect their rights, privileges and customs. This mutual promise of protection, on the one hand, and fidelity and support, on the other hand, derives from a feudal oath, as far as the form is concerned.⁵

Fascinatingly, the Dukes of Burgundy, legal sovereigns of the Low Countries and the rebel cities of Flanders developed a specific political code, which was applied to artistic production and festival organization at the end of 14th and during the 15th centuries. These events led to a magnification of their governmental roles.⁶ The organization of public ceremonies and visual media, such as tapestries, *tableaux vivants*, ephemeral decoration, cloths or gestures became vital elements in the encoding of splendour. Positivist historians, such as Victor Fris or Henri Pirenne, never mentioned the impacts of these festivals on society.⁷ Unfortunately, they only chose to consider the outcome of the revolts by analysing documents sourced from the court environment. However, contemporary historians have considered more profound aspects, such as the perceptions and social moods in Flemish cities, based on vernacular sources.⁸ It seems highly likely that artistic patronage partly informed how the court expressed itself, in order to have a direct influence on the social mood and how the court was perceived in the city during celebrations of a ducal victory. Additionally, ceremonies in the case of the Burgundian State serve as a medium for communication between the duke and the city. This hypothesis is the main idea behind the festival research by Johan Huizinga,⁹ who explained that communication between the sovereign and the vassals

Y Formas de Relación Social En El Mundo Anitguo, ed. Fernando Echeverría Rey and M^a Yolanda Montes Miralles (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2006), 270-71.

5. Blockmans and Donckers, «Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries», 85.

6. Wim Blockmans and Esther Donckers, «Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries», in *Showing Status. Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. W. Blockmans and A. Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 82; Werner Paravicini, «The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy A Model for Europe?», in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility The Court at the Beginning Of the Modern Age, C. 1450 1650* (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), 75.

7. Jalle Haemers, «A Moody Community? Emotion and Ritual in Late Medieval Urban Revolts», in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th Century)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 63-64.

8. Peter Arande, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (New York: Ithaca, 1996); Barbara Rosenwein, «Worrying about Emotions in History», *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002); Haemers, «A Moody Community? Emotion and Ritual in Late Medieval Urban Revolts».

9. Johan Huizinga, *El Otoño de La Edad Media* (Madrid: Alianza, 1996).

was mainly expressed by specific language, which contained verbal elements, such as oaths, occasional poems or discourses with references to the past. Furthermore, his followers, such as Jacques le Goff, applied this theory to other cases and showed that early modern Europe, even if it was divided into kingdoms, had a large number of common characteristics.¹⁰ The specific cases of the Low Countries' *Joyeuses Entrées* during the 15th century will be studied here and described as events with a political context and a historical approach.¹¹ Andrew Brown describes not only the historical context but also non-verbal signs, such as cultural background, colours or symbols, and their respective visual codes, associated with festivals in Bruges.¹² Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin highlights the typology and social aspects of the ducal entrances into cities and, at the same time, analyses the intention and aim of every single element that are mentioned in the chronicles.¹³ The *Joyeuse Entrée*, therefore, is not only a festive entrance, but also an occasion involving a power spectacle, an event when the sovereign confirms the relationship between himself and the city. Festivals of splendour, both for the court and for the city, required an appropriate preparation of the ephemeral decoration that converted urban streets in a *theatrum ceremoniale* for the court.¹⁴

During the celebration of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, the political meaning of the event could be linked to the general political ideology of the Burgundian State, as defined by Jan Dumloyn,¹⁵ on the basis of the chronicles, in particular, that

10. Jacques Le Goff, *La Baja Edad Media* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1990).

11. Nadia Mosselmans, «Les Villes Face Au Prince. L'importance Réelle de La Cérémonie D'entrée Solennelle Sous Le Règne de Philippe Le Bon», *Mélanges Georges Despy*, 1991, 25-37.

12. Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 236.

13. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La Ville Des Cérémonies. Essai Sur La Communication Politique Dans Les Anciens Pays-Bas Bourguignons* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 165-76.

14. That kind of the communication between city and the sovereign, well known in the Low Countries and Italy, was adapted by other courts. In the case of the Spanish court we know that the triumphal entrance of the Isabel the Catholic to Barcelona was celebrated in 1481. Alfredo Chamorro Esteban, «Ceremonial monárquico y rituales cívicos. Las visitas reales a Barcelona desde el siglo xv hasta el xviii» (Universitat de Barcelona, 2013), 211-13. This ritual was also continued and developed by the Spanish court as confirmed by the entrance of Joanna of Castille to Brussels in 1496. Paul Vandebroek, «Una novia entre heroínas, bufones y salvajes. La solemne entrada de Juana de Castilla en Bruselas, 1496», in *El Legado de Borgoña. Fiesta y Ceremonia Cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias*, ed. Krista de Jonge, Bernardo José García García, and Alicia Esteban Estringana (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2010); María Concepción Porras Gil, *De Bruselas a Toledo. El Viaje de Los Archiduques Felipe Y Juana* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2016). However, the Spanish court was strongly influenced by the flemish and the italian traditions of ceremonial entrances. Jesús Félix Pascual Molina, «The City as a Festive Scene in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Between Flanders and Italy», in *La Città, Il Viaggio, Il Turismo. Percezione, Produzione E Trasformazione / The City, the Travel, the Tourism. Perception, Production and Processing* (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2017). Check also: María Concepción Porras Gil, «El Arte de recibir: Fiestas y fastos por una princesa», in *Juana I En Tordesillas. Su Mundo, Su Entorno*, ed. Miguel Ángel Zalama (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Tordesillas, 2010); Jesús Félix Pascual Molina, «Lujo y exhibición pública: El Arte al servicio del poder en las recepciones a doña Juana y don Felipe», in *Juana I En Tordesillas. Su Mundo, Su Entorno*, ed. Miguel Ángel Zalama (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Tordesillas, 2010); María Concepción Porras Gil, «Fuego y Agua a la luz de la Crónica de Viena», *Potestas. Estudios del Mundo Clásico e Historia Del Arte* 10 (2017).

15. Haemers, «A Moody Community? Emotion and Ritual in Late Medieval Urban Revolts»; Jan Dumloyn, «Justice, Equity and the Common Good. The State Ideology of the Councillors of the Burgundian

of Georges Chastellain. Dumolyn identifies three aspects of ducal politics in relation to the Flemish cities, namely: justice, equity and the common good. Justice means that the duke occupied the highest judicial position in the city. Equity means that the feudal territory was a legal ducal property. Finally, the common good signifies that the duke was obliged to protect the interests of and ensure balance between all social classes.¹⁶ The analysis of chronicles from different periods serve to describe the political significance of the Burgundian State, whose values can be defined as ideological foundations. Furthermore, it is necessary to comment on some passages of the chronicles as studied by Dumolyn in order to identify the characteristics of the Duke of Burgundy, as a personification of the state within the territories of Flanders. Duke Philippe the Good is described as honourable, peaceful and amorous, as the custodian of the glory of the kingdom and keeper of the public good, which his father bequeathed to him.¹⁷ In another fragment, Chastellain, when describing the funeral of John the Fearless, defines other characteristics and qualities of the fair ruler, Duke Philippe the Good: «Because he (...) is the head of justice and Christianity, and at the same time (...) the principal pillar of his kingdom, he should judge and help».¹⁸

In the case of an imbalance between justice, equity and the common good, the city in question has had reason to initiate an uprising. Therefore, ducal artistic patronage, which was present during the *Joyeuse Entrée*, needed to rely on a specific iconography, whose aim was to reinforce the three ducal virtues and their ideological foundations. This paper aims to examine the iconographical meanings in the artworks related to the *Joyeuses Entrées* of the Dukes of Burgundy.

This paper will analyse the *Joyeuses Entrées*, their programme, ideology and iconography associated with this festivities after the revolts: in particular, the Ghent War from 1378 to 1385, the Bruges Uprising from 1436 to 1438 and the Ghent War from 1452 to 1454. After every one of them the ducal victory was celebrated: the *Joyeuse Entrée* of Philippe the Bold into Ghent in 1386, the *Joyeuse Entrée* of Philippe the Good into Bruges in 1440 and the *Joyeuse Entrée*

Dukes», in *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness* (Brill, 2006); Jan Dumolyn, «The Vengeance of the Commune: Sign Systems of Popular Politics in Medieval Bruges», in *La Comunidad Medieval Como Esfera Publica* (Sevilla: Prensa de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2014); Jan Dumolyn, «Guild Politics and Political Guilds in Fourteenth-Century Flanders», in *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Jan Dumolyn and Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, «Le Bien Commun E Flandre Médiévale: Une Lutte Discursive Entre Princes et Sujets», in *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Frederik Buylaert and Andy Ramandt, «The Transformation of Rural Elites in Late Medieval Flanders: Oligarchy, State Formation and Social Change in the Liberty of Bruges (Ca. 1350 - Ca. 1525)», *Continuity and Change* 30, no. 1 (2015); Frederik Buylaert, «The Late Medieval Crisis of the Nobility. Reconsidered: The Case of Flanders», *Journal of Social History* 45, no. 4 (2012).

16. Dumolyn, «Justice, Equity and the Common Good. The State Ideology of the Councillors of the Burgundian Dukes», 4-6.

17. *Ibid.*, 7.

18. Georges Chastellain, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Joseph Marie Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruxelles, 1864), 254.

of Philippe the Good into Ghent in 1454. Last two events may be studied together because they form part of the Great Tradition of Revolt, a season of riots in Flanders and Brabant against the politics of the Duchy of Philippe the Good, who wanted to limit the former privileges of the city in order to reinforce the centralization of government.¹⁹ Another argument for studying them together is the similar approach to the ceremonies and iconographical programmes associated with these events.

A description of three entries can be found in the chronicles authored by the courtiers. As these cases are limited to the official court version (they were written by courtiers), they cannot be used to analyse how the city expressed itself. In order to study the *Joyeuses Entrées* between 1380 and 1454, fragments of three chronicles should be considered: that of Jean Froissart,²⁰ that of Georges Chastellain²¹ and that of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.²² The analysis of some artworks, which depict the celebration of the *Joyeuses Entrée* in question, allows us to arrive at a better definition of the city image during these festivities. The study of this iconography should facilitate an understanding of the difficult relations between Flemish cities and their sovereign, and whether the *Joyeuses Entrées* retained the political foundations of the ideology of the Dukes of Burgundy in the previously mentioned cases.

JOYEUSE ENTRÉE OF PHILIPPE THE BOLD AFTER THE GHENT WAR IN 1386

The city of Ghent started a rebellion in 1379 against its ruler, the Count of Flanders, Louis of Male, who was planning a large infrastructural project in the form of a new canal, which would bypass the city, leaving it cut off from the source of a sizeable commercial income. The Duke of Burgundy, Philippe the Bold, who was the son-in law of Louis of Male, offered himself as a mediator in the conflict, albeit without success.²³ Philippe van Artevelde, who died in the Battle of Roosebeke in 1382, led the Ghent Rebellion. Louis of Male died two years later and his domain passed to Philippe the Bold, from the House of Valois-Burgundy, while the city was still in revolt. The rebellion finished in 1385 with the Treaty of Tournai signed by the city and the duke. The new Count of Flanders was obliged to respect the old privileges of the city, while Ghent swore to become an integral part of the feudal territory of Philippe the Bold, thus confirming the *quid pro quo*. Finally, in 1386, the duke was able to make his *Joyeuse Entrée* into the city.

19. Blockmans, «Alternatives to Monarchical Centralisation: The Great Tradition of Revolt in Flanders and Brabant».

20. Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Joseph Marie Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruxelles, 1870).

21. Chastellain, *Œuvres Complètes*.

22. Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, ed. Jean Buchon (Paris: Michaud, 1826).

23. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 22.

The history of the Ghent Rebellion and of its *Joyeuse Entrée* can be analysed, thanks to the Froissart's Chronicles²⁴ by the chronicler of Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III of England. According to Froissart, local clergy and academics received the Duke of Burgundy when his court arrived in the suburbs of the city. Together, they went to the city gate, with the duke and his wife²⁵ on the back of their courser horses.²⁶ The chronicler described the vermilion robes decorated with pearls, which were worn by the duke, and the magnificent appearance of the duchesse. After entering the city, the parade continued to the Church of Saint Peter, the first destination, where the duke and his wife gave donations. Walking through city streets, they made their way to the Church of Saint John, the main church of the city. There, during an official ceremony accompanied by musicians, the duke vowed to protect the city and respect its privileges, while, at the same time, referring to aspects of ducal politics. Similarly, the city representatives pledged an oath of goodness and loyalty to the duke and his wife, as well as promised never to break the Treaty of Tournai. After the ceremony, they passed by the Market Square, where local people welcomed them by proclaiming: «Misericorde! merchy! merchy a vostre povre peuple et subgetz de Gand!». ²⁷ The communication between the duke and the society confirms the desire of justice, equity and common good that the city had lost before the rebellion. At the same time, the fundamentals of the duchy are recovered in the main square of the city with the solemn environment. The mutual oaths of feudal dependency are the most relevant act of the entire triumphal entrance. Afterwards, the parade marched to the Hôtel de Walle, where the official banquet took place. The chronicler describes the food that was served during the banquet, mainly beef served with wine (probably a Burgundian one), along with a mention that the duke had paid for it. The court stayed for four days in the city and, during that time, made many donations of paraments and goldsmithery to local churches and chapels. The chronicler does not mention any specific manifestations of artistic patronage commissioned for this event, only simple donations. The main characters in the chronicle are the duke and his wife, while the role of the city is reduced to the aforementioned proclamation by local people and the final dialogue between citizens and the sovereign. As such, we are not afforded a description of the details of the ceremony from different points of view, other than the court's chronicler's perspective. This narration paid attention exclusively to the ducal property with mentions to the cloths, jeweleries and the splendour of the banquet, because of their high material value that was the testimony of

24. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, 447. Chapter LXXIII entitled: Comment lez duc et duchesse de Bourgongne firent leur entree en leur ville de Gand après la paix faicte a Tournay

25. More about the role of the duke's wife during festivals, in particular, during the *Joyeuse Entrées*: Christina Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes : Art, Performance, and the Late Medieval Banquet* (The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 170.

26. According to: Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500) Courser - cheval rapide (apte à couvrir de longues distances; cheval de bataille ou de tournoi).

27. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, 449.

the ducal richness and part of the communication between the sovereign and the society. The chronicler did not describe any city's investments to this celebration, allowing him to avoid any commentary or explanations in favour of Ghent. However, having only one description of the event from the court environment, we cannot affirm that the city was not prepared for the ducal reception: most probably there were ephemeral decoration across all the route of the procession and also citizens and guilds had prepared a proper propaganda.

In addition, some preserved court expenses from 1386 include many payments to artists. Some of them can be associated with patronage relating to the *Joyeuse Entrée* into Ghent, for example, a bill for a tapestry, commissioned by Duke Philippe the Bold²⁸ and designed and prepared by Michael Bernard, a weaver from Arras, carrying a representation of the Battle of Roosebeke.²⁹ Even though this textile did not survive, we know that it was a genuine masterpiece. In fact, the bill describes its impressive dimensions: 225 m², 45 m long and 5 m high,³⁰ meaning the tapestry was the second biggest tapestry in all of medieval Europe, following the tapestry from the collection of the Duke of Anjou, which is today preserved in the Angeres Castle.³¹ The dimensions of the Battle of Roosebeke tapestry, beside their value in promoting the power of the duke, were also problematic. For one thing, it was too large and too heavy to hang, lift up or fold; nor was it suitable for being display in many locations. In 1402, the court paid another weaver from Arras, Colart d'Anxi, to split it in three smaller pieces.³² This tapestry could have been shown during the *Joyeuse Entrée* into Ghent, even if the bill was prepared in September and the ceremony had taken place in January, revealing that many expenses of the court were registered late. Other document evidence that reinforces the hypothesis that the tapestry was shown in Ghent in January is in the form of other expenses from September. Payments for decorated horse blankets, ordered from Robert de Varennes and Henry Gontier, weavers from Paris,³³ are mentioned alongside ornamental banners, many of which carried the coats of arms of Flanders and were delivered by Josset de Halle, *valet de chambre*

28. Susan Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies: Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy* (University of California Press, 2004), 157; Katherine Wilson, «Paris, Arras et La Cour: Les Tapissiers de Philippe Le Hardi et Jean sans Peur, Ducs de Bourgogne», *Revue Du Nord* 93, no. 389 (2011).

29. Bernard Prost and Henri Prost, *Inventaires Mobiliers et Extraits de Comptes Des Ducs de Bourgogne de La Maison de Valois. T. II : Philippe Le Hardi* (Paris: Leroux, 1908), 230-31.

30. Laura Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories : French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Cornell University Press, 2004), 8. The original measure according to the accounts: "contenant 56 aunes de long et 7 aunes et 1 quartier de large" Prost and Prost, *Inventaires Mobiliers et Extraits de Comptes Des Ducs de Bourgogne de La Maison de Valois. T. II : Philippe Le Hardi*, 230-31.

31. Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 30.

32. Prost y Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits de comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois. T. I : Philippe le Hardi*, 486.

33. *Ibid.*, 230.

and *argentier* of the duke.³⁴ The amount of money spent to employ the number of people involved in these decorations suggests that they were not typical domestic staff, but servants exclusively hired for special occasions. The fact that the chronicle, instead of describing the tapestry focused on others details could be misunderstood: Froissart was not the official Burgundian chronicler and he had not been an eyewitness of the event.³⁵ According to his judgment the oath and the recovering of the ideological fundamentals of the duchy were much more significant than the splendourous ephemeral decorations that were always present during great events. The visual representation of the ideology stayed out of the chronicler interests.

However, preserved images representing the Battle of Roosebeke can be found in the manuscripts of Froissart's Chronicles, which were illustrated by Loyset Liédet, of which two versions have been preserved (Fig. 1).³⁶ The former tapestry, which represented the most relevant visualization of the Battle of Roosebeke, could have inspired those images created in the second half of the 15th century. The concept has a simple composition involving three main spaces: on the right side, the Burgundian Army is facing the rebel army coming from the left; both armies have banners, which include their symbols of identification; and, above the soldiers, there is an idealized landscape with city towers. The lack of a linear perspective and the formal structure of the picture, especially in the cavalry representation, lend the armies the appearance of a nebulous mass, which is typical of some 15th century tapestries from Tournai representing military campaigns: for example, the War of Troy series (Fig. 2). The similarity in the composition of book illustrations and tapestries demonstrates that one artistic object could serve as an inspiration for the composition of another.

JOYEUSES ENTRÉES OF PHILIPPE THE GOOD IN 1440 AND 1454

The rebellions of Bruges started in 1436 and finished in 1438; the one in Ghent, by contrast, lasted much longer, starting in 1449 and finishing in 1453. The city of Bruges revolted against the sovereign because of his alliance with the French crown against England. This pact resulted in a grave economic embargo imposed on the city, given its strong connections with English merchants. Moreover, the duke had started an expansion of the port of Sluis, which was a direct competitor of Bruges.³⁷ In the treaty that ended the war,

34. Ibid.

35. Katherine Anne Wilson, «Tapestry in the Burgundian Dominions. A Complex Object», in *La Cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe. Le Rayonnement et Les Limites D'un Modèle Culturel*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Torsten Hiltmann, and Frank Viltart (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2013), 323-25.

36. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms-5190.

37. Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands. The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 98-101.



Fig. 1. Battle of Roosebeke, *Chroniques sire Jean Froissart*, 15th century, Ms-Fr. 2644, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. 256r, Paris



Fig. 2. Fragment of the Arrival of the Amazons, the War of Troy tapestry, late 15th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

the duke officially acknowledged respect for *bonne justice et police* and *bien de la chose publique*, recalling what Dumolyn referred to as the three pillars of Burgundian politics towards cities.³⁸

Furthermore, while the ceremony from 1440 has been previously analysed with reference to different sources, most historians have consulted *Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen* as a primary commentary on the event. Gordon Kipling focused on the programme of the ducal entry, explaining its construction and offering an interpretation of this event as a manifestation of civic triumph.³⁹ Meanwhile, other historians have suggested that the ceremony had a different character, remarking that the *tableaux vivants* were part of a bourgeoisie festival tradition and in this case their rhetoric

38. Dumolyn, «Justice, Equity and the Common Good. The State Ideology of the Councillors of the Burgundian Dukes», 16.

39. Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (London: Clarendon Press, 1998), 34-37.

and expression were adapted to the ducal discourse of power.⁴⁰ From the chronicle of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, a follower of Froissart, we learn about the ceremony surrounding the *Joyeuse Entrée* into Bruges. The duke arrived in the city during the third week of Advent (11th of December), after having visited Saint-Omer. Philippe the Good went to Bruges with his wife, with the Duke of Orleans and his court. Cheering crowds of citizens received them in the suburbs. After going through the town gate, the procession moved to the main square, where the council gave them the keys to the city and knelt down before him. According to Enguerrand de Monstrelet, the procession contained, in the first line, representatives from all the parishes within the walls and some members of the four mendicant orders, all of whom marched and sang the *Te Deum laudamus*. Following them was a representation of the international communities living in the city, accompanied by more musical performance. During the welcoming of the duke, the city organized *tableaux vivants*, simple forms of acted performance, which, on this occasion, depicted Old Testament iconography and the history of the prophets prior to the Messiah's arrival. Thus, we can clearly see how ducal propaganda took the form of associating the appearance of the duke with Old Testament narratives, at the same time demonstrating that the rebellion was to be considered as a sin, while the duke arrived in the city as its saviour. The metaphor between the Duke and Christ makes an evidence of recuperating peace in the city; the person welcomed by the citizens, as Christ was received in Jerusalem, should be the ruler desired by the society. As we remarked previously, the treaty that finished the war referred to justice, equity and common good, therefore the *Imitatio Christi* might be a message that announces it.⁴¹ The march ended in the ducal palace, where the feast began. The next day, in the main square, the council organized a tournament for the sake of ducal glory, while, on the third day, Bruggians continued the celebration on the city streets. Finally, on the last day, the duke left Bruges for Ghent and, from there, travelled to Tournay.⁴² Unfortunately, this chronicle is the only testimony of those performances; there is no preserved artwork or scenography from this event.⁴³

The description permits to see the communication under narrow limits since the chronicler focused on the procession and performances, recreating the social mood and, at the same time, considering the artistic patronage as a background for the ducal ideology. The main characters of the description are the Duke of Burgundy, the Dukes, the Duke of Orleans together with the *tableaux vivants* that the city prepared, but the latter were

40. Bart Ramakers, «Multifaceted and Ambiguous : The Tableaux Vivants in the Bruges Entry of 1440», in *Medieval to Early Modern Culture* (P.I.E. - Peter Lang, 2005), 163-75. All aspects of this ceremony and theories resumed are by: Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La Ville Des Cérémonies. Essai Sur La Communication Politique Dans Les Anciens Pays-Bas Bourguignons*, 284-87.

41. Ibid.

42. Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, 445-46.

43. Jesse Hurlbut, «The City Renewed : Decorations for the "Joyeuses Entrées" of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold», *Fifteenth Century Studies* 19 (1992).

articulating the ducal authority and power over the city. Unquestionably, the city was decorated with more ephemeral structures than the stages for performances representing the biblical iconography, but the chronicler did not capture their presence.⁴⁴ On the one hand, decorations expressed city's humility and acceptance of the ducal authority, on the other hand adornments were paid by the city and could express its own politics towards the Duke, probably for that reason the court chronicler did not mention them in details, making the Duke the only protagonist of the narration..

In the case of Ghent, the rebellion commenced, in part, due to a new tax on salt. After four years of rioting inside and outside the city walls, the major confrontation between the rebels and the Burgundian Army was the Battle of Gavere, which resulted in a solemn fiasco for Ghent soldiers. Despite the different initial causes, both rebellions, which sought to challenge the excessive power of the duke, resulted in the rigorous centralization of Philippe the Good's state⁴⁵. The third analysed *Joyeuse Entrée* is that of Philippe the Good in Ghent from 1454, as narrated in Georges Chastellain's chronicle,⁴⁶ which pays special attention to the ducal presence during the ceremony. The chapter in which the reader learns about the ducal presence is entitled *Comment le duc fut solennement reçu à Gand*, which suggests the duke was invited by the city itself.

Philippe the Good arrived in the suburbs of Ghent where citizens and clerks received him on the morning of Saturday, 23rd April, before Easter. The processions started there, with ducal guards positioned at the very front and court officials behind them. The chronicler probably stood between them. Seemingly, nobles and governors of Flanders entered along with the duke. The representatives of the city council wore black robes, which symbolized their grief. They awaited the duke at the first town gate, from where they gave him the keys to the town. The guilds' representatives, who had been the first community to rebel, wore white robes and offered the duke their banners, a symbolical punishment of the rebels. Chastellain refers to many ephemeral decorations prepared for the occasion, including torches, flags and banners, which were displayed on city buildings with the inscription: «Veni nobis,

44. Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, «La Ville: Creuset Des Cultures Urbaine et Princièrè Dans Les Anciens Pays-Bas Bourguignons», in *La Cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe. Le Rayonnement et Les Limites D'un Modèle Culturel*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Torsten Hiltmann, and Frank Viltart (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2013). This affirmation is supported by other study cases of Joyeuses Entrées. The most complete description of the images reproduced in the tableaux vivants is found in the entrance of Joanne of Castille to Brussels in 1496. The book of ceremony contains alegories referring to the virtues of the future wife of Philippe the Fair. Paul Vandebroek, «Una novia entre heroínas, bufones y salvajes. La solemne entrada de Juana de Castilla en Bruselas, 1496», in *El Legado de Borgoña. Fiesta Y Ceremonia Cortesana En La Europa de Los Austrias*, ed. Krista de Jonge, Bernardo José García García, and Alicia Esteban Estringana (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2010).

45. Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, ed. Woodbridge (The Boydell Press, 2008), 22.

46. Chastellain, *Œuvres Complètes*, 412-17.

pacificus dominus; utere servitio nostro, sicut placuerit».⁴⁷ Finally, the ducal court marched through the streets, crossing the bridge over the River Lys.

Similar to the case of Bruges, the city prepared *tableaux vivants* involving the iconography of prophets and biblical histories that magnify the ducal presence. The most special *tableau vivant* prepared for the occasion depicted a scene that reproduced the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb. Indeed, the chronicler suggests that this was probably inspired by the Ghent altarpiece of the same name, a magnificent polyptych that presents the Mystic Lamb in the central panel. The altarpiece was one of the most significant pieces paid for by the bourgeois Jodocus Vijd, who commissioned it in 1432. Even if this kind of spectacle was a rather bourgeois form of expression, in the case of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, the city adapted it to reflect ducal iconography introducing in the rethoric of the event a symbol of the magnificency. A part from this singular *tableau vivant*, we find similarities with the ceremony in Bruges, which contained various associations with the Messiah's arrival, expressing the ducal right to dominate and the ideology of power. Once again, the presence of justice, equity and the common good are expressed by the metaphor of the duke as a Crist.

During the celebration, the city council offered a gift to the duke in the form of a manuscript entitled *The Great Privileges of Ghent*, which is today in the collection of the National Library of Austria.⁴⁸ The author is defined as the Master of Ghent Privileges, although he has still not been unidentified.⁴⁹ The manuscript itself explains the history of the city from ancient times to the moment of Philippe the Good's *Joyeuse Entrée*, legitimizing and justifying ducal control over the city. Three illustrations in this precious book confirm the presence of ducal ideology during this *Joyeuse Entrée*. The first one shows the Emperor and the Count of Flanders, Balduin IX, tasting wine during his ceremonial entrance into Ghent (Fig. 3). The coat of arms of the Duke of Burgundy is also displayed, even though the historical event happened centuries before Burgundian influence reached the city of Ghent. This historical nonsense makes a clear reference to the *Joyeuse Entrée* of Philippe the Good, who is depicted as the natural successor to the emperor. The next illustration is a representation of the Battle of Gavere (Fig. 4), the most important battle during the Ghent War, as well as counting as the biggest military success enjoyed by the Burgundian Army over the city rebels. This illumination undoubtedly serves as affirmation of superiority of the ducal power over Ghent if we consider that *Triumphus* required a military campaign.

The third image describes the *Joyeuse Entrée* of Philippe the Good into Ghent in 1454 (Fig. 5), showing him on horseback dominating the

47. Ibid.

48. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2583.

49. Gregory Clarc, *Made in Flanders. The Masters of the Ghent Privileges* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 11-36.



Fig. 3. The Master of the Ghent Privileges, Emperor Balduin IX, tasting wine during his ceremonial entrance to Ghent, *Privileges and Statutes of Ghent*, 1453, f. 270v, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



Fig. 4. The Master of the Ghent Privileges, Battle of Gavere, *Privileges and Statutes of Ghent*, 1453, f. 340v, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



Fig. 5. The Master of the Ghent Privileges, Burgers of Ghent surrender to Philippe the Good, *Privileges and Statutes of Ghent*, 1453, f. 349v, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

composition. In front of him are Ghent citizens, replete with humiliating gestures. Many details correspond to the chronicles associated with the event: groups of overwhelmed citizens wearing black and guilders with white robes offering their banners. Formal aspect of the miniature has a proper relevance: the Duke on horseback occupies two-thirds of the image from the right side and citizens are in reduced space, in their background, we can observe the city landscape, the site of this performance of power, with Ghent reduced to mere scenery alongside ducal glory. This composition should represent the most splendid image of the ducal victory and the humiliation of the city; nevertheless the Master of the Ghent Privileges expressed some important eckian reminiscences. In fact the composition of the scene repeats the scheme of the sketch applied to the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb. A similar composition had been applied by Van Eyck brothers in two down-left panels of the polyptych with the iconography of *Just Judges* (Fig. 6a) and *Knights of Christ* (Fig. 6b), as it can be especially observed in the horses' heads. In the case of *Knights of Christ* panel and *Burghers of Ghent surrender to Philippe the Good* illumination there are also similarities in the construction of the space behind the first plan personages with an intuitive perspective. Moreover, it can be seen that the miniature is composed of two parts, the right side with the Duke and his army and the left side with the Ghent citizens are clearly separated by the shape of the standard. The proportion of the left scene recalls the structure of the panels of the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb.

That iconographic construction could have two explanations, on the one hand, the Master of the Ghent Privileges could cite the the most important artwork in the city because he wanted to remark that Ghent, even controlled by the Duke, had a proper identity reinforced by Van Eyck brothers' altarpiece. On the other hand, there is a clear parallelism between the iconography of *Just Judges* and *Knights of Christ* and the duke according to his ideology of justice, equity and the common good that should be maintained in the city after the revolt. Finally, the miniature undoubtedly describes the ducal glory, because the link between the Master of the Ghent Privileges and the political fraction cannot be described.

The monumental composition, known also in the antiquity, the duke or his metaphor as a horseman continues as a part of the ducal image. The Tapestry with the scene of *Julius Caesar about to cross the Rubicon* (Fig. 7) that precedes from the next decade, can confirm it. The textile was probably weaved in the sixties of the Fifteenth Century and formed part of the treasure that Charles the Bold lost in the Battle of Nancy in 1477.⁵⁰ With the same position as the Duke of Burgundy was received by the Ghent citizens in the illumination of the Master of the Ghent Privileges, Julius Caesar on horseback goes to reconquer Rome. Unquestionably, that composition demonstrates the presence of the humanist culture at the Burgundian Court, adapted to the necessity of military

50. Ibid., 78.



Fig. 6a and 6b. Jan and Hubert Van Eyck, *the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, pannels with *Just Judges and Knights of Christ*, 1434, Saint Bavo Cathedral, Ghent



Fig. 7. Julius Caesar about to cross the Rubicon (detail). Unidentified tapestry artists, Flanders, probably 1460s

and administrative control that the Duke had towards Flemish cities. Apparently both compositions, the one of the Master of the Ghent Privileges and the one that applied the weaver to the Flemish tapestry are related to the Van Eyck brothers *Just Judges* and *Knights of Christ*. Unfortunately, horseman iconography is not well documented in the case of Burgundian dukes but in the example of the Manuscript *Privileges and Statutes of Ghent* is clearly associated with the *Joyeuse Entrée*.

CONCLUSION

Ideas of justice, equity and the common good were embodied in performances and artistic patronage in the cases of triumphal entrances in reconquered Flemish cities in the Fifteenth Century. The aim of the events was to assert ducal authority and express the ideology of power. Thus, we can affirm that the three elements, as described in George Chastellain's chronicle, represent the pillars of Burgundian politics with regard to the cities in question. Justice, equity and the common good were fully applied to the ceremonies of the ducal *Joyeuses Entrées*, thus transforming them from ideological and political schemes to artistic and iconographical demonstrations of power.

In order to properly evaluate and understand the relation between *Joyeuses Entrées* and artistic patronage associated with defeated cities, it is necessary to highlight how ducal ideology was carried out. Chronicles, visual representations of the duke and *tableaux vivants* were often the chosen media for translating and reinforcing the message of power with different manner. In the case of the rethorical expression it is well remarked the ideology of the Duchy of Burgundy, focusing on ideas of justice, equity and the common good. At the same time, the performance of the *Joyeuses Entrées* was intended to exalt the duke as the just sovereign, a fact confirmed by the iconography applied to the *tableaux vivants*, where we encounter biblical histories involving idealized rulers, such as King David, and the direct comparisons between the duke and the Messiah. This discourse also refers to justice, equity and the common good, ideas of the feudal order in the city that only the duke could guarantee. Artistic patronage sought to represent the iconography of ducal military success, as well as to emphasize his chivalry and bravery. The duke and his army are always glorified, while the rebels were always shown humiliated. The sovereign is represented as the person who will return peace to the conquered city. During the ducal entrance, citizens are shown as accepting the ruler and their position as his legal property and part of his feudal territory. The development of this iconographical model up to the second half of the Fifteenth Century led to the eyckyan reminiscences of the later production. In ducal artistic patronage the city is reduced in comparison with the large and glorious duke, a phenomenon also found in the chronicles and in the images they contain. Thus, even though the city

was a real place in which power performances took place, in the images, its role is reduced to a mere backdrop.

Finally, it is meaningful to observe that all mentioned elements emphasize the humanism tendency present at the Burgundian Court. The similarity in the programme of the ceremonies could indicate that an established order was followed: the sovereign was always received out of the city by the local government and ecclesiastical representatives and then the procession entered the city to celebrate oaths, tournaments and festivities. On the one side, even if the ducal chronicles do not really value it, the ideology of power affirms that the city has a proper legal identity and the sovereign through the mutual oath ratifies it. On the other side, the performance of the *Joyeuses Entrées*, with their structured programme and ephemeral decorations, remarks the presence of the ancient tradition of the *Triumphus* as well the parallelism between the duke and the Messiah transmitted by the ducal iconography of the rider entering the city.

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