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IMAGINED CRUSADERS: THE LIVRE D’ERACLES IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BURGUNDIAN COLLECTIONS

BY

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DISSIDERTATION

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The following study analyzes the conception and reception of the illuminated volumes of the crusade history the *Livre d’Eracles* (hereafter *Eracles*) as it was conceived and collected in the fifteenth-century court of Burgundy, centered in the Burgundian Netherlands. It considers four individuals, Jean V of Créquy, Wolfert VI of Borssele, Louis of Gruuthuse, and King Edward IV of England, all of whom moved in the orbit of the fifteenth-century Burgundian dukes, and analyzes how their political activities and art collecting responded to Burgundian crusade ideology and court culture in distinct ways. These knights of Philip the Good’s chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece each owned the same crusade chronicle, the *Eracles*, a French translation and continuation of William of Tyre’s twelfth-century crusade chronicle, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, revived and retranslated into Middle French in the Burgundian Netherlands after over a century of neglect.

The *Eracles* and its individualized cycles of images innovatively re-envisioned the crusading past in the guise of the fifteenth-century present for a group of men who responded to the fifteenth-century renewed crusade fervor caused by the contemporary Ottoman invasions with varying levels of commitment. Refining the conception of Burgundian crusading culture, this study reveals it as a creation of interactions among diverse players with independent political agendas, instead of a monolithic ideology imposed by the Duke of Burgundy. My analysis of the *Eracles* within the context of noble and royal collections reveals the complexity of the Burgundian crusade culture in the mid-fifteenth century. Each chapter examines the construction of one of four *Eracles* manuscripts, analyzing their distinctive visual cycles and textual
recensions, the context of the libraries in which they resided and considers the historical
evidence regarding the lives and practices of their patrons to determine to what extent the
Eracles echoes their interests in and engagement with the idea of chivalry in general or of the
Burgundian crusade in particular.

This study demonstrates that each of the four manuscript cycles expresses its patron’s
level of engagement with the fifteenth-century crusade in independent and nuanced ways. Jean
V of Créquy held a sincere interest in the crusades, choosing the longest and more historical form
for his Eracles text (Amiens, Bibiliothèque municipale, Ms. 483 F), the Acre continuation, and
commissioning an illumination cycle that demonstrates a close reading of the text to create a
sophisticated visualization of the chronicle before he personally voyaged to the Holy Land.
Despite Wolfert VI of Borssele’s lack of participation in any battles abroad, his densely
illuminated and luxurious Eracles (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 85) visualizes the
events surrounding the reclamation of Jerusalem in a way that brings to the fore the
contemporary problem of rendering Constantinople into Christian control. Louis of Gruuthuse’s
Eracles (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 68) contains a smaller, rapidly produced
illumination cycle; this manuscript functioned like an object d’art, concentrating on chivalric
crusading heroes. Edward IV’s royal Eracles (London, British Library, Royal Ms. 15 E i) is a
departure from the copies made for Burgundian nobility because the artists who planned its
illuminations expressly highlighted English crusading valor and portrayed propagandistically
ideal visions of kingship.
Pour Béa
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ABBREVIATIONS

BA Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal
Bbtk Burgerbibliothek
BdG Bibliothèque de Genève
BL British Library
BM Bibliothèque municipale
BN Biblioteca Nazionale
BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France
BrB Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
BS Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BML Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
IRHT Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes
JPGM J. Paul Getty Museum
PML Pierpont Morgan Library
RNL Russian National Library
WAM Walters Art Museum
Introduction

The following study analyzes the conception and reception of the illuminated volumes of the crusade history the *Livre d’Eracles* as it was conceived and collected in the fifteenth-century court of Burgundy, centered in the Burgundian Netherlands. This introduction contains four types of information necessary to the following inquiry. The first section presents the methodology employed in my analysis. The second sketches the general historical context of crusading culture in the fifteenth century, specifically in the Burgundian court. The third offers a brief review of the *Livre d’Eracles*’ textual history and composition. The fourth provides an overview of the tradition of illumination of the *Livre d’Eracles* and the artistic milieu of fifteenth-century Flanders in which the group of manuscripts under examination here were conceived.

I. Methodology

Gabrielle Spiegel proposes that the interpretation of a historical or literary textual production should begin with its “moment of inscription,” the historical and temporal moment from which it emerged. This interpretive theory emphasizes the circumstances of commission for texts and the “choice, decision, and action that creates the social reality of the text,” and is, in my view, applicable not only to the text but also to the illuminations situated therein.¹ To recover the individual historical importance of a manuscript, one should thus consider the motivations

behind the demands of its patron, the creative choices of its artist and the social and political forces that could be factors in the decisions of each. The cycles of miniatures illustrating medieval manuscripts are painted according to the patron’s wishes, representing the conjunction of the patron’s and the artist’s choices, both of which are informed by the historical context of each’s interests. Because a collection inevitably expresses the collector as a series of choices based on his own interests and because the objects he chooses confirm his vision of his identity, causing him to “collect himself,” a collected object reveals information about its collector’s constructed identity.²

The present study considers four individuals, Jean V of Créquy, Wolfert VI of Borssele, Louis of Gruuthuse, and King Edward IV of England, all of whom moved in the orbit of the fifteenth-century Dukes of Burgundy, and analyzes how their political activities and art collecting responded to Burgundian crusade ideology and court culture in distinct ways. These knights of Philip the Good’s chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece each owned the same crusade chronicle, the *Livre d’Eracles* (hereafter *Eracles*), an Old French translation and continuation of William of Tyre’s twelfth-century Latin crusade chronicle, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*. In the mid-fifteenth century, this history was revived and retranslated into Middle French in the Burgundian Netherlands after over a century of neglect. The *Eracles* and its individualized cycles of images innovatively re-envisioned the crusading past in the guise of the fifteenth-century present for a group of men who responded to the fifteenth-century

renewed crusade fervor caused by the contemporary Ottoman invasions with varying levels of commitment.

I examine how these four men’s historical actions and book patronage contextualize the place of each Eracles manuscript in its owner’s collection. Refining the conception of Burgundian crusading culture, this study reveals it as a creation of interactions among diverse players with independent political agendas, instead of a monolithic culture imposed by the Duke of Burgundy. My analysis of the Eracles within the context of noble and royal collections reveals the complexity of the Burgundian crusade culture in the mid-fifteenth century. Five illuminated Eracles manuscripts remain which were produced in fifteenth-century Flanders, four of which are the focus of this study: Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F (Jean V of Créquy), Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 (Wolfert VI of Borssele), London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i (Edward IV) and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68 (Louis of Gruuthuse). The fifth, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, belonged to Philip the Good, the Duke of Burgundy, and thus represents historical illustration produced for the ideological center of Burgundian crusade culture. As this investigation centers on the independent manuscript patronage choices of the people surrounding the Burgundian dukes,

3 There are nine total extant fifteenth-century Eracles manuscripts, three of which are unillustrated: Bern, Bbtk, Ms. 25 (Acre continuation, N. France, early fifteenth century), Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2627 (No continuation, France, early fifteenth century) and Turin, BN, Ms. L. I. 5 (Rothelin continuation, N. France, fifteenth century); and six of which are illustrated: Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, and Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 68 and 2629 (Eracles continuation, Rouen?, fifteenth century).

4 It was one of the three copies noted in the duke’s 1467 inventory. Elizabeth J. Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 85 and nn38–40, Barrois no. 1543–1715; Georges Doutrepont, La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1909), 263. For an earlier inventory of the duke’s library, see also, Doutrepont, Inventaire de la “librairie” de Philippe le Bon (1420). (Brussels: Kiessling et Cie, 1906). For more on this manuscript, see the Epilogue, pp. 204–11.
rather than the dukes themselves, the Brussels manuscript falls outside its direct purview. Nevertheless, its illumination cycle will be referred to throughout this study when it shares iconography relevant to the central manuscripts of interest. In addition, I will provide a brief consideration of the art historical features of interest in Philip the Good’s *Eracles* in the Epilogue (see pp. 204–11).

The crusade to save the Holy Land, an unfulfilled goal of continued interest for the Burgundian Duke, Philip the Good, has been a topic of scholarly interest over the past twenty years. Past approaches to the study of Burgundian crusade culture have focused on the duke or the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which he was the head, but have not deeply considered the individuals to whom he was promoting the idea of crusade. Nor have they examined how these other people, however actively or passively, supported crusade culture through their own political activities or patronage. Historians have sought evidence for the duke’s specific military and political attempts to mount a crusade and analyzed his use of the Order of the Golden Fleece to compel courtiers to take up the cross. Historians and art historians have examined the duke’s library and art collection for evidence of crusade themes. Some assert that he promoted the

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5 A sixth example, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2629, was painted in France in the late fifteenth-century for the Échevins of Rouen. This manuscript is a part of a different historical context altogether. I will mention its illustrations when considering the overall *Eracles* visual tradition, but these two manuscripts do not directly factor into this study.


crusades not only politically but also through works of art, as Moodey’s study of his collection of crusade histories suggests. Scholars have also studied the Order of the Golden Fleece and the objects related to it for its organizational support of a crusade.

Previous scholarship on the Eracles concentrated on its historical and literary content, at the expense of sustained study of its illustrations. Some historians sorted out the complex textual history and historical context of the Eracles. Folda catalogued surviving manuscripts of the Eracles corpus and described the artists’ styles, but concentrated the bulk of his study on the


9 Cockshaw and Van den Bergen-Pantens, eds., L’ordre de la Toison d’or; Jean Baptiste Maurice, Le Blason des armoiries de tous les chevaliers de l’ordre de la Toison d’or, depuis la première institution jusques à présent; avec leurs noms, surmoms, titres et cartiers, ensemble leurs éloges descrites en bref, (The Hague, 1667); De Smedt, ed. Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle; Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy.

thirteenth- and fourteenth-century examples. Others have published brief examinations on the style, the artists, and the owners of fifteenth-century Eracles manuscripts. Dobratz theorized that the fifteenth-century Eracles manuscripts should be considered as the means to a virtual crusade that could be performed in the patrons’ imagination from Burgundy, and provided highlights about the Burgundian Eracles’ miniature cycles, but her article format was too short to


allow an expansive examination of each patron’s interests, collecting activities, or of their manuscripts’ illumination cycles. The current study builds on previous scholarship to consider the revival of illuminated manuscripts of the *Eracles* against the backdrop of other crusade-oriented illustrated texts in the patrons’ libraries to understand how, or even whether, these *Eracles* manuscripts functioned as ideological and behavioral models for their owners.

Each chapter examines the construction of one of four *Eracles* manuscripts, analyzing their distinctive visual cycles, which are tailored to the interests of their individual owners. I will show that these manuscripts incorporate two different versions of the *Eracles* text. Thus, in at least one case (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F) a specific textual version seems to have been chosen deliberately for its origin in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem at Acre and its standard chronicle form. The artists who painted the four illumination cycles in these manuscripts created their own separate visual narratives (stories told visually), bearing witness to the interests of the books’ owners. This study investigates how artists, working with *libraires* (booksellers) devised new cycles of illustration for the *Eracles*. A careful analysis of how artists employed distinctive visual vocabulary to adapt stock scenes or create new ones in order to shape image cycles of the *Eracles* manuscripts will allow me to understand which elements reflect the artists’ workshop practice and which may be specifically and intentionally included in the manuscripts and hence, may respond to the true interest of the books’ owners. In beginning this research, I have benefitted enormously from Jaroslav Folda’s 1968 dissertation, which catalogue every

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13 The study was an early portion of her dissertation research which is yet to be published. Jessica Dobratz, “Conception and Reception of William of Tyre’s *Livre d’Eracles* in 15th-century Burgundy,” in “Als Ich Can”: *Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. by Bert Cardon and others, 2 vols (Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2002), 1: 583–609.
illustration in the corpus of William of Tyre manuscripts and allowed me to compare scenes chosen for illustration accurately by book and chapter of the text. I discovered that, when the artists were constructing a new *Eracles* manuscript, they at times used very standard illuminations like marriages, deaths, coronations, anonymous battles, and councils. These standard images could be easily slotted in by the artist whenever appropriate events occur, particularly when they occur at the first chapter of a textual book, where illuminations are most frequently positioned in the *Eracles* corpus. At times illuminators used completely new or rare scene choices that required a close reading of the chronicle narrative to develop the composition. These are the instances that reveal an active choice by some indeterminable combination of the artist, the *libraire*, and the patron.

To understand the manuscripts’ reception, this study also considers manuscripts of the *Eracles* in the context of the libraries in which they resided, considering which other books in these patrons’ collections reveal a related interest in the crusades through their texts and illumination cycles. I also will utilize the historical evidence regarding the actual lives and practices of these men to determine to what extent the *Eracles* echoes their interests in and engagement with the general chivalric (for example, tournaments) and political (such as diplomatic missions) court culture or the Burgundian crusade in particular. Each owner responded to the mission of crusade with varying levels of commitment, thus it is not surprising that their *Eracles* manuscripts and larger book collections may reflect their vision of crusade as falling somewhere on the spectrum from a real possibility to an imagined gesture. Secondary

14 Jaroslav Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre.”
research into the rich collections of published chronicles by contemporary observers such as
Olivier de la Marche and Mathieu d’Escouchy have assisted me in these historical inquiries.\(^\text{15}\)

Chapter one shows that Jean V of Créquy held a sincere interest in the crusades, choosing
the longest and more historical form for his *Eracles* text (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F), the Acre
continuation, and an illumination cycle that demonstrates a close reading of the text to create a
sophisticated visualization of the chronicle for him before he personally voyaged to the Holy
Land. Furthermore, his library demonstrates a sustained interest in the crusades. Chapter two
shows that Wolfert VI of Borssele’s densely illuminated and luxurious *Eracles* manuscript
(Geneva, Bdg, Ms. fr. 85), which was continued to 1231, focuses the reader’s attention on
historical characters and events that reflected fifteenth-century Burgundian crusading interests
through original scene choices, using visualizations of the events surrounding the reclamation of
Jerusalem as a way of bringing to the fore the contemporary problem of Ottoman occupied
Constantinople. Wolfert VI’s *Eracles* indicates an active interest in crusade although he was far
too engaged in tamping down local revolts to participate in any battles in foreign lands himself.
Chapter three argues that Louis of Gruuthuse’s *Eracles* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68) contained a
smaller, rapidly produced illumination cycle that functioned more like an *object d’art* than a
nuanced visual narrative. Even though the illumination cycle displays some intellectual and
artistic effort to devise images concentrated on chivalric crusading heroes and miniatures which
may have referenced elements of Louis’s personal experiences, Louis’ subsequent actions and

\(^{15}\) Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche, Maitre d’hôtel et Capitaine des Garde de Charles le
Téméraire*; publiés pour la Société de l’histoire de France par Henri Beaune et J. D’Arbaumont, 4 vols. (Paris:
manuscript collecting do not demonstrate a great deal of crusade focused activity. Chapter four interprets Edward IV’s royal *Eracles* as a departure from the copies previously examined that were made for Burgundian nobility, because the artists who planned its illuminations expressly highlighted English crusading valor and portrayed propagandistically ideal visions of kingship.

Each of the four manuscript cycles differ and express their patrons’ diverse levels of engagement with the fifteenth-century crusade in nuanced ways. Therefore this study’s contribution is, first, to distinguish these four manuscripts from one another to show how each communicates differently and specifically to its owner. Second, it demonstrates, through its analysis of the historical narratives chosen for further attention through illumination, the reception of the *Eracles* history in the fifteenth-century. Third, it provides a fuller understanding of the owners of the *Eracles* manuscripts and how consideration of their biographic data can assist in the interpretation of their manuscript commissions’ reception. This analysis of reception thereby complicates our sense of the crusade culture in the court of Burgundy as not simply disseminated by the duke and then reproduced by his entourage, but rather unequally embraced depending on the person in question and the historical opportunities available to him. Finally, this study advances the study of Flemish art history through its detailed examination of artists’ visual vocabulary and narrative methods, shifting the historical question from one of connoisseurship to one of means of communication, invention and manipulation of visual tradition.
II. Historical Context

These *Eracles* manuscripts were produced at a turbulent time in the east. In the fifteenth century the Ottoman Turks led by Murad II (r. 1421–51) and Mehmet II (r. 1451–81) swept across Europe conquering Byzantine and eastern European territories in large swaths, reaching the Balkans by the 1440s. By 1453 Mehmet II’s forces took possession of Constantinople, followed by Albania and Greece.\(^{16}\) In response, western leaders began to organize a new crusade. The fifteenth-century crusade propaganda against the Ottoman threat often used the vocabulary of earlier crusades, returning to familiar calls to rescue the Holy Land, even if the present threat was in Eastern Europe.\(^{17}\) Although the contemporary occupied city was Constantinople, crusade activists, such as Pope Pius II, framed their appeals as seeking rescue for the Holy Land, with Constantinople standing in for the ancient crusading goal of Jerusalem. A comparable metaphorical association between the early crusaders’ reclamation of Jerusalem and the fifteenth-century desire to regain Constantinople and push back the Ottoman threat developed in one case in the renewed illuminated translation of a twelfth-century crusade chronicle, the *Eracles*.\(^{18}\)

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17 Tyerman, *God’s War*, 844.

The popes were the strongest proponents for a renewed crusade against the Ottomans. In the early 1440s, Eugenius IV (r. 1431–47) gave funds and helped to organize secular rulers’ forces to defend the Balkans. After the Ottomans captured Constantinople, Calixtus III (r. 1455–58) authorized crusade preaching and fundraising, persuading rulers such as Alfonso V of Anjou and Emperor Frederick III to take the cross; Calixtus recovered territories in the Aegean in 1456–57. In the summer of 1459, Pius II (r. 1458–65) held a congress at Mantua to debate the question of mounting a crusade with what he hoped would be representatives from all the western principalities. At this congress he expressed his fear that the Ottomans were threatening the borders of the Holy Roman empire and that Italy and the rest of western Christendom could be next. He asked the attendees to “defend the Church” and described Constantinople’s holy places as being “polluted,” even invoking first crusade heroes like Godefroy of Bouillon, who recovered Jerusalem in 1099, and the papal leader of the first crusade, Urban II. Unfortunately, the congress was sparsely attended. Although those who were present voted affirmatively on a crusade, none developed. Afterwards Pius II decided that if he wanted a crusade to happen he would have to take the cross himself and go. He declared

20 Tyerman, God’s War, 865, 869.
21 Tyerman, God’s War, 870.
24 Tyerman, God’s War, 870.
war on the Ottomans (22 October 1463), took the cross (18 June 1464), and reached Ancona (August 1464) but then quickly died, ending the crusade before it started.

The Burgundian Crusade

The Burgundian Duke, Philip the Good (r. 1419–67), was one of the most adamant secular supporters of the crusade, often assisting the popes’ efforts through provisions of soldiers, boats and money. Philip was interested in leading a crusade to the Holy Land throughout his reign, but he became more urgently involved in campaigning for a crusade after the fall of Constantinople. Philip’s contemporaries, including Pope Pius II, saw him as a potentially important crusading figure because after the fourteenth century, both France and England had lost interest in crusading due to continued conflict between one another, leaving Burgundy to independently pursue its dedication to the Holy Land.

The Order of the Golden Fleece

Philip’s support of a new crusade began in 1430 when he established a Burgundian chivalric order, the Order of the Golden Fleece, and invited crusade enthusiasts like Jean

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25 Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 397.


Germain and Guillaume Fillastre to join the order and to speak to its knights on the subject. In the order’s statutes, the knights were charged to “defend, maintain, or reestablish the dignity, state and liberty of our mother holy Church...” There were twenty-four members of the order at any given time who were from “among the gentry of Artois, French-speaking Flanders, and the two Burgundies” and were bound to take up the cross if ever Philip decided to do so himself. The duke first presented his crusade plan to the order in 1451. In 1456 the knights of the Golden Fleece jointly wrote a letter to the King of France, Charles VII (r. 1422–61), regarding a proposed crusade. All four collectors at the center of my study shared knighthood in the order: Jean V of Créquy was inducted in the order’s founding in 1430, Louis of Gruuthuse in 1461, Edward IV in 1468 and Wolfert VI of Borssele in 1478.

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28 Scholars have pointed out that the order was as much a political tool to inspire loyalty to the duke in his nobles of disparate territories as much as it was a group dedicated to the reclamation of the Holy Land. Vaughan, Philip the Good, 57, 296; Tyerman, God’s War, 860; Michel Pastoureau, “Un nouvel ordre de chevalerie,” in Pierre Cockshaw and Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, eds. L’ordre de la Toison d’or de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430–1505), 65–66; Jacques Paviot, “L’ordre de la Toison d’or et la Croisade,” in Cockshaw and Van den Bergen-Pantens, eds. L’ordre de la Toison d’or, 72–73.

29 “...pout deffendre, maintenir ou restablir la dignité, estat et liberté de nostre mère saincte Église ...”; Paviot, “L’ordre de la Toison d’or et la Croisade,” 71.

30 Vaughan, Philip the Good, 57.

31 Mooodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 117.

32 The letter was written 21 June 1456. Jean V of Créquy was a member of the order at the time and so would have signed it, though I have yet to find a list of the signatories. Vaughan, Philip the Good, 367 and n1; Urbain Plancher, Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne, 4 vols., (Dijon, 1739–81), 4: 288.

The Feast of the Pheasant

Following the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, Philip tried to mount a crusade and orchestrated a grand event — the well-known Feast of the Pheasant (Lille, 17 February 1454) — to persuade his followers to take the cross. Entertainments for this feast were extravagant, including singers and actors portraying the story of Jason, the order’s mythical founder, and the Golden Fleece. During the feast, a personification of Holy Church asked the duke to save the Holy Land. This figure (court historian Olivier de la Marche in a dress and wimple) rode into the room inside a castle posed on the back of a fake elephant, which was led in by a giant who was dressed as a Saracen. De la Marche later wrote that the elephant represented Constantinople, the lady was Holy Church and the Saracen represented the Turks. This bit of theatre provided Philip and over one hundred of his knights and courtiers, including many members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the opportunity to “spontaneously” vow to rescue Constantinople. Moodey suggests that the personification of Holy Church effectively transformed the entire party into a “romance, in which the arrival of the mysterious beleaguered maiden at a banquet...signaled the beginning of a quest,” a quest then taken up by the knights.


35 De la Marche, Mémoires, ed. J. A. C. Buchon (Paris, 1836), 494–96; Tyerman, God’s War, 860 and 981n72; Vaughan, Philip the Good, 144–45. This is a letter written by J. De Pleine from Lille, 22 February, 1454.

36 Vaughan cautions, however, that many of those taking vows were doing so under the influence of a great deal of alcohol rather than an honest zest for crusading, as evidenced by outlandish clauses in their vows. For example, Sir Philippe Pot “vowed not to wear armour on his right arm till he met the Saracens in battle,” in Philip the Good, 143–44, 298.
present in the room. Three of the Eracles patrons were present at this feast. Jean V of Créquy participated by reading a script for the figure of “Grâce-Dieu,” God’s Grace, asking for a holy voyage against the Turks. He vowed that after hearing the pitiable complaint of Holy Church, he would put his resources into the service of the duke, whenever it was necessary to make the holy voyage. Wolfert VI sat with the other young elites of his generation, such as Charles the Bold and Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy. Like the other attendees, Wolfert VI vowed to join the duke’s army and to provide funding if ever Philip the Good or Charles the Bold

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37 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 136.

38 De la Marche, Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche, 2:372; D’Escouchy, Chronique, 2:229; De Smedt, ed. Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVᵉ siècle, 52.

39 "Je ay ouy et entendu la pitoyable complainte de nostre mere Saincte Eglise, dont mon cuer a receu amere et doloureuse desplaisance; mais quant j'ay sceu le voeu de mon tres redoubte seigneur, celle douleur s'est ainsi comme cessée ou adoulcie pour la grant espoir que je ay qu'aucung bon et sainct fruit s'en ensuyvra; et combien que chose que faire puisse pourroit peu proffiter et valoir à la ressource et grant desolacion d'icelle, neantmoins, pour ce qu'avecques les grans princes de la chrestienté raison est qu'elle soit secourue et servie à sa necessité des moyens et des petit, je voue aux dames et au faisant que, moyennant la grace de nostre benoist Createur et de sa benoiste mere, au cas que les besoingnes et affaires de mondit très redoubte seigneur pourront souffrir qu'il entreprenne le saint voyaige dont en son voeu est faicte mencion, et il luy plaist moy recepvoir en sa compaignie, je me mectray en son service, à mes despens, en tel etat et compaignie de gentilzhommes et autres que bonne et si faire pourray, selon les biens que Dieu m'a donnez; et m'y employerai en telle façon, à mon povoir, que j'ay espoir que Dieu et le mond seront de moy contans; pourveu toutesvoyes que lors ne soye empesché de mon corps; et s'il advenoit que Dieu ne vullle, y envoieray, tant de gentilzhommes comme autres, en tel et si grant nombre que la faculté de ma chevance pourra pourter." De la Marche, Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche, 2:387.

40 He sat at the second great table and also took part in a masquerade. De la Marche, Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche, 2:378, D’Escouchy, Chronique, 2:141, 236.
successfully mounted a crusading force. Louis of Gruthuse vowed to commit his body and wealth equally to the service of the duke’s crusade.

Military Action

In 1444–45 Philip the Good had already sent Burgundian ships against the Ottomans in the Black Sea. In April of 1454 Philip attended the imperial diet at Regensburg to discuss the crusade. In 1456 a thorough logistical crusading plan was created to help the duke anticipate the supplies and costs involved in the proposed voyage. Philip repeated his crusade vow in 1462 when Pius II began to organize his personal crusade. Philip actively began to gather the supplies needed for war, including tents, banners, soldiers and ships. In 1464, he announced

41 “Je fais veu à Dieu, aux dames et au faisant, que ou cas que mon très redoubté seigneur, monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne, entreprenra le saint voiage, je le servirai de mon corps, et emploieray telle chevance qu’il plaira à monseigneur mon père me donner; et, s’il advenoit que les affairez de mon très redoubté seigneur fussent que oudit saint voiage ne p pussent aler; et mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le comte de Charolois, ou mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le comte d’Estampes y allassent, pareillement les serviray oudit saint voyage de mon corps et de ma chevance, comme dessus est dit, et aussi que tout ce que dessus est dit soit le bon paisir de mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc.” D’Escouchy, Chronique, 2:170.

42 “Gruthuse veue à Dieu, à Nostre-Dame, aux dames au faisant, que ou cas que mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne emprengne de aler ou saint voyage, je le serviray de mon corps et de ma chevance; et sil lui plait, de sa grace, de moy ordonner et faire cest honneur de estre aveuc lui, je me habandonneray jusques à la mort; et pareillement feray en tous autres voyages où monseigneur sera. Et sil advenoit que les affaires de mondit seigneur fussent telz que oudit saint voyage ne peust aler; et que mon très redoubté seigneur, monseigneur de Charolois ou monseigneur d’Estampes y allassent, pareillement que dessus, le serviray oudit saint voyage au plaisir de Dieu et de Nostre-Dame, je feray ce que dit est, ou cas que je naye maladie ou ensonne, par quoy je ne puissse faire ledit veu, et que ce soit le bon plaisir et congîe de mondit très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne.” D’Escouchy, Chronique 2:187–88; Joseph van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse; suivies de la notice des manuscrits qui lui ont appartenu, et dont la plus grade partie se conserve à la Bibliothèque du roi (Paris: De Bure Frères, 1831), 4.

43 Tyerman, God’s War, 861.

44 Tyerman, God’s War, 865.

45 Vaughan, Philip the Good, 360–65.


47 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 164–69.
his intention to finally go on the anticipated crusade, but then appointed his son Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy, to take his place.\textsuperscript{48} Anthony and his company were detained in Marseille where the plague laid low many of his men and news of Pius II’s death discouraged further progress.\textsuperscript{49} Anthony thus returned to Burgundy, a crusade did not occur, and scholars have since wondered how serious Philip’s courtiers were in their vows to take the cross.\textsuperscript{50} The subsequent Burgundian Duke, Charles the Bold, for example, was much less dedicated to his father’s crusading effort, though in 1472 he did sign a treaty with Venice in which he agreed to provide funds to help in the fight against the Turks.\textsuperscript{51} When, at a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Valenciennes in 1473, representatives from Naples, Venice and the Vatican asked at the order’s chapter meeting for Burgundy to follow Philip the Good’s intentions to go on crusade, Charles the Bold replied that he intended to do so as long as his territories were secure and there was peace among the Christian princes.\textsuperscript{52}

It is important, considering the above historical data, to understand that the four Eracles owners under direct consideration here did not have equal opportunity to participate in Burgundian crusade preparations (see also Appendix B: Chronology, pp. 226–28). The most sincere efforts at crusade were asserted by Philip the Good, who died in 1467. Jean of Créquy was the most implicated in Philip the Good’s crusade program, being the only Eracles owner of


\textsuperscript{49} Moodey, \textit{Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy}, 168–69.

\textsuperscript{50} Moodey, “Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy,” 227.

\textsuperscript{51} Paviot, “L’ordre de la Toison d’or et la Croisade,” 74.

Philip’s generation, a founding knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, one of Philip’s close advisors and one of the knights of the Golden Fleece that Philip sent to the Holy Land. His Eracles was commissioned in the 1440s during Philip’s early crusade planning. All the other owners were also knights of the order, but were younger by far, being of Duke Charles the Bold’s generation. The next Eracles created was for Wolfert VI in the 1460s, right at the time of major international efforts to push back on Ottoman advances, yet also during problematic regional strife in the Burgundian territories, like the Ghent war and the siege of Dinant. By the time Louis of Gruuthuse’s Eracles was made in the 1470s, Pope Pius II’s crusade had failed and Charles the Bold’s political agenda was otherwise directed. King Edward IV had his own country’s complicated political unrest to stabilize and so leaving his throne to go on crusade must have been an impossible consideration.

The Order of the Golden Fleece tied all of these men together, and yet ceased to push its younger members toward crusade action in its later years. The order thus served as a social means by which these men could interact and share knowledge, perhaps of manuscript titles of interest, like the Eracles. Between the time that Jean V of Créquy’s Eracles was made in the 1440s and Edward IV’s was made ca. 1480, the crusading ideal had changed, becoming less a reality and more a romantic notion, and the Eracles’ illumination cycles of this era manifest this relative shift in connection to Philip the Good’s crusade project over time.
The Duke’s Library

Elizabeth Moodey’s recent monograph, based on her dissertation, investigates how Philip’s active promotion of the crusades led him to commission texts chronicling travel to the Holy Land. Many of these books were histories (a genre of popular interest to the Burgundian court) that specifically highlighted his Burgundian ancestors, like Godefroy of Bouillon, even to the exclusion of more strictly French crusading heroes like St. Louis. Texts like the Chronique de Hainaut and the Eracles highlight Burgundian crusaders in a manner flattering to the current Burgundian dukes. As was typical practice in the fifteenth century, many of these texts are illustrated in a manner that sets the ancient conquests in fifteenth-century Flemish landscapes and costume, therefore visually collapsing the space between the ancient Burgundian crusaders and Philip’s fifteenth-century court. Barrois’s edition of the 1467 inventory of Philip the Good’s library shows that the duke kept many of his books in conceptual categories: bonnes mœurs, croniques, livres de gestes, librarie meslée, and oultre-mer. Philip’s library placed his at least three copies of the Eracles history in the oultre-mer category, along with other texts regarding voyages abroad, such as Mandeville’s Voyages, and texts about formidable Muslim enemies such as Salehadin et de la Prinse de Constantinoble, rather than with croniques. The category of bonnes mœurs contained histories of Alexander, Jason and the Golden Fleece, and Godefroy of Bouillon, King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, thus heroes who exemplified

53 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy.
54 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 19–20, 242–43.
55 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 34–37.
56 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 85 and n38. Barrois no. 1453–1774, no. 1455–1773, no. 1543–1715. Doutrepont, La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne, 263.
positive moral attributes. Some texts inhabited more than one category, such as Jean Mansel, *La Fleur des histoires*, which was classified in both the *croniques* and *oultre-mer* categories. Such overlap supports Moodey’s contention that genre in fifteenth-century Burgundian history writing was fluid. Histories were romanticized to be more entertaining and romances were given historical roots in Philip the Good’s northern territories, for example in the *Gillion de Trazegnies* (Los Angeles, JPGM, Ms. 111) in which a nobleman from Hainaut leaves for crusade and ends up marrying a sultan’s daughter.

III. Textual History

The *Eracles* was popular in the Latin East as well as western Europe and was frequently illustrated, especially in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in France. The lack of extant manuscripts produced after the early fourteenth century suggests that people lost interest in the text until the mid-fifteenth century in the duchy of Burgundy, where it experienced a focused renaissance of sorts.57 The four manuscripts at the center of my study date from this later revival and contain two forms of the chronicle text. All four contain the French translation of William of Tyre’s history and then three contain the *Eracles* continuation through the year 1231, and one (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483) appends the *Acre* continuation up to 1275.58

The chronicle began as William, Archbishop of Tyre’s Latin crusade history, the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* or the *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*,


composed between 1167 and 1184 in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.59 In the early thirteenth century an anonymous person translated William’s text into Old French, adding to the end of the Historia a history written by a contemporary called Ernoul that continued through the year 1231, and integrating additional original material.60 This text is known as the Eracles, because the text begins with the story of the Emperor Heraclius who returned the True Cross to Jerusalem in 628. It is the basis of the text that is copied into each fifteenth-century Burgundian Eracles manuscript.61 In the act of translating William’s text and compiling it with other materials the translator made changes appropriate to his audience,62 which, because of the vernacular text and a special emphasis on Capetian crusaders, scholars like Bernard Hamilton and Josh H. Pryor

59 The text is an amalgam of three histories William was working on simultaneously for Amaury, the King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: the Gesta Amalrici regis, the Gesta Hieresolymitarorum regum, and the Gesta orientalium principum. Babcock and Krey, Introduction, 1:27.

William circulated a few copies of his history in 1182 for critique and then made revisions to it in 1184, the endpoint of his narrative. However, none of the nine extant manuscripts of the Latin text are from this first version of the text. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:9; These are all dated from the thirteenth century, Babcock and Krey, Introduction, 1:39.


62 Scholars have compared William’s Latin text to the Old French translation in order to hypothesize about the identity of the author as well as his reading audience. The author for the Eracles was, based on his inclusions into the text and his choice of words for translation, an educated, French cleric who personally visited the Holy Land. John H. Pryor, “The Eracles and William of Tyre: An Interim Report,” 277, 293.
argue to be lay and from north-central France. Shading the text towards his lay audience’s interests, the translator embellished battle scenes, adding more emotion to various episodes to increase the text’s narrative interest, luring the reader with exciting adventures. Although the purpose of William’s text was to explain the danger that the Holy Land was in during his lifetime to solicit help from western leaders, Hamilton suggests that the Old French translation changed this urgent plea into a pleasant “chivalresque epic,” while Pryor describes it as a “prose version of a chanson de geste.” The Eracles continuation is thus, on one level, an entertaining, romantic literary escape, and it is this continuation that is found in the manuscripts belonging to Wolfert VI of Borssele (Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85), Louis of Gruuthuse (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68) and King Edward IV of England (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i).

The fourth and earliest manuscript, belonging to Jean V of Créquy (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F), contains a longer historical addition referred to as the Acre continuation because it was originally composed in the city of Acre in the Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century. This continuation was tacked on to the Eracles continuation, beginning in 1229 and extending to

63 Many of the translator’s changes increased the entertainment value of the text for a lay, western audience, including some simplifications and updates to William’s text. For example he removed William’s first person references to himself, he changed dates from kalends, nones, and ides to dating by church feast days, he eliminated William’s classical allusions and deleted his ecclesiastical and chancery jargon. Hamilton, “The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an historical source,” 94–97; Pryor, “The Eracles and William of Tyre,” 272, 276.

64 For example, he anticipated their lack of patience with, and so deleted, William’s moralizing passages where William ascribes losses in battle to the sins of the westerners and criticizes the bad behavior of the Latin kingdom’s rulers. Hamilton, “The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an historical source,” 96–97, 100; Pryor, “The Eracles and William of Tyre,” 275.

Davis notes this translation may have altered William’s text, but that it “preserved the general sense of his book intact.” R.H.C. Davis, “William of Tyre,” 73.


The continuation text is written in a less romanticized form, highlighting in a complex way the negotiations between groups of crusaders and their Muslim enemies and including a description of St. Louis’s crusading story, beginning at his sickbed vow to take the cross and continuing through his trip to Cyprus. After the year 1248, another author intervenes and the form of the history becomes more like a list of notes. For the most part, the variations in the texts of the continuations do not affect the scenes selected for illustration in the Eracles manuscripts. All four of the manuscripts share the same text until the year 1229, the point at which the Acre continuation picks up in the Amiens manuscript. For purposes of this analysis the textual content of the manuscripts is similar up to the year 1229. After that point it is only the Amiens manuscript that contains an additional miniature to illustrate its unique continuation.

IV. Illumination History

The general illumination history of the Eracles has been well discussed by Jaroslav Folda, but I offer a summary here to provide a context for my study of the fifteenth-century copies. There are fifty-seven extant copies of the Eracles in French, of which forty-four are illustrated. Of these illuminated copies, twenty-three are from the thirteenth century, fifteen are from the fourteenth century and six are from the fifteenth century. Twenty-three illustrated

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68 Shirley, Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century, 4.

69 St. Louis vowing to go on crusade on his deathbed, f. 238, Book 33:58.

70 Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer.”
examples were made in France, eleven in Flanders, seven in the Holy Land, two in Italy, and, possibly, one in England.

The typical approach to planning the placement of illuminations for the Eracles is to position one at the beginning of each major textual division, or book, of which there are twenty-two of William of Tyre’s original text and twelve additional possible continuation books. Thirty-four Eracles manuscripts use this approach. Another possibility is to position the miniatures at other points in the text to which the manuscript’s makers would like to draw attention. The fifteenth-century Flemish examples represent two different placement structures. Three (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045 and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68) position the illuminations at the start of book divisions for the most part, while two (Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 and London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i) are more heavily illuminated with miniatures positioned throughout each book at important textual moments, as well as at book divisions. The final, French, fifteenth-century example (Paris, BF, Ms. fr. 2629) regroups the text into different textual groups from those of William of Tyre, but each illumination is positioned at the head of a book.

The overwhelming majority of scenes in the overall corpus of illuminated Eracles manuscripts express the general themes of a chronicle such as this: battles and sieges, coronations, marriages and deaths. Often, the iconography for these events is non-specific: a battle could represent any battle, a marriage any marriage, etc. Artists often found opportunities to portray more specific stories, the iconography for which was transmitted between artists, becoming models for illuminations even into the fifteenth century. The fifteenth-century Flemish examples all contain the typical illuminations, like battles and coronations, as well as a number
of more specific narratives passed down through the illumination tradition, like the Prince of Antioch and Count of Edessa playing games rather than fighting with the Byzantine Emperor at the Siege of Shayzar (book fifteen, chapter one) and Raynaud of Châtillon torturing the Patriarch of Antioch by hanging him naked from a tower covered in honey so that he was attacked by bees (book eighteen, chapter one).

Certain Gothic examples of Eracles manuscripts are possible candidates as either direct or indirect iconographic models for the fifteenth-century group because they share similar iconography with a high frequency. For instance, a manuscript painted by the Fauvel Master (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, Paris, 1337) reappears throughout this study as containing miniatures with a strong iconographic resemblance to those in the fifteenth-century copies. This manuscript was in the collection of the Duke of Nemours, Jacques d’Armagnac, in the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth it was in the collection of the Croy family, which was closely associated with the Burgundian dukes during the fifteenth century. Gothic Eracles copies circulating in the Burgundian territories included one that was in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy by the 1467 inventory (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93, Hainaut, ca. 1292–95), one in the library of the Abbey of St. Bertin in St. Omer (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142, Acre, ca. 1287) and another, many of the illuminations of which have been cut out, was in the Abbey of St. Vaast in Arras (Arras, BM, Ms. 651, Picardy, ca. 1300), the last two of which entered their libraries at unknown dates. Another example was, in the seventeenth-century, in the possession of Louis of Gand, Vilain of Mérode in Flanders (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22496, 22497, Paris, ca. 1350).
As my more detailed analysis in each of the following four chapters will show, all the four fifteenth-century Flemish manuscripts discussed also construct completely new and unique iconography to represent narratives of newfound interest. Their artists added new details to traditional iconography to create fresh approaches to established stories. In addition, the miniature cycles of these Flemish Eracles amplify certain themes and characters by visually linking them through iconography or by including multiple miniatures to provide them a fuller narrative arc.

The artists who created these miniatures cross geographic boundaries and generations, but all worked for the Dukes of Burgundy and their most distinguished and noble advisors. Interestingly, art historians have argued that the Créquy Master (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483F), Simon Marmion (whose atelier is linked to Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85), and Loyset Liédet (whose atelier is linked to both Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68) all were influenced by the style of the Mansel Master. Furthermore, Loyset Liédet and his atelier was known to collaborate at times with the Master of Edward IV who painted with the atelier of the Master of the Flemish Boethius (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i). Therefore, it is possible that knowledge of the Eracles history circulated not only among the owners of Eracles manuscripts but through this network of artists. Iconographic linkages between both the Amiens and Paris copies and the London copy, to be discussed throughout the study, demonstrate some sharing of iconographic models between this group of artists.

Although much of this study’s aim is to disambiguate these four Eracles manuscripts and their patrons, they are still a related group. They share essentially the same history and were
made for men that were related through social and blood ties. However, they are most linked through the artistic approaches to their illumination. The Flemish style of illumination unites these four as a group, including placing the activity of outdoor scenes placed in rolling hills that dissipate into blue skies, with small background figures fading away into the distance, architectural interiors that attempt to place figures within a logical and well appointed space, figures that wear extravagant costumes and head ornaments and stand before lavish tapestries, and eye-catching use of a wide palette of saturated colors. The artists all, to a greater or lesser degree, were able to convey specific textual details in their compositions that betray thoughtful research into the chronicle’s text. They also all demonstrate a strong inclination to provide the reader with extended visual narratives that can be followed across the chronicles as their pages are turned. It is thus for these reasons that I am considering these four Eracles copies as a group.
Nobleman Jean V of Créquy lived an honorable life at the highest echelons of the Burgundian court, taking part in chivalric entertainments as well as events directed at the organization of a Burgundian crusade. His aristocratic manuscript library provides further evidence of his interest in the crusades as a subject for textual as well as visual rumination. His ownership of the *Eracles* underlines that interest, and the particular version of the text that he commissioned, the continuation written in the Latin Kingdom’s city of Acre, and highlights further his interest in eastern perspectives. The association between the Order of the Golden Fleece and crusading pursuits is made explicit in Jean’s *Eracles* through the presence of the order’s collar surrounding his armorial escutcheon on the frontispiece. Furthermore, the illumination cycle in Jean V’s *Eracles* manuscript demonstrates concentrated research in and coordination with the text to construct the first fifteenth-century Burgundian cycle with fresh and narratively detailed miniatures that feature the valor of Godefroy of Bouillon and the Christians abroad. In particular, three pairs of miniatures express through iconographic inversion, dignified leadership and then its subversion, overthrow, or loss for different Byzantine, Egyptian and crusader leaders.
Jean V of Créquy

Jean V of Créquy (ca. 1395/1400–7 September 1472) was Lord of Créquy and Canaples, which was in Artois and Picardie, a Burgundian-held region between France and Flanders. He was a counselor, chamberlain and diplomat for Duke Philip the Good and a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Jean V was a general who fought in many of Philip the Good’s wars, including the battle of Compiègne (1430), where the Burgundian army captured Joan of Arc, and against the Ghent rebellion (1450), and he continued to serve Philip the Good’s son, Charles the

71 Jean V was born to Jean IV of Créquy (d. 1411) and Jeanne Quieret of Moutonvilliers in the area around Hesdin. He married twice, first to Marguerite of Bours and then in 1446 to Louise of La Tour d’Auvergne (d. 1469) with whom he had the following children: Jean VI, Jacques, François, Louis, Bertrand, Charles, Louise and Jacqueline. Jean V renovated his family’s chateau at Fressin, outside of Hesdin, which today is in ruins, destroyed by the army of emperor Charles V. He also owned property near Amiens. P. Anselme, Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison de france, 3rd ed., (Paris, 1730) 6: 782–83; Mario Damen, De Staat van dienst. De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482), (Hilversum: Historische Vereniging; Verloren, 2000), 453; De Smedt, ed., Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVᵉ siècle, 51–53 and 68–69 (Schnerb); Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, 9 (1961), 1214–15 (M. Prevost); Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 309; Charity Cannon Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court: Jean V de Créquy and His Wife, Louise de la Tour,” 57, 62; Rogier Rodière and Abel Pintel, “Notice sur le Château de Fressin,” Bulletin de la Commission départementale des monuments historiques de Pas-de-Calais 4 (1926): n4; Pierre-André Wimet, “Une ruine romantique: le Château de Fressin,” Revue de Boulogne-sur-Mer (July–August 1966): 781–89; Smeyers, L’Art de la miniature flamande du VIIᵉ au XVIᵉ siècle, 334.

72 Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 309.
Jean was inducted as the twenty-third knight of the Golden Fleece at its formation in 1430.

Known for his love of chivalric pursuits, Jean often attended tournaments in which his nephew, the well-known knight Jacques of Lalaing, took part. At the celebration of Charles the Bold’s marriage to Catherine of France (1439), Jean V served as the “entrepreneur” (director) of the celebratory tournament at Saint-Omer. In a joust against the bastard of Bearn in Bruges (1445), Jean appeared on horseback in the arms of Lancelot du Lac as a part of Jacques of Lalaing’s retinue, and he was present in the audience at the Passage of the Fountain of Tears at Chalon-sur-Saône (1450).

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73 For example, in 1470, Charles sent him to Amiens, which was within Jean’s territory, to thank the citizens for remaining loyal to Burgundy and not switching their loyalties to the French king. He was widely revered throughout the court, as George Chastellain, in his “Dépréciation pour Pierre de Bréze” described him as follows:

O Créquy, honorable knight, knight studded with virtues, where all distinction of a noble man is embodied, who is made wise by nature and by books, and after having shown sympathy to many cases of old histories of those you haven’t known, don’t you complain now of the present time, which you who were so outstanding in your own time must view with dismay.


Jean V was also, with Guillaume of Lalaing (his brother-in-law), both Isabella of Portugal’s and Isabelle of Bourbon’s ‘chevalier d’honneur’ (1445–49 and after 1458 respectively). Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 309; Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court,” 55.

74 Later, Jean V was charged with personally presenting the collar of the Golden Fleece, worn by each of its inducted knights, to King John II of Aragon (1461) and King Edward IV of England (ca. Easter 1469). De Smedt, Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVᵉ siècle, 51; Georges Chastellain, Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'histoire de france. Oeuvres Historiques Inédites de Sire George Chastellain, ed. by J.A.C. Buchon, (Paris: A. Desrez, Libraire-Éditeur, 1837), 172; Jehan de Wavrin, Anchiennes chroniques d'Engleterre, 2:394; Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court,” 59.

75 De Smedt, Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVᵉ siècle, 52.

76 De la Marche, Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche, 2:123–24, 133, 185; De Smedt, Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVᵉ siècle, 52.
Jean V’s recorded life provides evidence of his personal interest in the crusades. His ancestors, including a Raoul of Créquy, may have fought in the first crusade.\textsuperscript{77} Significantly, Jean went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land (ca. 1448–50) with other members of the Golden Fleece and a larger retinue of knights and noblemen, returning to Europe via Rome where he received “\textit{le saint pardon}.”\textsuperscript{78} He played an important role at the Feast of the Pheasant (Lille, 17 February 1454) by reading a script for the figure of “Grâce-Dieu,” who asked for a holy voyage against the Turks.\textsuperscript{79} Later, he stated that hearing the pitiable complaint of Holy Church pained his heart and that he hoped the Christian princes would come to her aid, and then he vowed that he would put his body and resources into the duke’s service whenever it was necessary to make the holy voyage.\textsuperscript{80} Thus, not only did he vow to go on crusade, he also joined the duke in asking

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\textsuperscript{77} The \textit{Chanson de Raoul, Sire de Créquy} (1770) is probably based on the Seigneur of Créquy also known as Radulf, son of Gerard and father of Baudouin II. P. Anselme, \textit{Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison de france}, 3rd ed., (Paris, 1730), 779; Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court,” 56.


\textsuperscript{79} De la Marche, \textit{Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche}, 2: 372; Mathieu d’Escouchy, \textit{Chronique}, 2:229; De Smedt, \textit{Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle}, 52; Moodey, \textit{Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy} (1419–1467), 138.

\textsuperscript{80} Créquy’s vow is as follows: “Je ay ouy et entendu la pitoyable complainte de nostre mere Saincte Eglise, dont mon cuyer a receu amere et doloureuse desplaisance; mais quant j’ay sceu le voeu de mon très redoubté seigneur, celle douleur s’est ainsi comme cessée ou adoulcie pour la grant espoir que je ay qu’aucung bon et sainct fruit s’en ensuyvra; et combien que chose que faire puisse pourroit peu prouffiter et valoir à la ressource et grant desolacion d'icelle, neantmoins, pour ce qu'avecquies les grans princes de la chrestienté raison est qu'elle soit secourue et servie à sa necessité des moyens et des petitz, je voue aux dames et au faisant que, moyennant la grace de nostre benoist Createur et de sa benoiste mere, au cas que les besoingnes et affaires de mondít très redoubté seigneur pourront souffrir qu'il entreprende le sainct voyage dont en son voeu est faicte mencion, et il luy plaist moy recepvoir en sa compagnie, je me mectray en son service, à mes despens, en tel estat et campaignie de gentilzhommes et autres que bonnement faire pourray, selon les biens que Dieu m’a donnée; et m'y employerai en telle façon, à mon povoir, que j’ay espoir que Dieu et le mond seront de moy contans; pourveu toutesvoyes que lors ne soye empesché de mon corps; et s’il advenoit que Dieu ne vuille, y envoie ray, tant de gentilzhommes comme autres, en tel et si grant nombre que la faculté de ma chevance pourra pourter.” De la Marche, \textit{Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche}, 2:387.
others to help bring one to fruition. These facts demonstrate Jean V’s sincere interest in Burgundian chivalric culture and in the Holy Land, through his travels, his membership in the Order of the Golden Fleece, as well as his participation in the vow ceremonies at the Feast of the Pheasant.

**Manuscript Patronage**

Jean V’s library also demonstrates his interest in the east and the crusades as it includes multiple histories and even romances in his collection. These contextualize his ownership of the *Eracles.* Scholars have used Jean V’s armorial escutcheon bearing a stylized *créquier* (a wild plum indigenous to Artois, see Figs. 1.1, 1.5–1.8), in combination with colophons that mention him, and the hands of artists and scribes who worked for him to attribute manuscripts to his collection. He typically collected two physical categories of manuscripts: unillustrated text drafts on paper and luxury illuminated manuscripts on parchment. The paper drafts were texts he commissioned for his own or for Philip the Good’s use, with the duke often having deluxe illuminated manuscripts copied from Jean V’s drafts; in these productions Jean V served as a sort of literary advisor. He frequently commissioned David Aubert (active 1449–79), who resided in Hesdin, as his translator and scribe and it was often through Aubert that Jean provided texts to

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81 Jean V’s manuscript collection has been thoroughly studied in the following: Willard “Patrons at the Burgundian Court”; Gil “Le mécénat littéraire de Jean V de Créquy,” and “Du Maître du Mansel”; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 310–14.

82 The Créquy family device is “*nul ne s’y frotte; qui s’y frotte s’y pique,*” although it is rarely found in his manuscript commissions. Jean V’s son Jean VI’s library was inventoried after his death and it mentions his father’s library but most of Jean V’s volumes had already been dispersed by that date. Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court,” 56, 58; P. Tierney, “Inventaire après décès de Jean VI de Créquy au Château de Fressin (1515),” *Bulletin de la Commission départementale des monuments historiques de Pas-de-Calais* 5 (1927): 425–41.

the duke. A famous example is the *Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne* (Brussels, BrB, Ms 9066–68) which Aubert compiled for Philip the Good and which mentions Jean as having commissioned the manuscript. Jean V also hired scribes Raoul Lefèvre and Vasco da Lucena, who translated the *Histoire d’Alexandre* belonging to Charles the Bold.

Some of Jean’s unillustrated volumes contained eastern themes, for example the *Histoire d’Appollonius roy d’Antioche, de Tyr et de Ciresne* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20042), *Blancandin et l’Orguilleuse d’amours* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24371), which is an eastern adventure romance, and the *Roman de Gilles de Chin* (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 10237) about an ideal knight who fights in the Holy Land.

Illuminated volumes in his collection, several illustrated by the Créquy Master (active 1440–50) or the atelier of the Rambures Master (active 1454–80), also demonstrate Jean’s interest in the east and the crusades. He owned a three-volume *Chronique de Hainaut* (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 149, f. 1, 1455–60, vol. 1 and f. 39v, 1465–70, vol. 3, Fig. 1.1–1.2), the third volume of which shows the crusader Baldwin II of Hainaut killed near Antioch.

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84 Richard Gay dates David Aubert’s activity from 1449–79 and suggests he worked with Jean V from 1458, so he could not have been involved in the Eracles project, which took place ca. 1440–45. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 518 (Gay). Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court,” 59; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 312; Smeyers, *L’Art de la miniature flamande du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, 334.

85 This mention occurs in Ms. 9066 on f. 12. Another example of Vasco da Lucena and Jean V’s collaboration is the ducal copy of the *Roman de Florent et Octavien* (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 10387), which also mentions Jean in the dedication. Gil, “Le mécénat littéraire de Jean V de Créquy,” 77–78, 83, 94; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 312; Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court,” 59–60.


87 Jean’s wife Louise of La Tour owned a copy of the *Roman d’Hélène* (Lyon, BM, Ms. 767), a poem about the Byzantine emperor’s daughter, and the *Histoire des trois fils de rois* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1498), which featured battles against the Turks and was copied following the Feast of the Pheasant. Gil, “Le mécénat littéraire de Jean V de Créquy,” 77, 83–84.

88 For more on the Rambures Master’s oeuvre, see *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, 93–97; *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 255–57 and *Miniatures flamandes, 1404–1482*, 404–408.
during the first crusade (Fig. 1.2). He also had a *Fleur des histoires de la terre d’orient* (London, BL, Additional Ms. 17971, ff. 13v, 65, Amiens, ca. 1445–50, Fig. 1.3–1.4), which includes miniatures of the Persian army hunting the Romans and the Saracens conquering the Persians (Fig. 1.3) and of the author Hayton advising a crusader (Fig. 1.4). Jean’s *Roman de Mélusine* volume (London, BL, Harley Ms. 4418, ca. 1445–50, Fig. 1.5) shares the theme of crusade, taking up the subject of Mélusine, a half-woman, half-fairy hybrid who married Raymond of Lusignan, founder of the house of Lusignan and ancestor to the later king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan. The manuscript portrays several battles with Saracens throughout. Marc Gil notes that the character of Mélusine was linked strongly enough to the crusades to be used as a subject of one of the crusade-themed *entremets* (elaborate entertainment between courses, including symbolic displays and performances) at the Feast of the Pheasant. Coincidentally, at the time of the feast, John II, King of Cyprus, Prince of Lusignan, titular King of the Latin Kingdom (r. 1432–58), and supposed descendant of Mélusine and Raymond, actually came to the Burgundian court looking for help against the Ottomans. These examples demonstrate Jean V’s efforts to commission crusade-themed texts and miniatures for his library, showing that his *Eracles* took its place among related volumes.

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89 Vols. 1 and 3, the second volume is missing.


Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 483 F

Jean V’s Eracles (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F) was made ca. 1440–45 and is the earliest of the illustrated Eracles manuscripts in the fifteenth-century. It comprises 251 folios, and twenty-two miniature panels. This Eracles is distinctive because it is an example of the Acre continuation of William of Tyre’s Historia, in this case terminating in book thirty-four at the year 1274. Jean V’s manuscript is the only fifteenth-century illuminated example of this continuation, which was composed in the Latin Kingdom. Because the manuscript was commissioned before Jean V left on his trip to the Holy Land along with fellow knights of the order at the end of the decade, the manuscript may have been intended as a preparatory reference text for the knights’ voyage.

Edbury has shown that the Amiens manuscript is textually associated with a fifteenth-century paper Acre continuation of Eracles (Bern, Bbtk, Ms. 25, N. France, first half of the 15th century), and that they both share the same direct textual ancestor (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142, Acre, ca. 1287). His analysis of the textual transmission among these copies is based on

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93 Reynaud, Smeyers and Gil dated the manuscript to 1440–45, based on the style and active dates of the Créquy Master, who worked for Jean V in other manuscripts made shortly after this manuscript, the script, a small format Gothic script used in the fifteenth century for religious rather than secular texts, as well the costume details which can be tied to the fashions of the 1440s, such as hats with fur and brocade fabrics and wide-brims, and with no trace of fashions more popular in the next decade. Les Manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520, edited by François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, (Paris, 1993), 76; Smeyers, L’Art de la miniature flamande du VIIIe au XVIe siècle, 335; Gil, “Du Maître du Mansel,” 1: 360–61. Additional evidence for dating the manuscript to before 1446 is the presence of marguerite flowers (daisies) inside the initial “O” on f. 25 (see Fig. 1.35), which may recall Jean’s first wife Margarite of Bours’s name. He married his second wife Louise of La Tour in 1446. My thanks to Anne D. Hedeman for helping me identify this flower.

94 Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142 was at one time in St. Bertin Abby’s library in St. Omer. I am grateful to Peter Edbury who in an email communication (March 14, 2012) indicated that text in the Amiens and Bern manuscripts are either directly or indirectly related to Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142. Folda argues that the incipit texts for books 2, 3 and 5 have as a model what he calls the abbreviated incipits of the Hospitaller Master codices, Bern, Burberbibliothek, Ms. 25, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2631 and Ms. fr. 9082. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:498, 521n48.
the two fifteenth-century manuscripts’ replication of the earlier manuscript’s “chapter divisions and amalgamations,” as well as a missing passage in common caused by the Boulogne-sur-Mer exemplar’s missing bifolium (ff. 276v and 277). All three manuscripts have miniatures planned at the same textual divisions (Bern, Bbtk, Ms. 25 has spaces planned but was not painted), sharing even two books, twelve and thirteen, wherein there is no miniature, as well as all having their final two miniatures for the continuation texts placed at the same position at book twenty-three, chapter six and book thirty-three, chapter thirteen. However, it is unlikely that the Bern manuscript was the direct model for the text in the Amiens Eracles because the Bern manuscript contains a table of rubrics at the beginning (ff. 1–7v) and rubrics throughout, features the Amiens copy does not share, and it is missing the first few lines of book three (f. 40v) whereas the start of the Amiens book three is complete.

Artist

The Créquy Master (active 1440–50) worked on four manuscripts for Jean V in the Hesdin region, the area from which artists such as the Mansel Master and Loyset Liédet emerged. Gil shows that the Créquy Master was first a student and then a colleague of the Mansel Master (active ca. 1420–60), with whom he shared compositional models. The Créquy Master’s style is evident in a bright color palette, oddly prominent background clouds, and

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compositions filled with strong angles that have been criticized as rushed but display a delicate attention to textual details.  

Gil pointed out that this artist used bright colors like yellow and orange on the Saracen troops (he used the color yellow only for Saracen turbans and tents), indicating their bad character and contrasting them to the crusader troops, who generally wear simple suits of armor at times with red and mauve tunics layered over them. The Créquy Master also displayed an interest in the regalia of war; many miniatures include brilliantly colored shields and armorial flags reminiscent of those employed in contemporary tournaments. The Eracles is the first of four works the Créquy Master made for Jean V. The others include the Fleur des histoires de la terre d'orient (London, BL, Additional Ms. 17971, Amiens, ca. 1445–50, Figs. 1.3–1.4), the Roman de Mélusine (London, BL, Harley Ms. 4418, ca. 1445–50, Fig. 1.5), and the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à Cesar and Les faits des romains (New York, PML, Ms. M. 212–13, 1450s, Fig. 1.6). The Morgan volumes are the most elaborately decorated collaboration between Jean V and the Créquy Master with seventy-eight illuminations in two

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\textbf{Armorials}

One of the strong markers of the Créquy Master’s hand in this manuscript is his deployment of chivalric culture within his portrayal of history, the clearest evidence of which is the use of heraldic display in the manuscript’s battle scenes. Flags and shields boldly fill multiple scenes in the manuscript. Heraldry opens the manuscript in the historiated initial ‘L’ below its frontispiece (Fig. 1.7) containing Jean V of Créquy’s armorial escutcheon and crest (Fig. 1.8).

This manuscript is unique because Jean’s armorial, the stylized \textit{créquier} (wild plum), topped with a helm supporting his crest, two confronting swans who fight over a ring posed between their beaks, is here surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.\footnote{Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the \textit{History of Outremer},” 1: 522n49; Willard, “Patrons at the Burgundian Court,” 55–62.} This manuscript is the only known example from Jean’s library, or out of all the contemporary \textit{Eracles} examples, containing the order’s collar around an armorial escutcheon.\footnote{\textit{Les Manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520}, 76; Gil, “Du Maître du Mansel,” 2:360–61.} Jean’s manuscripts are all dated after his induction into the order, so the collar’s presence here is not related to that
event. The presence of the collar thus implies an association for Jean V between his membership in the order and this particular text’s subject matter.\textsuperscript{103}

A particularly clear representation of Jean V of Créquy’s full armorial regalia appears in Jean Lefèvre of Saint-Rémy’s \textit{Grand Armorial équestre de la Toison d’or} (Paris, BA, Ms. 4970, f. 155, ca. 1435–38, Fig. 1.9). Jean V and his horse are clothed in the Créquy blazon the \textit{créquier} plant, he wears the collar of the Golden Fleece, and his crest, the two swans battling for their ring, rests on his helm much like his arms on the first folio of his \textit{Eracles} manuscript. The armorial in the \textit{Eracles} initial parallels this strong representation of Jean V as a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the miniature, making a clear connection between the Order of the Golden Fleece, crusade enthusiasm and this \textit{Eracles} patron.

The Créquy Master integrated heraldic display into several of the Amiens \textit{Eracles} manuscript’s illuminations. For example, in book seven’s illumination of the siege of Antioch, the crusaders march out of Antioch to confront the formidable army of the Seljuk emir of Mosul, Korbughha (28 June 1098; f. 46v, Fig. 1.10).\textsuperscript{104} The artist enlivened the scene with armorial flags and shields rich with brightly colored and elaborately designed coats of arms, positioning the two armies so that the two confronting sides are clear. The heraldic display especially expresses the formidable strength of Korbughha’s army, at right. The bright colors and eye-catching designs combined with the height and compact arrangement of the shields of the front line make the Seljuk army appear fearsome and nearly indestructible. The two men leading the Seljuk army

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} For a thorough discussion of armorials in fifteenth-century Burgundy, see Pastoureau in \textit{Miniatures flammades}, 1404–1482, 89–102.
\end{itemize}
march forward in full force, fearless in the face of the crusader army on the left, whose fighting
spirit is expressed through the waving armorial flags and leading bowman in the left foreground.
The heraldry creates an atmosphere of anticipation for the heroic battle that is about to unfold.\textsuperscript{105}
It is worth noting that the artist reused elements of this composition a few years later in Jean V’s
\textit{Faits des romains} (New York, PML, Ms. 213, f. 54, ca. 1450, Fig. 1.11). This miniature repeats
the central standard bearer who has fallen to the ground and includes a similar group of shield-
bearing figures on the right confronting a group of archers on the left. The later miniature
illustrates a scene of Caesar’s conquest of Gaul in which the Romans battle the Treveri.

Another example of heraldic display occurs in the portrayal of the battle at Montgisard
(25 November 1177) in which King Baldwin IV’s forces defeat those of Saladin (f. 180, Fig. 1.12).\textsuperscript{106} The battle was remarkable because the crusaders defeated Saladin’s enormous army
with a very small force of their own.\textsuperscript{107} The Créquy Master painted a clash between the crusader
army on the left and that of the Saladin on the right. The bleeding corpses in yellow turbans and
brightly colored tunics littering the ground demonstrate that Saladin’s troops are losing. The
artist uses a similar composition to that in the Antioch scene, pitting the two armies at odds in
diagonal formations of compact armies leading into the back corners. He again places brightly

\textsuperscript{105} Gothic \textit{Eracles} examples also play with the description of standards flying and close battle. See for example: \textit{Eracles} continuation: London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 12, f. 29 (1232 continuation, London or N. France, ca. 1275); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2827, f. 40 (Paris, ca. 1260–75). Rothelin continuation: Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 352, ff. 47v–
49 (Paris, 1350), fr. 9083, f. 59v (Paris, ca. 1340, Called the “Rothelin Manuscript”), fr. 22496, f. 64 (Paris, ca. 1350).

Tyr et ses continuateurs}, 2:393–96; \textit{Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum}, 1042–45.

\textsuperscript{107} This scene is very rare. Most examples from the \textit{Eracles} corpus illustrate either the death of the former king
Amaury I, or the coronation of king Baldwin IV for this book. Gothic examples include: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9081, f.
280v, No continuation, Paris, 1245–48 and Épinal, BM, Ms. 45, f. 198 (Paris, ca. 1295–1300, \textit{Eracles Continuation}).
The rarity of the scene and its position deep within William of Tyre’s text show that it was of specific interest.
hued and extravagantly designed shields across the Seljuk army’s front line which is soundly routed by the crusaders. The heraldic display clearly defines the two groups of knights about to clash.  

However, in the Amiens Eracles, there is one rare, historically accurate, heraldic identification of a figure in the miniature portraying the battle of the Horns of Hattīn (f. 202, Fig. 1.13). The Créquy Master portrayed a soldier in Saladin’s army grabbing the crowned figure of King Guy of Lusignan, who wears a white and gold tabard emblazoned with the arms of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, (a central golden Greek cross that is surrounded by smaller golden Greek crosses in each of its quadrants). Armorial flags proudly thrust in the air dominate the visual field above the soldiers, signifying the convergence of the many battalions of both armies. However the only historically accurate armorial is on King Guy’s tabard. The narrative point of the image is to portray the king’s capture, as no other historical figures involved in the battle are accurately identified. However, the other armorial flags, which have been created from the artist’s imagination, almost distract the eye from the main action in their variety and exuberance, competing for visual importance in the scene.

The famed bibliophile Louis of Gruthuuse’s Eracles (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68) serves as a good comparison to Jean of Créquy’s manuscript. The two illustrations in Louis’s Eracles for the story of the siege of Antioch (ff. 57 and 70, Figs. 1.14 and 1.15) show the crusader army

108 It is important to note that in the previous examples there is no correlation between the coats of arms and heraldic flags in the illuminations and the historical coats of arms of the figures mentioned in the text. The heraldic display is purely artistic, providing the feeling of the battlefield, of nobles in full regalia pitted against a worthy and equally chivalrous foe.


110 Eracles continuation, Loyset Liédet atelier, Bruges, ca. 1470s.
uniformly marching toward the city walls of Antioch as a jumble of indistinguishable men on horseback at war. In contrast, the Crequy Master’s particular use of the visual device of heraldic display in the Amiens manuscript adds the feeling of chivalric pageantry to its battle scenes and imbues the armies with a knightly sophistication that is not as evident in BnF, Ms. fr. 68.

The proliferation of heraldic display in this manuscript’s battle scenes creates a chivalric atmosphere recognizable to the Burgundian courtly audience for which the book was made. The scenes resemble representations of contemporary tournaments, in which heraldic display dominates the visual field. An excellent later fifteenth-century example is René d’Anjou’s Livre des Tournois (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2692, ca. 1488–89), which describes the form of the ideal tournament, including the correct armor, preliminary activities, and rules. The representations that are most revealing in this context include a full-opening illustration of the participants assembled and about to begin the tournament (ff. 62v and 63, Fig. 1.16); and a full-opening illustration of the tournament in progress, (ff. 67v and 68, Figs. 1.17). In these illuminations, the raised armorial flags of the participants, whose tunics and horses also carry the colors of their coats of arms, dominate the visual representation of the tournament. The vision of the participants assembled and about to converge upon one another evokes the anticipation of battle and the chivalric pedigrees of the participants on the field, expressed through the use of the heraldic display, functioning in much the same way in the tournament book as they did in the scenes of the battles at Antioch and Montgisard in the Amiens Eracles. The Amiens Eracles’ proliferation of heraldic flags and shields on the battlefields of the Holy Land visualizes those

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111 The Livre des Tournois was originally written ca. 1450s. Edouard Sandoz states the text’s composition dates to 1451–52, but other sources mark it as later. Edouard Sandoz, “Tourneys in the Arthurian Tradition,” Speculum 19, no. 4 (October 1944): 390. BnF, Ms. fr. 2692 was painted for Louis of Bruges.
historical events in a manner that was entirely familiar to a fifteenth-century knight who would have recognized in the siege of Antioch and the battle of the Horns of Hattīn the chivalric nature of the tournaments he attended frequently.

This type of heraldic display was used in Jean V’s other manuscripts as well, although less heavily. In the *Roman de Mélusine* (London, BL, Harley Ms. 4418, ff. 88v, 113, Figs. 1.18 and 1.19), beautiful standards fly above the heads of battling soldiers and in one example Jean V’s armorial shield is painted inside the initial ‘L’ (f. 113, Fig. 1.19). Another instance is Jean V’s *Livre de la destruction de Troie*, painted by the Master of the *Champion des Dames* (Paris, BA, Ms. 3326, ff. 1, 101, Figs. 1.20 and 1.21). Both of its miniatures feature brilliant gold and red standards flying above its soldiers’ heads with bold armorial shields also catching the eye against the grisaille composition in the frontispiece image. The Créquy family shield is present in the initial ‘S’ (f. 101, Fig. 1.21). Jean’s *Chroniques d’Hainaut* contained a representation of an actual tournament of Baldwin V in Champagne (Fig. 1.22).112

Though these decorative elements are in the Créquy Master’s artistic repertoire, Jean V himself was frequently exposed to heraldic visual culture in his life. He attended multiple tournaments and carried armorial flags as a part of these ceremonies, dressing in fanciful blazon such as that of Lancelot du Lac.113 In his descriptions of each of such events, historian Olivier de la Marche took care to describe details of the heraldic textiles worn by the men and horses of

112 The Rambures Master painted this manuscript, Baldwin V of Hainaut’s split arms representing his titles as count of Flanders and marquis of Namur are represented at the top in the central golden standard with four black rampant lions, two of which are split with red for Namur. He is represented as the central-right fighting figure in the foreground, wearing the same arms.

113 De la Marche, *Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche*, 2:123–24, 133, 185; De Smedt, *Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle*, 52.
each group involved, like the tournament at Bruges in 1445, about which he wrote that Jean’s horse was covered in “trois couverts de soye et de brodure telles qu’il avoit preparées pour couvre à son pas...[and was] couvert des armes de Lancelot du Lac...” Accounts like these demonstrate the importance of heraldic display in the fifteenth century. The use of this contemporary chivalric visual language in Jean V’s Eracles also served to collapse the historical distance between the crusaders of the past and the Jean himself, perhaps providing a preamble to Jean V’s voyage to the Holy Land, which took place soon after his Eracles was produced, or even to the anticipated crusade of Philip the Good.

Illumination Cycle

The Amiens manuscript’s cycle of twenty-two miniatures evidences a clearly planned program of illumination. The miniatures appear at the incipits of each major textual division, but there are no rubrics to guide the illustrator’s or the reader’s understanding of the miniatures. It is rare that the text at the beginning of a book supplies the narrative for its miniature. On the contrary, many illuminations represent scenes from chapters found deep in a book, or even from the previous book, showing that the artist or libraire performed thorough textual research to seek subjects for the visual narratives. Furthermore, the Créquy Master did not heavily rely on any earlier manuscript to develop the Amiens Eracles’ miniature cycle, but in many cases constructed altogether new visual narratives based on unique or extremely rare scene choices. Gil suggests that the Créquy Master perhaps collaborated with the manuscript’s scribe to create these well

114 De la Marche, Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche, 2:133.

115 All but books twelve and thirteen are illustrated.
informed illuminations. The analysis that follows will demonstrate that the artist was extraordinarily sensitive to the text when illustrating the Eracles; he often picked out small textual details or linked multiple miniatures together through scene selection and composition to provide a nuanced visual narrative.

A consideration of each of the miniatures in the Amiens Eracles in relationship to the text it illustrates and the historical tradition of Eracles manuscript illumination reveals that the Créquy Master at times incorporated traditionally popular scenes in the Eracles corpus. In some of these cases, the artist updated the traditional iconography with the fresh addition of narrative details that more explicitly communicate the story. In another case, the artist used the traditional representation in an anachronizing fashion to recall the visual tradition. In several examples, the artist constructed related groups of miniatures, in which two or more interrelate through content or the artist’s compositions or both. These scenes show the high level of sophistication and planning involved in this manuscript as well as the artist’s desire to draw narrative arcs across multiple miniatures. The clear sensitivity to narrative detail that enriches the illuminations lends weight to Gil’s theory that the Créquy Master worked in tandem with the scribe to construct his compositions. The Amiens Eracles represents a tailored visual presentation of crusade history that directly addressed Jean V’s historical interests and possibly even his contemporary informational needs, because it was created just before his trip to the Holy Land (1448–50).117


117 The first twenty miniatures for this manuscript illustrate scenes from the translation of William of Tyre’s Historia. The last two illustrate scenes from the Eracles continuation, the mutilation of the body of Andronicus Comnenus in 1185 and the loss of the True Cross at the battle of the Horns of Hattin in 1187. The last miniature is the only illustration in the manuscript from the Acre continuation, of King Louis IX of France vowing to take the cross on his deathbed. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 2:370.
Traditional Themes

A group of miniatures in the manuscript use traditional iconographical models but then update them with new details to create a visual and narrative nuance, or even to exploit them to emphasize their traditional importance. Both the frontispiece featuring the story of Peter the Hermit and a miniature portraying the manner in which the crusader army took Antioch after a long siege update traditional iconography with fresh detail to extend the visual narrative. The miniature portraying St. Louis IX taking the cross in his sickbed, on the other hand, anachronistically situates the scene in a traditional setting that breaks from the artist’s typical style to harken back to fourteenth-century portrayals of St. Louis’ life in a way that imbues the crusade history scene with the importance of the tradition of royal saints’ lives.

The story of Peter the Hermit, who sets out from the Holy Land and seeks aid in the West from the Pope and western kings illustrates the Amiens Eracles’ frontispiece (Fig. 1.23). 118 William of Tyre describes that after hearing about the troubles in the Holy Land from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Peter traveled to see Pope Urban II, bringing a letter from the patriarch describing problems abroad. He persuaded Urban to take up the cause of a crusade and then went about trying to convince the leaders of western principalities to take up the cause as well (1096). 119 The text only briefly mentions Peter’s mission to secular rulers: “Kindled with

enthusiasm from on high, Peter traversed all Italy, crossed the Alps, and went about to each of the princes of the West, insisting, rebuking, and censuring. His warning words, aided by divine grace, persuaded some not to delay going to the aid of their brethren who were in such adversity...”

The frontispiece portrays these two scenes in a dual panel, half-page miniature of Peter the Hermit delivering the Patriarch of Jerusalem’s letter to Pope Urban II, on the left, and Peter visiting a western king on the right.

The Créquy Master’s representation of this scene between Peter and Urban follows earlier models of illumination. The Gothic examples of the Eracles corpus often show Peter’s audience with the pope along with other scenes from the first book. An example in a similar two-compartment format is Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495 (f. 14, Fig. 1.24) painted by the Fauvel Master. At right, Peter prays in the Holy Sepulchre and is inspired by Christ (an event that occurred before his journey west), and at left, he delivers the Patriarch of Jerusalem’s letter to Pope Urban II.

The second compartment of the Amiens Eracles frontispiece, in which Peter then moves on the western leaders with his letter, is unique. In this panel, Peter kneels before a king who wears a blue robe covered with ermine and a golden crown. He offers the message from the Patriarch to convince the king to send help in the form of an army, the positive result of which is


implied by the group of men in suits of armor standing in the left side doorway.\textsuperscript{122} The combination of scenes then shows not only Peter the Hermit’s spirited efforts of traversing great distances to acquire help for the Holy Land, but also uniquely shows the positive response of the west’s secular leadership. Other manuscript illuminations show Peter the Hermit’s actions show him only dealing with churchmen: the patriarch and the pope.\textsuperscript{123} Here, the artist inserts the courtly western crusading world into the manuscript. The miniature models the way in which both the Church and the secular leadership became involved in the crusade movement that followed, recalling for Jean V his role as a secular knight and supporter of Philip the Good’s Burgundian crusade.

The Siege of Antioch (1097–98) spans books four to six of the \textit{Eracles} text.\textsuperscript{124} The sixth book begins with a miniature that provides a new twist to a popular scene through the artist’s


This illumination may have inspired the iconography found later in David Aubert’s \textit{Chronique dite de Baudouin d’Avesnes}, which Loyset Liédet painted (Paris, BA, Ms. 5089, f. 213, after 1462) and which also shows Peter the Hermit delivering the patriarch’s letter in the left compartment and then approaching western princes at right.


\textsuperscript{124}The Amiens manuscript contains a three-miniature group dedicated to this siege with miniatures at the beginnings of books five to seven. The fifth book shows a common siege illustration in which the people of Antioch direct their weapons down at the crusaders from the top of the city’s walls (f. 32), without any further representation of a particular moment from within the siege narrative. This type of portrayal of the siege of Antioch is common across the entire \textit{Eracles} corpus, as exemplified by Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142, f. 40v; (Paris-Acre Master, Acre, ca. 1287). For more on this manuscript, see Folda, \textit{Crusader art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the fall of Acre, 1187–1291} (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2005), 427–29.

Other Gothic examples include: Acre continuation: Florence, BML, Plut. 61.10 f. 42 (Paris-Acre Master, Acre, 1277); Lyon, BM, Ms. 828, f. 33 (Acre, ca. 1280); Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2628, f. 29v (Acre, ca. 1250–80), fr. 2631, f. 56v (Genoa, ca. 1291–95), fr. 9082, ff. 57v, 66v (Rome, 1295); St. Petersburg, RNL, Ms. fr. f.v.IV.5, f. 18v (Acre, ca. 1280); Rothelin continuation: Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 28 (Paris, ca. 1300–40); Brussels, BrB, Ms 9492–93, f. 40 (Hainault, ca. 1292–95); Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 24209, f. 44 (Paris, ca. 1364–70), fr. 22496, f. 44v (Paris, ca. 1350); Turin, BN, Ms. L II 17, f. 40 (Paris, ca. 1305); 1232 continuation: Bern, Bbtk, Ms. 163, f. 42 (Ile de France, ca. 1265–70); Épinal, BM, Ms. 45, f. 35 (Paris, ca. 1295–1300); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2827, f. 33 (Paris, 1260–75); Vatican, BAV, Ms. Pal. Lat. 1963, f. 40 (Antioch or N. France, ca. 1252–68).
portrayal of nuanced textual details. During the siege, the mostly Christian citizens of Antioch were trapped inside the city by their Muslim rulers and were starving due to lack of provisions while the crusader army, led by Bohemond I, prince of Taranto (ca. 1050s–1111), attempted to find ways to enter the city. The city’s rulers had sought help from a Turk, Korbugha, who was bringing a vast army to confront the crusaders. An important Antiochene man, Firuz, lived in a city tower with his family, worked with Bohemond to give the crusaders access to the town in June 1098. The night of the planned entrance, Firuz, fearing that his brother — who was unsympathetic to the crusaders — would foil his plans, slew him with a sword while he slept. After this Firuz had asked the crusader army to silently approach the tower. He attached a rope to his tower’s ramparts and released it so that a rope ladder could be attached and brought up. None of the crusader soldiers or leaders was brave enough to climb the ladder, because they feared a trap on the other side. So Bohemond scaled the wall, and at the top Firuz grasped his hand in friendship. Emboldened, the crusaders all climbed up into the tower and captured the city.

The Créquy Master painted a brutally specific portrayal of this narrative (f. 39v, Fig. 1.25). On the left side of the illustration, an opening in the wall reveals Firuz, at left in purple, murdering his brother, at right in red. The brother’s yellow turban-like hat identifies him as a character working in opposition to the crusaders. In the center, at the top of the wall, Firuz, in purple again, holds the ladder for Bohemond to climb up while the crusader army waits below. The artist repeats the figure of Firuz in the same costume so the viewer can clearly see his

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involvement in both events, the murder and the aid to the crusaders, thereby demonstrating the ambivalence of his character.

Two fourteenth-century examples may provide inspiration for the iconography of Firuz murdering his brother, though both are very different from the Amiens example. In the first (Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 36, Fig. 1.26), two men struggle in a tower in the top right corner of the initial “U.” In the second, (Paris, BnF, Ms. 22495, f. 47v, Fig. 1.27) the figure at the bottom falling head-first probably indicates Firuz’s murdered brother and the figure at the top of the tower is Firuz attaching a rope to the ladder up which a crusader climbs. In the Amiens manuscript, the artist stays well within the tradition of representing Firuz’s assistance to the crusaders, while further elaborating the visual narrative through the specificity of the murder scene and the use of costume to feature Firuz’s actions.

The manuscript’s final miniature represents a scene from the Acre continuation’s book thirty-three, in which the crusade story of the French royal saint, Louis IX begins. The Eracles text explains how St. Louis, near death, asked William, the Bishop of Paris, to give him the Cross of the Holy Land (1244). When he encountered arguments from his mother, Blanche of Castile,

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127 This figure is not identified particularly but the rubric correctly points out he is Bohemond and also describes Firuz killing his brother. Many other Gothic examples feature Firuz without featuring the murder, including: Acre continuation: Lyon, BM, Ms. 828, f. 42 (Acre, ca. 1280); Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2628, f. 37v (Acre, ca. 1250–80), fr. 9084, f. 53 (Acre, ca. 1285–86); St. Petersburg, RNL, Ms. fr. Γv.IV.5, f. 27 (Acre, ca. 1280); Rothelin continuation: Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 36 (Paris, ca. 1300–40); Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 352, f. 42v (Paris, 1350), fr. 9083, f. 52 (Fauvel Master, Paris, ca. 1340), fr. 22496, f. 55 (Paris, ca. 1350), fr. 24209, f. 57 (Paris, ca. 1364–70); Eracles continuation: Arras, BM, Ms. 651, f. 33 (Picardy, ca. 1230); London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 12, f. 23v (London or N. France, ca. 1275); Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 779, f. 46 (Paris, ca. 1270–75), fr. 2824, f. 32v (N. France, ca. 1300), fr. 24208, f. 33 (Champagne, ca. 1250–75). No continuation: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9081, f. 44 (Paris, 1245–48). A fifteenth-century example is Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 46v (Rothelin continuation, Master of the Livre d’Eracles, Lille, ca. 1460–65).
his wife, Marguerite of Provence, and his brother he refused to eat or drink until the bishop agreed to let him take the cross. After a long discussion, the bishop agreed.\textsuperscript{128}

In the only fifteenth-century \textit{Eracles} miniature example of this scene, the Créquy Master portrayed St. Louis as deathly ill, in a bed covered in a cloth of \textit{fleur-de-lis}, speaking to the Bishop of Paris while a praying woman in black, presumably his mother or his wife, and a group of courtiers look on from around the bed (f. 238, Fig. 1.28). The miniature is iconographically similar to Gothic \textit{Eracles} models, which typically portray Louis in his sickbed with a bishop figure and worried onlookers at his bedside (BnF, Mss. fr. 2825, f. 333v, ca. 1300 and fr. 9083, f. 320v, ca. 1340, Figs. 1.29 and 1.30).\textsuperscript{129} The Créquy Master even directs the bed’s position in relationship to the mourners similarly to earlier models. In the Amiens example, the artist has increased the pathos of the moment by removing the king’s crown and making him very small in relationship to his bed, communicating how ill he was.\textsuperscript{130}

Also similar to the Gothic models, the Créquy Master painted the background in a two-dimensional pattern rather than the typical interiors that were given a sense of perspective used throughout the rest of the manuscript, for example in the Peter the Hermit frontispiece (f. 1, Fig. 1.23). As the only miniature of twenty-two in this manuscript, and also the only one in the


\textsuperscript{129} Both of which contain the Rothelin continuation and were made in Paris. Folda argues that this iconography may have been adapted from Brussels 9492–93, which was known to have been in Flanders and thought to have been a model for Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045 as well. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the \textit{History of Outremer},” 1:502, 523n55.

\textsuperscript{130} Other earlier \textit{Eracles} manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that feature this scene all share the Rothelin continuation. They include: Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93, f. 405v, (Hainault: ca. 1292–95); Lyon, BM, PA Ms. 29, f. 312v (Paris, ca. 1295); Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 22497, f. 174v (Paris, ca. 1350); Turin, BN, Ms. L II 17, f. 332 (Paris, ca. 1305); Vatican, BAV, Ms. Reg. Lat. 737, f. 360v (Ile de France, ca. 1305–10).
Créquy Master’s extant *œuvres*, to use this type of background, the St. Louis example expressly and anachronistically uses the Gothic manner of portraying this historical moment. Multiple illustrated texts also contain this scene, including Jean de Joinville’s *Vie de Saint Louis*, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus’s *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*, and the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. A fourteenth-century copy of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus’s *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* (Fig. 1.31) containing a representation of Louis on his sickbed, is striking in its similarity to that in the Amiens *Eracles*. Louis IX lies in his bed on the left before bishops and a crowd, in front of a very similarly diapered, two-dimensional background. The patterned background in the Amiens manuscript, as well as the positioning of the bed and onlookers, visually links this image to Gothic modes of the scene’s composition and to earlier models of this particular episode in Louis’ *Vie*. The miniature demonstrates Louis IX’s sanctity and portrays the moment in which God gave him the strength to overcome his illness and to demand to take the cross. This sanctity is communicated more clearly through the composition’s construction in the Gothic mode of illustrations of his *Vie*. The Créquy Master, in other cases, such as the Peter the Hermit frontispiece, uses the Gothic tradition as a jumping-off point for his own portrayal of even more elaborate scenes, but in this case he purposefully returns to the traditional mode to communicate

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131 John of Joinville states: “it was the will of God that the King should be overtaken at Paris by a grievous sickness. He was brought so low, it was said, that one of the ladies who were nursing him said he was dead and wished to cover his face with the sheet. Another lady, who was on the other side of the bed, would not allow her, and said that his soul was still in his body.” “While the King was listening to their argument, Our Lord worked in him and soon sent him back his health. He had lost the power of speech, but as soon as he was again fit to speak he asked for the Cross to be given to him, which was done. When the Queen, his mother, heard that he could speak again she was overjoyed. But when she heard that he had taken the Cross, as he told her, too, himself, she was as miserable as if she had seen him dead.” Jean, sire de Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, trans. René Hague, ed. Natalis de Wailly (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 51; Cecila Gaposchkin, *The Making of St. Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2008) 182.

132 Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5716, f. 27, ca. 1330–40.
Louis’ sanctity more clearly. As a courageous example of a king taking up the responsibility of defending the Holy Land, Louis IX stood in stark contrast to the contemporary fifteenth-century French king, Charles VII, who was not interested in helping Burgundy to pursue a crusade, much to Philip the Good’s chagrin.\textsuperscript{133} Additionally, the Créquy Master’s miniature provides a sense of forward historical progression at the end of the manuscript, with this scene of the royal saint beginning his crusading adventures, visually hinting at the chapters to come.

**New Inventions**

The Créquy Master’s fairly small illumination program contains a large number of miniatures that are uniquely chosen scenes. These miniatures support Gil’s idea that the artist and scribe or *libraire* worked closely together because they display a close knowledge of the text and thorough research of its details. These unique illuminations highlight diverse themes of interest including the admirable leadership of Godefroy of Bouillon, the charitable nature of the Christians in the Holy Land, both Byzantine and Egyptian courts and the history of the True Cross relic.

Two unique portrayals feature Duke Godefroy of Bouillon’s leadership skills. The first is when Duke Godefroy and three hundred of his men met with Coloman, King of Hungary, to negotiate the crusader army’s safe passage through Hungarian territory (1096).\textsuperscript{134} The king’s forces had been unwilling to let Godefroy’s army move through his land because the two armies

\textsuperscript{133} The French king was approached in 1451 with a sound plan for a crusade by Burgundian envoys, but was non-responsive. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 122–23.

who had passed through before had plundered and murdered his people. He demanded that Godefroy’s own brother, Baldwin, be provided as a hostage for the crusader army to continue its progress. Once the troops had safely passed through Hungary into what is now Serbia, Coloman returned Baldwin to his brother and left Godefroy with many parting gifts.

The Amiens manuscript uniquely portrays the moment of the accord in which the two leaders grasp hands in agreement (f. 12, Fig. 1.32). On the right the Hungarian king, distinctly non-western in his feathered crown, reaches out to Godefroy, who doffs his hat with respect while grasping the king’s hand. The miniature valorizes Godefroy as an honorable leader and a skillful negotiator, willing to risk his own family and able to keep his word and control over his army, in contrast to those who have come before him. The Amiens manuscript illumination is the sole known Eracles example of the face-to-face meeting of the two leaders. Half of the extant Eracles examples portray the crusaders setting out on crusade on horseback to begin book two. Others portray the exchange of messengers that preceded the meeting of the two leaders from the second chapter, in which Godefroy asks Coloman why he will not allow the army passage through his land and Coloman explains his reasoning.135 These illuminations also express Godefroy’s negotiating skills and leadership, but the two leaders meeting face to face and clasping hands in accord demonstrate more explicitly Godefroy’s role in the safe passage and may even foreshadow his forthcoming royal status as ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

135 Gothic examples include: Rothelin continuation: Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2825, f. 13 (Paris, ca. 1300), fr. 22496, f. 24 (Paris, ca. 1350); Eracles continuation: Bern, Bbk, Ms. 112, f. 10v (N. France, ca. 1270); Paris, BA, Ms. 5220, p. 28 (N. France, ca. 1265–70); Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2824, f. 10 (N. France, ca. 1300), fr. 2827, f. 12 (Paris, ca. 1260–75). Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9081, f. 16v (no continuation, Paris, ca. 1245–48) is an exception, in which Coloman bids Godefroy farewell with gifts after they have passed through his territory.
The second miniature featuring Godefroy of Bouillon’s leadership, if not Godefroy himself, is based on a strangely complicated story. William of Tyre chronicled that in 1099, the forces of Godefroy and Count Raymond of Toulouse had gathered at Ibelin (in modern Israel) to fight against the army of Egyptian vizier Al-Afdal (r. 1094–1121). The crusaders thought they saw enemy troops on the horizon and went to investigate, but found it was just a few soldiers with a large herd of animals. When these men saw the crusader army they either ran away or became informants whom the crusaders brought back to the main crusader camp. Later, when the crusaders confronted Al-Afdal’s entire army, the captured soldiers and herd followed the crusader troops, giving the impression of an enormous army, intimidating the enemy into fleeing their camp and leaving their possessions as spoils for the crusaders to take back to Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{136} Tyerman refers to this event as the battle of Ascalon (12 August 1099); his account concurs with William of Tyre’s in all matters but one — he omits any mention of the enemy’s herds.\textsuperscript{137}

The Créquy Master’s illumination for this scene captures the intimidating size of the crusader army in the top left corner, with the captured herds to the right, expanding the size of the army (f. 61v, Fig. 1.33). The artist painted the enormous animals next to the crusader soldiers to emphasize their role in frightening the Egyptian army. In the bottom right, Al-Afdal’s soldiers sneak away. The miniature notably captures a moment of relatively bloodless crusader victory that relied on the misperceptions and cowardice of the enemy rather than might in battle. The good fortune of finding the herd allowed Godefroy to exploit its visual effect to inspire the


\textsuperscript{137} Tyerman, \textit{God’s War,} 160–61.
enemy’s flight. Although Godefroy is not explicitly shown, his positive military leadership is implicit in the clever victory.

The Amiens manuscript is the only fifteenth-century example to feature this episode and a few Gothic examples show slightly different moments from the same passage. Instead, most manuscripts show episodes surrounding the election and investiture of the new ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Godefroy of Bouillon. The unique iconography here may indicate that Jean V was less interested in the manuscript displaying the dynastic concerns of the Latin Kingdom and was instead more attracted to stories about crusader victories in battle, good fortune, or even the enemy’s cowardice.

The unique miniature for book four derives from text found at the end of book three. This episode finds different battalions of the crusader army, led by Baldwin and Tancred, at odds with each other over possession of the town of Tarsus in Cilicia (1097). William of Tyre recounts that after the two men besieged the town together and took possession of it, Tancred placed his standard on the town’s tower. Baldwin, who had more troops than Tancred and was of higher rank, demanded that Tancred’s standard be taken down and replaced with his own, threatening the townspeople with abandonment if they did not obey, so Tancred was forced to retreat to another town. Meanwhile, three hundred soldiers from Bohemond’s army made their

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138 One example, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9081, f. 88v (No continuation, Paris, ca. 1245–48), shows in the bottom section of an historiated initial ‘S’ the crusader troops in the process of capturing the herds and killing their enemies. For more on this manuscript, see Folda, Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 235–36. Another example painted by the Fauvel Master, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, f. 66, (Rothelin continuation, Paris, 1337) shows Godefroy of Boullion returning to Jerusalem with the captured herds of the enemy. Other Gothic examples of this scene all contain the Rothelin continuation; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 9083, f. 83 (Paris, ca. 1340, Called the “Rothelin Manuscript”), fr. 22496, f. 92 (Paris, ca. 1350), and fr. 24209, f. 89v (Paris, ca. 1364–70).

way to Tarsus where they were hoping to join Tancred. Because Baldwin was angry with Tancred, he was unwilling to allow Bohemond’s troops entry into the city. The lower-ranking Christians inside the city took mercy upon the refused troops and sent down “baskets full of bread and wine in skins from the wall by ropes.”140 While these internal conflicts went on in the night, the Muslim inhabitants of the city decided it was unsafe to stay, sneaked away with all their possessions and, on their way out, murdered the excluded troops who slept outside the gates.

The Créquy Master’s representation of this episode includes, on the left side of the miniature (f. 25, Fig. 1.34), the kind Christians lowering down baskets from the city walls where Bohemond’s troops catch them below. His army wraps around the side of the town walls, extending back into the mountains on the right. This miniature is unique in the extant Eracles corpus. Many Eracles manuscripts represent Baldwin and Tancred’s progress across Syria or the siege of Antioch for book four.141 The artist avoids portraying the disagreement between Baldwin and Tancred or the massacre of Bohemond’s troops and instead focuses on the succor that Christian kindness provided the troops outdoors.

The next six miniatures represent three pairs in which the Créquy Master used oppositional iconography to effectively portray meaning. First, the Amiens manuscript demonstrates an express interest in the eastern courts of the Byzantine Emperors John II


141 BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, f. 32v (Paris, 1337, Rotelin continuation) shows Baldwin receiving the keys to Tarsus, as though he is welcome to enter without any dissent. A few examples display Duke Godefroy of Bouillon’s admonishment of his brother Baldwin for his problems with Tancred, for example also in BnF, Mss. fr. 22495, f. 34v or fr. 9083, f. 37v (Paris, ca. 1340, called the “Rothelin Manuscript”). BnF, Ms. fr. 2827, f. 26 (Paris, ca. 1260–75, 1232 continuation) shows Baldwin and Tancred making peace with one another.
Comnenus (r. 1118–43) and Andronicus Comnenus (1183–85) in a moral opposition. The Egyptian caliphate is the focus of the second, which uses iconography more strongly to communicate a moral opposition. The third pair concerns the True Cross and here the artist very obviously constructs the scene to powerfully communicate the Cross’s power and its catastrophic loss.

The typical approach to illustrating John II’s activities is to represent his siege at Shayzar in Syria (Book fifteen). However, in Jean V’s manuscript, the artist painted a rare scene showing the Prince of Antioch swearing fealty to the emperor. The miniature placed at the start of book fourteen portrays a scene from the thirtieth, and final, chapter of the book (the text of which is closer to the start of book fifteen), in which John II Comnenus besieges the principality of Antioch (August 1137), which was ruled by Raymond of Poitiers. According to William of Tyre, Raymond ended the emperor’s siege by performing liege homage to him and allowing him free entry into the city. Raymond also agreed to give Antioch to the emperor in exchange for the cities Aleppo, Shayzar, Hama, and Hims, if the emperor were able to wrest them from the Muslim enemy (f. 107, Fig. 1.35).

The illumination portrays the bearded Byzantine emperor enthroned in his own court in full pomp, holding a golden orb topped with a cross and wearing a robe lined with ermine along with the imperial crown. Kneeling at the emperor’s feet Raymond places his right hand in the

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emperor’s right hand. Although Raymond is the Prince of Antioch, he does not wear any indication of his status. The miniature does not present the full physical demonstration of liege homage in which the vassal poses his hands in prayer while the lord places both hands around the outside of the vassal’s hands and then kisses the vassal. This ceremony solidifies the vassal’s reception of territory in the name of his lord, and the vassal’s inclusion as one of the lord’s men. The ceremony is followed by a vow of fealty (or fidelity) to the lord. As J. Russell Major explains, these exchanges result in a contract in which “the vassal became obligated to give military and material aid and counsel to his lord. The lord in return was expected to provide his vassal with protection and maintenance that usually took the form of a fief.”

The only other example of this scene accurately shows the ceremony in which the emperor holds both of Raymond’s hands within both of his own (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2824, f. 94, Fig. 1.36).

William of Tyre clearly describes Raymond performing liege homage with his hands or “homage lige de ses mains.”

Another good example of a representation of liege homage can be found in Charles V’s Grandes chroniques de France (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2813, f. 357v, Paris, ca. 1375–80, Fig. 1.37), in which King Edward III of England performs homage before King Philip VI of France. On the other hand, other examples can be found of the ceremony as the Créquy Master has painted it, such as strikingly similar later miniature painted by Jean Bourdichon in a Josephus manuscript.

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144 J. Russell Major, “‘Bastard Feudalism’ and the Kiss: Changing Social Mores in Late Medieval and Early Modern France,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 3 (Winter 1987): 510.

145 1232 continuation, N. France, ca. 1300.

in which Herod the Great performs homage to Emperor Augustus (BnF, Ms. NAF. 21013, f. 22, ca. 1470, Fig. 1.38). It is possible in both this case and in that of the Amiens manuscript that the full gesture of liege homage was discarded in favor of the presentation of the emperor holding his orb, which would more fully communicate his identity. Although historical research has yet to uncover specific instances of Jean V witnessing oaths of fealty, it is possible he witnessed such ceremonies as an advisor to Dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. The concern in the Amiens representation, especially as a part of the imperial narrative arc, most likely has more to do with highlighting John II’s relationships with the crusader princes, but also serves as the positive exemplar of imperial strength and respect for the emperor, in contrast to its companion, which portrays the usurpation of the imperial throne.

The companion miniature portrays the usurping Byzantine Emperor Andronicus Comnenus’ (r. 1183–85) atrocities, at the head of book twenty-two (f. 189v, Fig. 1.39). The illustration shows Andronicus torturing and killing the rightful Emperor Alexius and the papal envoy, the Subdeacon John, and then the humiliation of their corpses (1183). William of Tyre describes how Andronicus’ henchmen cut “off his [subdeacon John’s] head, fasten[ing] it to the tail of a filthy dog as an insult to the church,” and observes that the dead were “torn from the

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147 Later in Jean V’s life, after this manuscript was created, he was present at the Treaty of Péronne where on 14 October 1468 Charles the Bold made peace with King Louis XI of France in part by promising to perform homage to the king for his French lands, although the treaty was soon after abandoned. At the end of November of the same year, after Charles’s army, including Jean V of Créquy, invaded Liège, a delegation from the Flemish towns came to Charles in Brussels and performed a respectful homage to him. Vaughan, Charles the Bold, 55; De la Marche, Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche, 3:84; Marc Boone, “La justice en spectacle. La justice urbaine en Flandre et la crise du pouvoir ‘bourguignon’ (1477–1488).” Revue Historique 305, no. 1 [625] (January 2003): 46; Willem Pieter Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen, 1467–1477. Excerpten uit de rekeningen van de Vlaamse steden, kassevrijen en vorstelijke ambtenaren, (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1971), 51–52.

tombs and dragged through the streets and squares...”\(^{149}\) The Créquy Master portrayed the bloody uprising led by Andronicus against Alexius in gruesome detail. In the left background Andronicus’ followers blind Alexius with sharp instruments while, in the foreground, a horse drags a decomposing corpse and a dog drags the John’s decapitated head. The customary opening illustration for this book show the marriage of Guy of Lusignan to Sibylle, King Baldwin IV’s daughter, or a battle with Saladin. The scene of Andronicus’ abuses appears in just a couple of Gothic examples (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 22495, f. 214v,\(^{150}\) Fig. 1.40 and fr. 9081, f. 296, Fig. 1.41),\(^{151}\) both of which concentrate on Alexius’ blinding.\(^{152}\) The Créquy Master has closely blended specific details of the text to produce a unique composition, while at the same time portraying a rare scene that occurs deep in the text. When considered alongside the miniature portraying the homage to John II, the pair creates a strong conceptual opposition. One glorifies the emperor at court while the other portrays the results of the usurpation of the Byzantine throne.

The Egyptian courts were illustrated in Jean’s manuscript by another pair of rare miniatures portraying life in the Egyptian court. During the second crusade, the crusader army, led by King Amaury I (r. 1163–74) of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, invaded Egypt and battled for control with both the Egyptians and with Syrians who had also intervened in the


\(^{150}\) Rothelin continuation, Fauvel Master, Paris, 1337. Another Gothic example is: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22497, f. 92v (Paris, ca. 1350, Rothelin continuation).

\(^{151}\) No continuation, Paris, 1245–48.

\(^{152}\) Folda notes that although the blinding of the Protosebastos Alexius occurs elsewhere, the addition of the bodies and body parts being drugged around Constantinople are “unique.” Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*,” 1:499.
region. Two miniatures in the Amiens manuscript focus on the figure of the Egyptian Sultan Shawar, who vacillated between being a friend and an enemy to the crusaders. In the first example the artist painted a positive portrayal of Shawar assisting the crusaders with a completed peace treaty with the magnificent caliph, while in its companion the second the internal problems among the Egyptian leadership are represented.

The first Egyptian illumination is positioned at the start of book nineteen, but represents an event occurring much later in the book. The miniature portrays Sultan Shawar kissing the feet of Caliph Adid. The caliph is designated by his pointed hat and the sultan is posed in a prostrate position on the steps leading up to the caliph’s throne with his face near the bottom of the caliph’s robe (f. 159, Fig. 1.42). The sultan brought Hugh of Cesarea, standing to the right holding his hat next to Geoffrey Fulcher in red, to speak to the caliph about a treaty with King Amaury that would offer aid to Egypt in its fight against the Syrian army led by Shirkuh (1167).  

William of Tyre describes an exotic scene in which the sultan leads the westerners through a labyrinthine series of passageways to the caliph’s court, where bejeweled curtains are drawn to reveal the caliph on a golden throne. There the sultan prostrated himself and “humbly offered as to a divinity due worship and a king of abject adoration.” He bowed three times, laid his sword on the ground, kissed the caliph’s feet and explained that they were there to complete the treaty negotiations. The caliph agreed to all the terms of the treaty agreement, after

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which Hugh asked him to finalize the deal by offering his hand. Although the action was inappropriate for a person of his status, the caliph complied. In other Eracles manuscripts a discussion between Hugh of Caesarea or King Amaury and the caliph are featured, but there is only one other example of the Sultan kissing the caliph’s feet (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9081, f. 245v, Fig. 1.43), where the scene is painted in bottom register of the initial ‘R.’ Similar to the portrayal of the homage to the Emperor John II, this miniature shows the figure of the caliph in all his glory, properly reigning in his court.

The second Egyptian themed miniature then inverts the proper order of the Egyptian court in a portrayal of its overthrow when the Syrian Shirkuh sends his henchmen to murder the Egyptian Sultan Shawar and his sons in Cairo (f. 169v, Fig. 1.44). William of Tyre recounts that Shirkuh had been amicably visiting with the sultan for several days. Once Shirkuh had won the sultan’s confidence, he secretly ordered his own men to murder the sultan. The sultan’s sons ran in fear to Saladin, who was ruling in Syria and who ordered them killed soon after. After this episode Shirkuh was elevated to be the sultan of Egypt (1169).


156 No continuation, Paris, 1245–48. Other Gothic examples of this scene are: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2634, f. 241v, featuring the handshake (Paris, ca. 1310–25, Rothelin continuation); Paris, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Mem. et Doc. 230bis, f. 142 (Provence, ca. 1265, 1232 continuation).

157 Although this scene is unique, there are related elements portrayed in two other illustrated William of Tyre manuscripts, both at the Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 9081, f. 262v (Paris, 1245–48, no continuation) in which Saladin awards Shirkuh the Sultanate of Egypt and fr. 22497, f. 66 (Paris, 1350, Rothelin continuation), in which the Caliph kills Shawar’s sons. Folda pointed out that the image was constructed in the fifteenth century. Folda “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:499.

The Créquy Master painted an enthroned sultan stabbed with a spear and falling dead. In the right foreground, a man slits the throat while a figure in green simultaneously hits one of his sons. As he had done elsewhere, the artist selectively uses yellow on the turban of the murderer on the throne an indicator of his bad character. The Créquy Master visually links this scene with the earlier scene of the sultan kissing Caliph Adid’s foot (Fig. 1.42) by painting a similar stepped throne surrounded by draped fabric and placing a tall pointed hat on both enthroned figures. The intentional inversion of the proper order of rule is extressed through a shift in the ruling figures’ posture, from upright and dignified on folio 159 to diagonal and attacked on folio 169v. Furthermore, the artist also created an opposition within the onlookers of the court, from orderly and respectful in the former to chaotically brawling along the right of the latter. The strongly similar court setting with such opposing circumstances occurring within underlines the treachery of Shirkuh’s strike against the sultan.

The final pair of miniatures in Jean V’s Eracles iconographically feature the True Cross on which Jesus was crucified.159 According to Frolow, the True Cross was lost throughout most of the Middle Ages and then rediscovered by Arnulf of Rohes, the Patriarch of Jerusalem on 5 August 1099. Although the cross was normally kept in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, where it was used in rituals and processions, it was also well documented that it was taken into battle.160 There, it was typically venerated by the crusader soldiers before they headed

159 I published a small portion of my analysis of the True Cross miniatures previously as catalog no. 42 in Imagining the Past in France, 236–38. I greatly appreciate the guidance of Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman as I developed my analysis for that publication.

out to fight and then it was carried by the vanguard to the battlefield.\textsuperscript{161} The crusader armies believed the cross communicated strength to them in battle and reports of its success intervening on their behalf occurred throughout the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{162} Although the two miniatures in the Amiens \textit{Eracles} featuring the True Cross are physically separated from one another in the manuscript, the Créquy Master visually connected them through repetition of the Cross relic, first portraying its miraculous salvation of the crusader army and then its tragic loss to Saladin at the battle of the Horns of Hattīn.\textsuperscript{163}

The first scene including the True Cross, newly conceived for Jean V’s manuscript, is found in chapter eleven, in which the crusaders take the True Cross out on the battlefield in the 1140s (f. 125, Fig. 1.45). The Turkish army started an underbrush fire that, carried by the wind, surrounded the crusaders. They asked Robert, archbishop of Nazareth, to pray for them using the True Cross. This he did, aiming the Cross toward the fire. Simultaneously, the wind changed direction, causing the fire to rush back to the Turkish army, miraculously saving the crusaders.\textsuperscript{164} The miniature shows the crusaders trapped by long strips of fire. Turkish soldiers, several wearing the malevolently yellow turbans, point their drawn bows in severe diagonals that emphasize the hopeless circumstances of the crusaders. In the foreground, the archbishop kneels


\textsuperscript{162} Riley-Smith, “Peace Never Established,” 92.

\textsuperscript{163} The \textit{Eracles} text includes the narrative of the cross’s history at several points, including its reentry into Jerusalem from Persia and its travel back out of Jerusalem and into several battles. The miracle of the True Cross appears in book 16 of William of Tyre’s original text, during the joint reign of Baldwin III and his mother, Melisend (Second Crusade), while its loss occurs in the continuation text.

with his hands around the base of the Cross; the trapped crusaders are lined up behind, focusing faithfully expectant gazes on the holy relic. The artist has skillfully captured this poignant moment of pious hope in the face of doom as prayer is directed at the powerful intercessory symbol of the Cross. Typical *Eracles* miniatures for this book are very different from this, illustrating the dynastic succession of the Latin Kingdom by portraying either King Fulk’s death, his funeral, or his son and successor Baldwin III’s coronation.\(^{165}\)

Unfortunately, the crusader army’s faith was not always as effective, as is demonstrated in the illustration of the loss of the powerful Cross relic at the battle of the Horns of Hattīn (Saturday, 4 July 1187). In this battle, Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria, and his army routed the crusaders and captured both the cross and Guy of Lusignan, King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. After Guy’s earlier contested coronation (1186) Baldwin of Ramla foretold his downfall in the text, stating: “this man who is now king is a madman and a fool. He will in no way follow my advice nor yours but will want to go astray by the counsel of those who know nothing.”\(^{166}\) The subsequent text underscores that Guy took bad advice regarding the battle, bringing about the downfall Baldwin foretold.\(^{167}\)

The loss of the Cross at the Horns of Hattīn is a second newly conceived and unique composition focused on the Cross (f. 202, Fig. 1.46). The chaotic scene dominated by armorial flags thrust in the air and a mass of helmets arranged in a horizontal band, portrays the

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\(^{165}\) A Gothic example of a representation of the crusaders fighting in this section of the text includes Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9083, f. 159 (Paris, ca. 1340, Called the “Rothelin Manuscript”), in which Saracens harass crusaders as they return march from Damascus. The later manuscript belonging to King Edward IV shares very similar iconography to Jean of Créquy’s example for this scene (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 266, Bruges, ca. 1480).


convergence of the armies. In the midst of this confusion, King Guy, clearly identified by the distinctive coat of arms of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, is captured. In the left foreground, the True Cross, turned upside down and claimed as a spoil of war, is nearly as visually lost in the mêlée as it was historically lost to the crusaders. The illumination dramatically captures the moment this downfall occurs.

The two illuminations that focus on the Cross in opposing circumstances suggests its intentional linkage in the overall visual narrative. In each the Créquy Master positioned the Cross in the same place, in the left foreground, creating a visual tie between the miniatures. The different orientations of the cross, right-side-up versus upside-down, as well as the contrast in compositional structure, orderly versus chaotic, communicate the opposition in meaning. In one situation the Cross relic performed a miracle due to the strong faith of the army, while in another both it and the kingdom were lost due to a leader’s weakness.

The first parts of the three pairs of inversions for the Byzantine, Egyptian and crusader dynasties demonstrate that the Créquy Master expressly intended to provide representations of the proper order of rule, in which homage and prostration are respectfully performed at court and in which the True Cross saves the faithful crusader army. On the other hand, the second example

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169 Two later fifteenth-century manuscripts include scenes from this moment in the chronicle. The London manuscript’s miniature, painted by the same assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius as its miracle of the True Cross image, portrays the crusader King, Guy of Lusignan, crowned and in a golden suit of armor (f. 433v Eracles continuation, Bruges, ca. 1475–80). A similar Gothic example of this scene is Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 247 (Paris, ca. 1300–40, Rothelin continuation), in which the captured crusader king is delivered to Saladin on the battlefield. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 2:146. The Brussels manuscript miniature shows a general mêlée battle scene that does not include the True Cross or the loss of the king (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 287v. Rothelin continuation, Master of the Livre d’Eracles, Lille, ca. 1460); Imagining the Past in France, 238; Edbury, The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, 24–47; and L’Estoire de Eracles l’emperor, 62–66.
for each pair shows the artist’s intention to also show the downfall of each dynasty through Andronicus’ usurpation, Shirkuh’s slaughter and King Guy’s and the True Cross’s dramatic capture. Each of these failures was due to internal strife within each group. The Créquy Master’s use of strong iconographic inversions, especially in the Egyptian and Cross examples shows the sophistication of his use of visual narrative as well as his intention to show the rise and fall of diverse groups involved in the crusades.

Conclusion

This study of the Amiens Eracles and its context demonstrates that Jean V of Créquy had the opportunity to actively engage in his crusade interests, which seem to be wide-reaching. His ancestors had taken part in the first and second crusade and he himself went on pilgrimage and/or on a reconnaissance mission to the Holy Land around 1448–50, just around the time he commissioned his Eracles. He spent the bulk of his life, however, in northern Europe, either at the Burgundian court, or fighting in local wars. Perhaps as a result, his Eracles manuscript described the Holy Land, its rulers and wars in visual terms he would recognize from his own interest in the Holy Land and chivalric activity. The inclusion of his personal arms on folio 7 injects his identity as a knight of the Crusading Order of the Golden Fleece into the visual scheme of the book and interweaves the history of crusades to the Holy Land with his crusading intentions and membership in the chivalric order. The visual narrative presents crusade history as a series of positive examples of both crusader and eastern leaders while also showing how dissension caused negative turns of fortune for multiple parties involved in the eastern struggle.
Indeed, as a man who believed in the possibility of a crusade on behalf of Philip the Good and who was planning his own mission to the Holy Land, it is no surprise that Jean of Créquy owned crusade related romances and histories, and that he commissioned a visually complex miniature cycle that portrayed not only the triumphs but also the defeats of the past crusades.
Wolfert VI of Borssele commissioned his illuminated *Eracles* chronicle manuscript in the decade following the Feast of the Pheasant, right around the time of Pope Pius II’s crusade (1464).\(^{170}\) The artists for this manuscript were given the opportunity to invent new, unique scenes for the expansive illumination cycle, and their close reading of the text allowed them to cleverly refresh traditional iconography with new narrative details. Wolfert VI’s *Eracles* manuscript modeled an ideal approach to individual, ecclesiastical, and monarchical collaboration to successfully reclaim the Holy Land, whether conceived as historical Jerusalem or contemporary Constantinople. In this, it differs radically from the more personalized cycle in Jean of Créquy’s manuscript. As a military man, Wolfert may have been expecting to join the crusade that he had vowed to undertake. When that crusade failed to come to fruition, he might have felt frustration at not being able to participate in the great Holy war of his era. A certain frustration with the leaders responsible for mounting a crusade resonates with the idealized themes found in Wolfert’s *Eracles*, portraying how a crusade should be undertaken within its illumination cycle.

\(^{170}\) I delivered a version of this article “Imagining the Crusades in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy: The Order of the Golden Fleece and the *Livre d’Eracles*, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. 85 in context,” the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, United Kingdom, 9 July 2012. I would like to extend my thanks particularly to Drs. Peter Edbury, Anne D. Hedeman, Laura Whatley, whose suggestions extended my analysis.
Wolfert VI of Borssele

Wolfert VI, Lord of Veere, and Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland (ca. 1430 to 29 April 1486), was a powerful Burgundian nobleman, who rose to be a chamberlain to Charles the Bold and an admiral in his navy. He shared family ties with the highest levels of the Burgundian court; he was a relative of Philip the Good’s through his uncle Frank of Borssele’s marriage to Philip’s cousin, Jacqueline of Bavaria, and was brother-in-law to Louis of Gruuthuse through Louis’ marriage to Wolfert’s sister Marguerite (Margaretha) of Borssele.

171 His name is also found as Wolfart van Borselen. Wolfert VI held the castle Zandenburg. From 1466 he was the Admiral General of Artois, Boulonnais, Holland, Zeeland and Frieseland for Charles the Bold. His family’s control over the ports of Zeeland and his marriage to the Scottish princess allowed the Lords of Veere to maintain a strong connection with Scottish merchants and a powerful position in the region. In 1475 Charles the Bold made him General Captain of the Sea. He participated in the battles of Dinant and Liège. Louis Sicking, Neptune and the Netherlands: State, Economy and War at Sea in the Renaissance, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), xxvii, 47, 49, 53–55; 260–61; Mario Damen, “The Nerve Centre of Political Networks? The Burgundian Court and the Integration of Holland and Zeeland into the Burgundian State, 1425–1477,” in The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages, edited by Steve Gunn and Antheum Janse, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 80; Alain Marchandisse and Geneviève Coura, “Les lendemains des guerres burgondo-liégeoises du XVᵉ siècle,” in Lendemains de Guerre...: De l’Antiquité au monde contemporain: les hommes, l’espace et le récit, l’économie et la politique, edited by Valérie Toureille and François Pernot (Brussels: P. Lang, 2010), 305n63.

172 Wolfert VI was the son of Henri II of Borssele and Jeanne of Halewijn (Hendrick van Borselen and Johanna van Halewijn). He was married twice, first to Marie Stuart, daughter of James I of Scotland in 1444, thus gaining the title ‘count of Buchan,’ and after her death to Charlotte of Bourbon in 1468. His daughter Anne married Philip of Burgundy, who was the son of Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy, and thus the grandson of Philip the Good. Before this marriage Anne was briefly engaged to Philip of Clèves, who eventually came into possession of Wolfert VI’s Eracles manuscript. Gil points out that Wolfert is visualized, identified through his armorial shield, along with Philip the Good’s family in a miniature in Pieter van Renesse’s Remissorium Philippi. Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Graven van Holland, 3.01.01, inv nr. 2149.

In 1477 Wolfert took over the post of Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland from his brother-in-law, Louis of Gruuthuse, because after that date the post was open only to regional natives. Unfortunately, he lost the post in 1480 when Archduke Maximilian removed him as a result of his involvement in regional factional strife. His downfall continued in 1485 when he took the side of Flemish rebels against Maximilian and was thus stripped even of his inherited lordship of Veere and his lands. He was condemned before the Parlement of Malines in Bovines, but he died shortly after in 1486 at Saint-Omer.

Wolfert VI attended the Feast of the Pheasant where he sat with the other young elite of his generation, such as Charles the Bold and Anthony the Grand Bastard of Burgundy. Like the other attendees, Wolfert VI vowed to join the duke’s army and to provide funding if ever Philip the Good or Charles the Bold successfully mounted a crusading force. He was inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece in Bruges in May 1478. Although there is yet no evidence that Wolfert VI participated in any of the Burgundian military crusading efforts, he participated in the same cultural events relating to the Burgundian crusade his contemporaries did. He must have experienced great disappointment, as a man who was dedicated to the Burgundian navy, to have to stand by while the leaders of his era failed to successfully organize the proposed crusade.

**Manuscript Collection**

Although Wolfert VI’s *Eracles* was one of at least ten volumes he owned, he did not collect manuscripts focused on the crusades. His library, located in his family’s chateau in the Veere, Zeeland, included liturgical books and several classical histories such as Valerius Maximus’s *Faits et dits mémorables*, Flavius Josephus’s *La guerre des juifs* and the *Grande historie de César* translated by Pierre Bersuier (Paris, BA, Mss. 5196, Bruges?, 1460s, and

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173 He sat at the second great table and also took part in a masquerade. De la Marche, *Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche*, 2:378; Mathieu d’Escouhy, *Chronique*, 2:141, 236.


175 Wolfert VI’s father Henri II was inducted into the order as well in December 1445. Wolfert VI’s son-in-law Philip was inducted into the order at the same chapter meeting as Wolfert in 1478. De Smedt, *Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle*, 104–6, 192–94, 198–99; Anne S. Korteweg, “La localisation des sièges des chevaliers dans les stalles des églises de 1431 à 1491,” in *L’ordre de la Toison d’or* 209–20; Marchandisse and Coura, “Les lendemains des guerres burgondo-liégeoises du XVe siècle,” 305n63.

5082–83, ca. 1485–86, and BnF, Ms. fr. 20312bis, Bruges?; 1473–78). Wijsman suggests that Wolfert VI also could have commissioned, as a gift for Duke Philip the Good, Johannes Beke’s Chronique de Hollande, Zélande, Frise (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9002, Bruges, 1455–60). Within his own era his collection was dispersed and his Eracles passed to Philip of Clèves, to whom his daughter, Anne of Borssele, was briefly engaged.  

Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85

Wolfert VI of Borssele commissioned the second most sumptuously decorated fifteenth-century Eracles manuscript after King Edward IV’s: Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 (Fig. 2.1). The Geneva Eracles contains thirty-eight miniatures, a much larger cycle than those found in his bibliophile brother-in-law Louis of Gruuthuse’s, which has twenty-seven, or that of elder statesman Jean V of Créquy’s, which contained twenty-two. The expanded illumination cycle in Wolfert VI’s Eracles provided the artists opportunities to elaborate visually on the stories of important crusader characters and significant events in innovative ways which not only brought

177 Sicking, Neptune and the Netherlands, 57–58.


179 Thirteen are half-page and the rest one-column sized.

180 Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68.

181 Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F.
the text of the crusade chronicle to life but also resonated with the contemporary Burgundian crusading context.\textsuperscript{182}

\textit{Artists}

The Geneva \textit{Eracles} manuscript was an atelier production, showing evidence of the participation of at least three artists. Art historians have argued the manuscript was painted by and under the direction of either Simon Marmion (active 1447–89) or Loyset Liédet (active 1460–78).\textsuperscript{183} Liédet was heavily influenced by Marmion’s style in his Hesdin period in the 1460s, causing frequent confusion in attributions of works by each artist. Appendix A reviews the historiography concerning attribution of the Geneva \textit{Eracles} to Marmion, Liédet, and other artists and concludes, in agreement with Marc Gil, that Simon Marmion did not work on the manuscript. A Marmion follower, referred to here as Artist A, produced the frontispiece, copying some of Marmion’s figures and mixing them with figures from other sources.\textsuperscript{184} It also supports Delaissé’s argument that the Geneva manuscript originated in the atelier of Liédet in Hesdin where he collaborated with several artists strongly under Marmion’s influence.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{182} The frontispiece (f. 2) margins indicate the manuscript’s provenance. Wolfert VI’s arms are overpainted with those of Philip of Clèves in the bottom margin. Philip’s emblem, a ‘Q’ majuscule mounted on a crown and his devise ‘\textit{A iamés}’ are also present. Marc Gil discovered that the arms of Wolfert VI were underneath. On the provenance of the manuscript see: Dobratz, “Conception and Reception of Guillaume de Tyr’s \textit{Livre d’Eracles} in 15th-century Burgundy,” 589 and n28, 594; Anne S. Korteweg, “La bibliothèque de Philippe de Clèves : inventaire et manuscrits parvenues jusqu’à nous,” in \textit{Entre la ville, la noblesse et l’état : Philippe de Clèves (1456–1528), homme politique et bibliophile}, eds. Jelle Haemers, Céline van Hoorebeek and Hanno Wijsman, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 183–221; Wijsman, \textit{Luxury Bound}, 266.

\textsuperscript{183} On the manuscript’s artistic hands see also: Dobratz, “Conception and Reception,” 585, 589 and n28, 594, 602, 605; Georges Dogaer, James H. Marrow and Friedrich Winkler, \textit{Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries} (Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1987), 51–53, 55, 107, 112; Maurits Smeyers and Jan van der Stock, eds., \textit{Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, 1475–1550} (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1997), 140.


\textsuperscript{185} \textit{Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande}, 73.
Indeed, the frontispiece of this manuscript bears out Delaissé’s argument that the stylistic association between Marmion and Liédet is so strong that the work of the two artists should not be separated; manuscripts in this style should be categorized as a part of the Marmion/Mansel milieu. Of the two Liédet followers who produced the miniatures following the frontispiece, one (Artist B) was generally in charge of the interiors, and the other (Artist C) the exteriors, although other artists may have participated. Three or more artists following Loyset Liédet at Hesdin in the 1460s and purposefully adapting Marmionesque figures to present a stylistically consistent visual narrative created the Geneva *Eracles*.

The Visual Narrative

Wolfert VI’s *Eracles*’s illumination cycle differs from Jean of Créquy’s and Louis of Gruuthuse’s copies because it has many more miniatures in its cycle. The typical approach to illuminating the fifteenth-century *Eracles* was to allocate one miniature to each book, resulting in a cycle of twenty-three miniatures, each placed at the start of a book. These miniatures function as pathfinders and highlight for the reader the most important narrative elements in the text. To expand Wolfert’s manuscript’s illumination cycle, the artists included more than one scene in each book, frequently inventing scenes that were never before illustrated in *Eracles*

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186 Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande, 70.

manuscripts. Additional scenes provided opportunities to emphasize certain characters or narrative elements through their recurrence, shift the roles played by characters, expand specific events across multiple miniatures and idealize the activities of western crusading rulers. These techniques of visual narrative expression allowed the artists to place special emphasis on stories that reflect the contemporary crusading context of Wolfert VI, who was personally dedicated and financially to the Papal-Burgundian crusade.

The expanded narrative cycle concentrates on several themes. The frontispiece begins the manuscript with a focus on the city of Jerusalem’s cycle of destruction, need for assistance, and restoration. The characters Peter the Hermit and Urban II, instrumental in motivating the first crusade intervention in this cycle, merit special focus, as do the warriors of that first crusade, like Baldwin I. The planners even cleverly bookend the frontispiece’s focus on the Holy City with a two-miniature concentration on the victorious crusade siege of Jerusalem. The cycle additionally includes the charitable actions of an individual citizen of Jerusalem working to improve the living conditions in the Holy City. Visualizations of later crusades focus on both the positive and negative behaviors of secular princes like the Byzantine emperor and lazy Latin nobles.

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188 For example, in book 14:23, Pons, the Count of Tripoli was taken prisoner in a battle with the Damascene army of Baswaj, and later put to death, according to William of Tyre due to some betrayal by the Syrians of the region. His son Raymond later returned to the region to avenge him. The representative miniature for this scene was placed on f. 130v, though the text it illustrates is found on the following leaf, f. 131. The artist has painted a group of Saracen attackers identifiable through their waist and head wraps. In the center the soldier in blue holds a scimitar over the body of a limp western figure in a red tunic and black hat. Blood pours onto the ground beneath him. The dying figure is most likely the figure of Pons, Count of Tripoli. Raymond does not appear in this miniature, even though the rubric indicates we are learning about his deeds. The rubric reads: Des fais du conte raimon et comet les sarrazins desconfirent les xpiens. There are no other instances of this scene having been portrayed in the Eracles corpus. Most likely it has been included as a way to add an additional more exciting miniature to the book, which begins with a more traditional miniature of the newly crowned King Fulk of Jerusalem (f. 125v). William, Archbishop of Tyre, A History of Deeds, 2:82–83.
Frontispiece

The Geneva manuscript’s elaborate frontispiece features a complex combination of narratives (f. 2, Figs. 2.1, 2.2–2.5). Typically frontispieces of Eracles manuscripts picture one of two stories. The first offers a prehistory of the Christian struggle by representing the story of the seventh-century Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–40) in his war with Persia in 628 and his brief restoration of the churches of Jerusalem after their destruction by Muslim occupiers. William of Tyre limits his discussion of Heraclius to a few facts: Chosroes II had captured and destroyed Jerusalem’s churches and murdered its citizens; Heraclius defeated him in Persia; Afterwards Heraclius returned the True Cross to Jerusalem, ordained Modestus as the city’s new Patriarch, and ordered all the city’s churches to be cleaned and rebuilt.189

The second approach is to illuminate the story of Peter the Hermit, who set out from the Holy Land seeking aid from Pope Urban II and western monarchs. According to William of Tyre, Peter the Hermit was a priest, originally from Picardy, who went to Jerusalem on pilgrimage (ca. 1094–95). During his visit, Simeon, patriarch of Jerusalem, granted Peter an audience, at which he informed Peter of the region’s struggles with Muslim expansion. William of Tyre wrote that after witnessing the desecration of the holy places in the Holy Land, Peter traveled to see Pope Urban II in Rome in 1095 and conveyed a message from the patriarch

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outlining the need to reclaim the city. Peter ultimately persuaded Urban II as well as other western leaders to launch a crusade.¹⁹⁰

The Eracles frontispiece in Wolfert VI’s manuscript combines the two traditional stories, juxtaposing the pre-crusade, seventh-century, story from Heraclius’s era in the background, with that of Peter the Hermit from the eleventh century in the foreground.¹⁹¹ The artist nestled four scenes from the text in a counterclockwise layout within a cityscape, which strongly dominates the overall miniature. In the top right corner, Chosroes II, in red and blue, orders the churches of Jerusalem destroyed and the people of the city massacred (Fig. 2.2). In the top left corner, workmen rebuild the churches of Jerusalem at Heraclius’s command (Fig. 2.3).¹⁹² In the bottom left corner, Peter the Hermit, in brown monastic garb, accepts a letter from the hand of the Patriarch of Jerusalem (Fig. 2.4). In the bottom right, Peter delivers the message to Pope Urban II (Fig. 2.5). The artist rendered the patriarch’s letter containing the call for help clearly in both instances, underscoring the importance of the request for aid and thus Peter’s essential role as the


¹⁹¹ The rubric for this miniature was never added. The rubrics for the first two quires were planned but not inserted, the first completed rubric appearing on f. 15v in the third quire.

The four moments together demonstrate the cyclical nature of Jerusalem’s history, in which Muslim invaders destroy the city, Christian heroes restore it, and renewed Muslim occupations require further Christian action. Notably, the artist uses repetition to single out Peter the Hermit as the conduit by which help for the Holy City was sought in the crusade era.

The combination of stories from two different eras—the era of Heraclius before the crusades and the crusading era—and the highlighting of Jerusalem itself makes the Geneva frontispiece unique among the fifteenth-century examples, which typically illustrate only one character’s narrative with less focus on the city of Jerusalem. Two examples feature Heraclius, and two Peter the Hermit (with Pope Urban II), but their narrative focus is more on individuals’ actions, rather than Jerusalem. In contrast, by featuring events that took place in the same locus at different moments, the Geneva manuscript shifts visual attention to make the long-suffering Jerusalem the driving force for Peter’s voyage west.

There were precedents for this focus on Jerusalem in Gothic manuscripts of the Eracles. Thirteenth and fourteenth century examples of multi-compartment frontispieces juxtapose Heraclius’ and Peter’s narratives. The most complex example is Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, which has a frontispiece in a three-register, six-compartment structure (f. 9, Fig. 2.6). On the left, the top register shows Emperor Heraclius enthroned with his courtiers, in the middle he returns the True Cross, which bishop Modestus of Jerusalem carries to the Holy City, and in the bottom the

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193 Folda notes that this miniature is influenced by standard thirteenth-century themes in “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:484, 513n15.

194 London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 16 and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 1 show emperor Heraclius, while Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F, f. 1 and Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 1, portray Peter the Hermit with Urban II.

195 The Parisian artist the Fauvel Master painted this manuscript in Paris (1337). Folda indicated Ms. fr. 22495 as a specific model for the Geneva manuscript’s illumination cycle throughout in “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:484, 513n15.
Egyptian Caliph Hakim besieges Jerusalem. On the right, at the top Hakim orders Christians to worship idols, in the center John Carianites rebuilds the churches of Jerusalem, and in the bottom, Peter the Hermit brings crusaders to the Holy Land. This early fourteenth-century manuscript extends Peter the Hermit’s visual narrative by portraying him in a second miniature delivering the patriarch of Jerusalem’s letter to Pope Urban II on the left (f. 14, Fig. 2.7). By combining scenes of destruction and rebuilding, of religious desecration and restoration, this earlier example emphasizes the necessity for safeguarding Christian Jerusalem. The Geneva Eracles parallels this earlier solution, but in an inventive fashion, placing as much visual emphasis on the city itself as on the individuals acting within it (Fig. 2.1). The inclusion in the fifteenth-century frontispiece of Peter the Hermit’s scenes in the foreground along with background scenes from the earlier era interweaves the patriarch’s call for help with the cycle of destruction and rebuilding more strongly. The focus on the restoration of Jerusalem and on the roles of individual actors, like Peter the Hermit recalls the fifteenth-century context in which Philip the Good was supporting Pope Pius II’s attempt to mount a new crusade. Presenting Jerusalem as a city requiring cyclical reclamation would have brought to mind the more pressing question of Constantinople, the city most lately in need of recovery from the Muslims.


197 Although the Geneva manuscript does parallel iconographically Gothic models like Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, I am not suggesting that it was directly copied from the earlier manuscript. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495 was in the possession of Jacques d’Armagnac, Duke of Nemours in the fifteenth-century and in the sixteenth in the library of the Croy family, close associates to the Burgundian Dukes during the 15th century. BnF, Archives et manuscrits, Département des Manuscrits, Ms. fr. 22495. http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000052269. Accessed 3 December 2013.
Urban II

The second miniature in the manuscript is a rare depiction of Urban II preaching the first crusade in France at the Council of Clermont (f. 12v, Fig. 2.8). The chronicle recounts that after Peter the Hermit convinced Urban II that military action was necessary to reclaim the Holy Land, the pope traveled through Italy and France, where he convened councils with his clergy to propose a crusade. In November 1095 he reached Clermont and preached the crusade to the region’s bishops, abbots and royal and noble leaders with Peter the Hermit also in attendance.¹⁹⁸ The chronicle transcribes Urban II’s speech, which argues for the crusade as a method of ‘relieving’ Jerusalem and the entire Holy Land from Muslim occupation.¹⁹⁹

The planners of the Geneva Eracles dedicated a half-page miniature placed just ten folios after the frontispiece to Urban II giving his speech.²⁰⁰ At the left positioned highest in the room, Urban II is enthroned before the gathering, surrounded by bishops and cardinals whose gestures reveal their active discussion. This large scene, nineteen-lines high and two-columns wide, gives visual importance the second appearance of Pope Urban II.

This is a unique scene among fifteenth-century Eracles manuscripts, and there are only two surviving Gothic antecedents – BnF, Ms. fr. 22495 (f. 15v, Fig. 2.9) and fr. 22496 (f. 1, Fig. 2.10). In Ms. fr. 22495, Urban II travels to the council and then preaches to bishops at Clermont from a dais. In Ms. fr. 22496, the left top compartment shows Peter the Hermit pleading with

¹⁹⁸ Church reform was Clermont’s goal. The crusade was only discussed at the end. Bisaha, “Pope Pius II and the Crusade,” 190n23. On Clermont, see also: Tyerman, God’s War, 62–74.


²⁰⁰ The rubric was never added. Folda identified the image as “Peter the Hermit arrives at the Papal Court to deliver his message,” but Peter is not present in the miniature. He also notes this miniature is influenced by BnF, Ms. fr. 22495 in “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:484, 513n15, 2:338.
Urban II for help, and the central top compartment shows Urban II preaching from a dais with Peter the Hermit at his side before a kneeling monastic audience. Both the Geneva Eracles and Ms. fr. 22495, in particular, visually emphasize the historical foundation for Jerusalem’s need for assistance and juxtapose it with the effective western institutional response, Urban II’s historic promotion of the first crusade at Clermont. Although responding to the earlier iconographic tradition exemplified by Ms. fr. 22495, the Geneva Eracles shifts visual focus to Urban II’s effective persuasion of the French clergy and laity. It expands the scene to half-page size, giving further weight to the subject.

The Clermont miniature showing the preaching of the first crusade evoked an event from Wolfert VI’s own time: Pope Pius II’s attempts to mount a crusade. It may have particularly evoked Pius II’s congress at Mantua in 1459 in which he called for a crusade against the Turks who had already advanced on Greece, Illyricum, and Hungary, and who threatened Germany, Italy and the rest of Europe.201 Unfortunately, the congress was poorly attended and resulted in no action on the parts of the western princes.202 Urban II’s strongly effective speech would have provided a stark contrast to Pius II’s ineffective congress which took place just a few years before the manuscript was conceived.


202 The conference was in the summer 1459 to January 1460. Tyerman, God's War, 870.
Siege of Antioch

After the crusaders mounted an army and headed east, they participated in many battles before reaching their goal of Jerusalem, the most substantial of which was the first crusade siege of Antioch, which took more than a year (1097–98). The events that transpired at Antioch inspired the creation of histories and *chansons de gestes* throughout the next few centuries and William of Tyre filled books four through six with all its related events. Most illustrated *Eracles* manuscripts devote several miniatures to Antioch’s events, usually providing at least one miniature at the opening of each of the three books, where they serve as visual pathfinders. The Geneva *Eracles* however dedicates five miniatures, all of which are positioned deep within a book’s text. This more extensive Antioch cycle mixes three narratively specific miniatures with two that are more broadly representative of the conflicts that occurred during the siege.

William of Tyre opens his chronicle of Antioch by describing the history, importance and the physical situation of the city, which rests between a mountain and a river in a fertile valley. He notes that the city’s wall extends between the mountain and the river, protecting it from attack, and within its walls are further high altitude areas on which the citizens have built a fortified citadel. The populace benefits from fresh mountain springs within the city’s walls. These details help explain why the citizens were able to withstand the crusaders’ siege for such a long time.

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203 For example, the *Chanson d’Antioche* and *Songe d’Antioche*.

The Geneva manuscript includes a miniature portraying a cityscape view of Antioch, perched clearly between mountains and a river, following closely the chronicle’s textual description of the city’s position (f. 37, Fig. 2.11). No other Eracles manuscript includes such a view of Antioch. It is common, however, for Eracles manuscripts to include a miniature of the city of Jerusalem that emphasizes the importance of the Holy City as the goal of the crusade, before portraying the city’s siege and capture (Figs. 2.12–2.18). Instead of featuring Jerusalem, the Geneva manuscript’s planners highlight Antioch through a newly crafted composition that follows William of Tyre’s description rather than reusing the typical portrayal of Jerusalem between two mountains (Fig. 2.14–18).

Two leaves later, the artists represent Antioch under siege (f. 39, Fig. 2.19). In the central foreground a golden armored crusade leader surveys the battle between his soldiers armed with bows, arrows and a cannon and the Antiochenes aiming bows and spears from the top of the city walls. Although the illumination is positioned at the head of book four’s chapter thirteen, it does not specifically illustrate any narrative described in books four or five. Instead it generally captures the sense of conflict between the besieged townspeople and the crusaders,

205 The rubric also describes the city’s position: “Coment la cite dantioche siet et descontres dentour des montaignes et rivieres et lieux fertiles.”

206 Examples include: from the fifteenth century: BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 98 and BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 122; and the Gothic examples include: Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93, f. 89; Épinal, BM, Ms. 45, f. 56v; Florence, BM, Plut. 61.10, f. 80v; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2630, f. 63v and fr. 9084, f. 89v. I was unable to consult the following which have also been listed by Folda as containing the Jerusalem cityscape: Rome, BAV, Ms. Pal. Lat. 1963, f. 69; Paris, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Mem. et. Doc. 230bis, f. 49; Turin, BN, Ms L II 17, f. 69.

207 The rubric reads: “Des portes dantioche et du gouvernement du siege et de ceulx dedans.”
who are spread out in camps around the city’s walls. There is no miniature for book five, in which crusaders finally find their way into the city’s walls through Firuz’s betrayal, a popular scene pictured in other Eracles manuscripts, like Jean V of Créquy’s.

In book six, the artists feature Peter the Hermit again (f. 57, Fig. 2.20). He reappears in this unique representation as a warrior working alongside the crusading armies en route to Jerusalem. The Eracles records that once the crusaders were inside Antioch, the army of the Persian leader Korbugha approached the city’s walls and besieged them, causing the crusaders to starve. To end this siege, the crusaders sent a deputation led by Peter the Hermit to Korbugha’s camp, asking the Persian to leave in peace or allow his fate to be decided by the sword (27 June 1098). When Peter delivered this message, Korbugha’s response was that the crusaders were in no position to offer him terms. His counteroffer was that he would enslave every young Christian soldier and kill the rest by sword “like dead trees, so no memory of them may survive,” and implied that although he could have broken down the city’s walls long ago he preferred to let them “die of cruel hunger;” Peter reported back a more diplomatic version of the

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208 Other examples of the siege of Antioch similarly portray rather generic battle scenes, including from the fifteenth century, Amiens, BM, Ms. 483, f. 32, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 70. Gothic examples include: Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 28; Bern, Bbk, Ms. 163, f. 42; Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142, f. 40v; Florence, BML, Plut. 61.10, f. 42; Lyon, BM, Ms. 828, f. 33; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2631, f. 56v, fr. 2827 f. 33, fr. 9082, ff. 57v, 66v, fr. 22496, f. 44v, fr. 24209, f. 44; Saint Petersburg, RNL, Ms. fr. f˚v. IV . 5, f. 18v; Turin, BN, Ms. L. II. 17, f. 40.

209 Folda pointed out this unique miniature in “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:485, 513n18.

210 William, Archbishop of Tyre: A History of Deeds, 1:283; Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continueurs, 1:211. Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, 259. For more on Peter the Hermit’s role in battle, see Tyerman, God’s War, 59, 94–100, 146; Flori, Pierre l’Ermite, 457.
response to the crusader army, that: “...the enemy demanded war.” As a result, the crusaders were inspired to fight and prepared for a battle the next day.

The Geneva Eracles shifts Peter the Hermit’s role from cleric to warrior, painting him not in clerical garb, as in the frontispiece (f. 2, Figs. 2.4–2.5), but in full armor and accompanied by a spear bearer. Peter approaches the formidable Korbunga, the bearded figure wearing a blue hat and golden armor in the right foreground. Peter gestures in speech while Korbunga is still, listening in the moment when the crusaders’ terms are being delivered. No other manuscript in the Eracles corpus visualizes this unique moment. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24209 (f. 62v, Fig. 2.21) shows Peter the Hermit dressed as a cleric and leaving Korbunga’s camp, on the right, to deliver the Persian’s response to the crusaders on the left, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495 (f. 54, Fig. 2.22) shows Peter as a cleric delivering Korbunga’s reply to the crusaders. The Geneva manuscript’s representation shifts Peter’s role from cleric to warrior and from messenger to confrontational negotiator. Peter’s iconographic trajectory through the manuscript, first speaking to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, then to Pope Urban II, and finally negotiating with Korbunga, underscores his powerful role as both speaker and envoy among Christians and their enemies alike as well as his ability to spur the Christians to action. The illumination in the Geneva manuscript not only reinforces Peter’s ongoing active role in the crusaders’ wartime activities, but also indicates a shift in his personal function through his costume change from clerical garb to the armor of a

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212 The rubric reads: “Coment pierre lermite ala devers corbagat et ce quil y exploitta.”
warrior. The miniature features Peter’s courage in this new role and provides a model for individuals confronting Muslim occupiers.

The Geneva Eracles is unique among fifteenth-century examples for its emphasis on the first crusade heroes Peter the Hermit and Urban II, through the inclusion of two illuminations for each. While both the Amiens and Brussels manuscripts portray the meeting between Peter the Hermit and Urban II (both on f. 1), there are no other examples of either figure among the Eracles manuscripts of this period. The expansion of the illumination cycle in Wolfert VI’s manuscript speaks to his interest in these foundational and motivational characters. They call to mind the alliance between Wolfert’s contemporaries, Philip the Good and Pope Pius II, both of whom were actively working to motivate other western rulers to mount a crusade against the Ottomans and gather forces for battle.

The specific narrative of Peter the Hermit’s negotiations and subsequent encouragement of the Christian troops visually builds to a larger crusader victory, the crusader army’s decisive defeat of Korbugha (f. 58, Fig. 2.23). The chronicle recounts that Korbugha sent two thousand of his knights to meet the crusader army at the city’s bridge to prevent them from leaving, but that Hugh the Great ordered his command to charge Korbugha’s soldiers, who then fled.\(^\text{213}\) Once out of the city, the crusader army was able to fill up the plain in front of the city and successfully battle Korbugha’s forces. William of Tyre explained that throughout the conflict Korbugha watched the action from a hill, and that once the tides had turned against his army he and his forces escaped, decisively giving the victory to the crusaders.

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The rubric for this miniature underlines the climactic moment when the army leaves the city to battle the enemy, “How the champions of our Lord left Antioch in battle to go combat the enemies of the faith.”214 The artist portrays the armored crusader soldiers in the background crossing the bridge that allows them to leave Antioch and immediately fight with Korbugha’s soldiers to the right. Korbugha’s camp is situated in the foreground, where multiple figures are painted just watching their fellow soldiers be routed by the crusaders. The artist may have been attempting to convey Korbugha’s remove from the battlefield, though the enemy leader is not featured in particular.

A similar portrayal is featured in a contemporary fifteenth-century example belonging to Duke Philip the Good, (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 58, Fig. 2.24). In this miniature, the crusader army, at right, pours out of the city, crossing the bridge, coming out to meet Korbugha’s army at left. The crossing of the bridge is the concrete narrative element in each portrayal, though the Geneva manuscript’s odd composition, in which Korbugha’s camp of watching, non-reactive men fills the foreground, more powerfully indicates Korbugha’s problematic leadership.215 This is the first of two instances in which inaction is emphasized in the manuscript. The second represents the crusader Prince of Antioch’s refusal to act and is discussed below (see pp.104–106, Fig. 2.41).

The fifth and final miniature in the Antioch group takes place after peace was established, when the Christians set up the principality of Antioch. While the siege in which the crusaders

214 The rubric reads: “Coment les chapions de nre seignr partirent d’antioche en bataille pour aler combatre les enniemis de la foy.”

215 A Gothic example, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9083, f. 59v, portrays the crusaders leaving the city on horseback, while London, BL, Yates Thompson, Ms. 12, f. 29 shows the two armies in a mêlée. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 352 shows a series of images of different battalions of crusaders marching out in order, as described in Book 6:17.
were trapped and starving inside Antioch transpired, the crusader Peter Bartholomew reported that he received a revelation from St. Andrew about the location of the passion relic, the Holy Lance. He led a group to its location where he pulled it from the ground (14 June 1098). The crusaders then went on to win against Korbughha, carrying the lance in the battle, thus generally proving its authenticity to the crusader army.\textsuperscript{216} After the Christians took control over the city, some doubt remained as to the lance’s authenticity, so for a proof the Christians in Antioch put the lance and its discoverer, Peter Bartholomew, through an ordeal by fire. Peter endured the trial by fire nearly a year after the lance was located (8 April 1099). On Good Friday, before the entire city of Antioch, Peter walked through an enormous fire holding the lance, without enduring any visible injury.\textsuperscript{217} Because Peter died a few days later, either due to some fire related injury or to having been crushed by frenzied crowds, doubt remained about the lance’s authenticity, and Peter Bartholomew’s discovery of the lance was received with skepticism.\textsuperscript{218} William of Tyre records that Peter died immediately after the ordeal. Raymond of Caen called him a “fabricator of lies,” insinuating he had placed the metal for the lance in the ground himself while pretending to search for it.\textsuperscript{219} Regardless of its authenticity, the lance encouraged the


\textsuperscript{218} Tyerman notes he was placed on trial because his visions, which continued after the crusaders had won Antioch, showed support for the claims of Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles for power in Antioch against those of Bohemond of Taranto. Tyerman, \textit{God’s War}, 145; A.C. Krey, “Urban’s Crusade - Success or Failure,” \textit{The American Historical Review} 53, no. 2 (Jan 1948): 244.

crusaders to regroup and gather the strength and conviction required to defeat Korbigha’s army. 220

In this final Antioch cycle miniature, the artist painted Peter Bartholomew walking through the center of the fire, holding the Holy Lance (f. 67v, Fig. 2.25). Witnesses gesture around him, signaling their ongoing conversation regarding the relic’s authenticity. This scene is unique in the fifteenth century and only one other example of an Eracles miniature, the earlier Gothic Paris, BnF, Ms. 9083, shows Peter’s ordeal by fire. In this example, Peter Bartholomew also stands in the fire holding the lance while witnesses gesture (f. 67v, Fig. 2.26). 221 Other illuminations of the Lance portray the lance’s discovery and presentation or its use in battle. 222 The Geneva manuscript focuses on the forced proof of the lance’s questionable authenticity, the most dramatic moment. Peter is shown in the center of the fire, but his death is not shown. The question of the lance is thus visually left undecided, even though the result is clear in the history.

Only six other Eracles manuscripts have five or more miniatures dedicated to the Antioch narrative, and only one of them was made in the fifteenth century, the later London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i that belonged to Edward IV. 223 While the Geneva manuscript is not unique in its

220 Tyerman, God’s War, 143–44.

221 The rubric reads: “Coment la verite fu approuvee de la lance dont ihu crist fu feru en cost.” Folda notes that this miniature is influenced by Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9083, Folda “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1: 484, 513n15.

222 London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 98v, Yates Thompson Ms. 12, f. 29; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 352, f. 46v, fr. 22495, f. 61v.

223 The London example’s five miniatures include: ff. 69v (crusader leaders consult regarding the siege), 77 (Antiochenes seek help from their neighbors), 91 (the citadel of Antioch), 98v (the Holy Lance) and 101v (battle with Korbigha). The other examples are all Gothic: Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 352 (more than eight miniatures), 9083 (six miniatures), 22495 (six miniatures), 22496 (six miniatures) and 24209 (five miniatures). Including the Geneva manuscript, there are a total of thirty-nine Eracles manuscripts that include miniatures visualizing the story of Antioch, the average number of miniatures dedicated to the three book expanse related to Antioch being between two and three.
visual amplification of the story of Antioch, it carefully placed additional miniatures within the three books dedicated to Antioch that were carefully chosen. The section on the history of Antioch was tailored to portray fresh and unique scenes, indicating a particular interest in the narratives it contained. Illuminations were unevenly placed, skipping book five completely. Instead, the artists included a unique cityscape, a general scene of battle, a unique image showcasing Peter the Hermit’s negotiating skills, a rare portrayal of the crusader army crossing the city’s bridge to fight Korbuga’s army while he did nothing, and the very rare portrayal of Peter Bartholomew’s ordeal by fire.

Siege of Jerusalem

The idealized goal of the crusade was to rescue Jerusalem from its Muslim occupants and restore it to Christian rulership. Two half-page miniatures in book eight of the Geneva manuscript showcase the realization of these goals by picturing the siege of Jerusalem.224 In the first the crusaders set up their camp outside of Jerusalem near various city gates (f. 71, Fig. 2.27).225 The artist represented three camps positioned near these gates and the crusaders preparing for battle; the centrally placed armored man lights the canon pointed toward the Holy City.226

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224 The Geneva Eracles is one of six that dedicate two or more miniatures to the siege of Jerusalem, including London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, ff. 122, 128v, 134, and Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 352, ff. 61, 62, fr. 9083, ff. 71, 77, fr. 22495 ff. 64, 66, 69v, and fr. 22496, ff. 74, 81.

225 The rubric reads: “Comment le duc godeffroy le prince buiamont et les autres barôs assirent la sainte cite de iherusalè.”

226 No fifteenth-century but four Gothic Eracles examples portray the preparations for the siege: Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 61v and BnF, Mss. fr. 2628, f. 62v, fr. 2634, f. 77v, fr. 22495, f. 66.
In the second representation of the siege, a half-page miniature at chapter fourteen, the crusaders scale the city walls while others aim arrows at the Saracens, who defend their positions from the top of the walls (f. 76v, Fig. 2.28). The artist positioned the miniature at the head of chapter fourteen, which describes how both the crusaders and their enemies passed an anxiety filled night waiting for their opponent to attack. However it more fully illustrates chapter fifteen, which explains how the crusaders filled in the moat and were able to mount the city’s walls. Dirt and wood fill the moat at the base of the city’s wall in the right corner of figure 2.28, and a soldier in the center of the miniature adds further planks as does the soldier at the far right. These textual details betray a close reading of the text in the preparation of this miniature.

Jerusalem, through these two miniatures, is thus attained. No other fifteenth-century Eracles manuscript portrays the installation of the crusader camp before the siege of Jerusalem but two show the attack on the city. The Geneva camp scene expands the illumination cycle in book eight beyond the common active battle scene. These two miniatures build the tension as the reader anticipates the climatic Christian restoration of Jerusalem and then portray the victory being achieved. These illuminations might be considered as an extension of the frontispiece narrative’s cycles of destruction and restoration of the city, satisfying Peter the Hermit’s mission to save Jerusalem with the first crusade victory.

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227 The rubric for the miniature reads: “Comment la cite de Iherusalem fu conquise par les xpiens et des miracles qui advindirent en la foree.”


228 Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F, f. 54v and Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 81.
Baldwin I, King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Count of Edessa

After demonstrating the impetus to the crusades and movement of troops, who battle along the way and ultimately win Jerusalem, the visualization of the Eracles crusade narrative takes up the activities of the new Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Although other fifteenth-century manuscripts concentrate on the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom, Godefroy of Boullion, the planners of this manuscript ignored Godefroy and instead followed the narrative arc in three miniatures of his brother, Baldwin I, count of Edessa, the second ruler of the Latin Kingdom.

Baldwin’s visual story begins book four with a six-chapter description of Baldwin’s campaign in northern Syria, before the establishment of the kingdom, during the crusaders’ voyage to Jerusalem. The chronicle text describes how after his many successes on the battlefield, the elders of the city of Edessa invited Baldwin to come to their city and save them from their regional Muslim overlords. Although they still maintained control of the city itself, the elders were unable to leave its confines and they had had to pay the enemy leaders an annual tribute, taxes, and portions of their harvests. Their elderly Byzantine governor, Thoros, had no heirs and was unable to protect the city’s inhabitants from the enemy. Baldwin agreed to come to the aid of Edessa, and, upon his arrival, he was warmly received in honor by the governor while the people and clergy also met him with religious music (20 February 1098). In chapter three, the people decided Baldwin should split the city’s revenues with the elderly governor.229 In chapter four, Baldwin attacked a nearby city, Samosata, on behalf of the citizens of Edessa, whose children had been kidnapped and enslaved there. Although he was momentarily

unsuccessful, Baldwin ordered troops to remain there and continue to fight to exhaust the lords of the city. The citizens of Edessa were so happy with Baldwin’s efforts that they decided he should be rewarded with the full profits of the city’s coffers. Because they hated governor Thoros, who took financial advantage of them and paid Turks to harass them, they decided to overthrow him, attacking him in his tower in chapter five. Terrified, Thoros asked Baldwin for help. Baldwin realized he could not help the man and told him to do whatever he could to protect his life. The governor tried to escape the angry mob by lowering himself by rope out the window and down the side of the tower. The citizens ambushed and killed him with arrows before his feet touched the ground. They then made Baldwin their ruler (10 March), took oaths of fealty to him, and gave him the former leader’s fortune, forming the first of the Latin states, Edessa. As a result of these events, the ruler of the city Baldwin had been attacking, Balduk of Samosata, decided Baldwin was too formidable a foe. He offered to sell Samosata to Baldwin for 10,000 gold pieces, a price that Baldwin paid, recovering the city of Edessa’s children.²³⁰ In chapter six, the citizens of Edessa asked Baldwin to attack the nearby city of Seruj, which was ruled by a Turkish satrap who frequently harassed them. Baldwin did so and the citizens of Seruj, knowing they were outmatched in strength, surrendered the city in exchange for their safety. Thereafter they paid an annual tribute to Baldwin.²³¹

The Geneva manuscript’s complex miniature placed at chapter two (f. 34v, Fig. 2.29) combines three, perhaps four, scenes from book four, an amalgamation suggested by its rubric:


“How the worthy Baldwin conquered the cities of Edessa [Rohes], Samosata [Samosette] and Seruj [Serorge].”232 The artist first composed a scene from chapter two, when Baldwin is called to Edessa, in the background. At the upper left, Baldwin respectfully kneels in prayer, his army standing behind him, while in the center Thoros and the clergy of Edessa come out of the town to joyfully meet him. Baldwin is never described in the text as kneeling before the citizens, so the artists cast him in a more humble, favorable light. His prayerful posture may in fact relate back to an episode from the book’s first chapter in which Baldwin, having been reprimanded by his brother Godefroy of Bouillon for having dishonorably acted towards his rival crusader, Tancred, in Tarsus,233 sought forgiveness and “recognizing his guilt, promised in all humility to make fitting amends to the noble Tancred for his offense.”234 All was forgiven following this plea. Thus, Baldwin, facing the group of clergy in the background, but posed in humility, may conflate chapters one and two. The significance of the emphasis on humility in Wolfert’s manuscript is underscored by the contrasting formulation in another fifteenth-century example, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68 (f. 44, Fig. 2.30). There the governor of Edessa, about to doff his hat, approaches the mounted Baldwin. Even the iconographically closest Eracles illuminations do not emphasize Baldwin’s seeking forgiveness in humility as much as this manuscript. For example, a grouping of clergy similar to that in Wolfert’s manuscript meet Baldwin at the gates of Edessa in a mid-

232 The rubric states: “Coment le pren bauduin conqst les citz de rohes, samosette et serorge.”


fourteenth century example, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2824 (f. 21, Fig. 2.31). In BnF, Mss. fr. 22495 (f. 34v, Fig. 2.32) and fr. 9083 (f. 37v, Fig. 2.33) the illuminators portray Godefroy’s reprimand, but Baldwin is not posed in prayerful humility. The artist in Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 has created a new composition that conflates the two scenes into one using the posture and angle of the kneeling figure of Baldwin. Furthermore, it focuses attention on Baldwin’s positive acts by eliding the chastisement and any visualization of Baldwin’s bad behavior.

The other scenes in the miniature of Wolfert’s manuscript illustrate other chapters of book four. In the bottom left, a crowned figure, the despised Thoros, lowers himself with the rope, attempting to escape from the city’s angry populace only to be pierced by arrows shot by the soldier in the red tunic at left. Baldwin is mounted on his horse in golden armor witnessing the scene. A few Gothic examples had illustrated this scene in a similar fashion, for example Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 24208 (f. 26, Fig. 2.34) and fr. 2630 (f. 30v, Fig. 2.35).

A unique scene in which Baldwin leads his army to approach a town gate, under which two figures count gold pieces to place into a sack appears at the lower right. This scene might also serve two moments within book four. Most likely it portrays the sale of Samosota for 10,000 gold pieces in chapter five. The large sack of gold on left of the table represents the money for the purchase, while Baldwin approaches the city to take it under his control. It is also possible that it shows the capture of Seruj, which owed Baldwin an annual tribute from chapter six. In that case, the figure in red on the right holding a small sack might be contributing his

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235 Similar portrayals include London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 12, f. 18v; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 779, f. 29v and fr. 2824, f. 21 (in which the clergy is very prominently featured under the city gates). Other examples of Baldwin being welcomed to Edessa include: Arras, BM, Ms. 651, f. 15v; Bern, Bikt, Mss. 112, f. 23, 163, f. 23.

236 Paris, BA, Ms. 5220, p. 63 is another example. No fifteenth-century examples portray the governor’s demise.
portion of the tribute to the pile on the table that is being counted and transferred to the sack on
the left. Again the artist may have conflated two moments to make the image more widely
representative of all three Syrian cities mentioned in the rubric. This complicated visualization is
unique in its conflation of multiple scenes of Baldwin’s conquests in northern Syria. It is clear
that the artist sensitively read the text to formulate the multi-scene composition. The individual
parts of the miniature themselves are rare in the corpus and their combination creates a
completely fresh representation.

Baldwin’s visual story continues triumphantly in book ten’s miniature of his coronation
as King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Baldwin I (r. 1100–18). He was the first official
King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, crowned in Bethlehem 25 December 1100 (f. 87v, Fig.
2.36).237 His brother Godefroy of Bouillon was the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom (r. 1099–
1100) but refused to be crowned as king, carrying the title “Defender of the Holy Sepulchre,”
under which he ruled for a year.238 The artist positions the ceremony in a spacious cathedral,
with the king kneeling before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert, who reaches to place the
crown upon Baldwin’s head.239 As an image representing dynastic change it is not at all unusual,
but it is noteworthy that the devisers of the manuscript chose not to include the investiture of

237 The rubric for the miniature reads: “Le couronnement du conte bauduin de rohes et de ses fais et aventures.”

238 William, Archbishop of Tyre: A History of Deeds, 1:385n14, 392. For more on Baldwin’s rule in Jerusalem see
Tyerman, God’s War, 200–205.

239 Most of the illustrated Eracles manuscripts include this scene, but in the fifteenth century two included it:
Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F, f. 69 and BnF, Ms. fr. 2629, f. 115. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68 provides a miniature for Godefroy
of Bouillon’s rulership and then a battle for chapter ten and London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 155v shows Baldwin’s
reconciliation with the Patriarch of Jerusalem rather than his coronation. In the Gothic period, thirteen manuscripts
show only Baldwin’s coronation or him enthroned, six feature only Godefroy of Bouillion, while twelve included
them both.
Godefroy of Bouillon as the first ruler, but instead focused the visual narrative on Baldwin I. Even though the artists could have expanded the cycle with a miniature of Godefroy of Boullion, who was widely popular as one of the nine worthies, they provided instead an extended cycle centered on Baldwin. The scene underscores the successful institution of the Latin administration in Jerusalem and affirms that Peter the Hermit and Urban II’s goals for the crusade were realized.

Considered in juxtaposition with the expanded cycles of Urban II and Peter the Hermit, the miniatures of Baldwin clearly identify the steps necessary for the first crusaders to reconquer and reclaim Jerusalem: inform the institutional leadership of the Muslim invasion, enlist the support of those leaders, confront the enemy bravely, gain military victory, and institute Latin rulership in the place of the former Muslim occupiers. At the time the manuscript was made in the mid-fifteenth century, leaders of western Europe were failing to follow similar steps.

Baldwin I’s visual narrative continues with another miniature placed later in book ten, at the head of chapter twenty-one. That chapter describes that when the Egyptian army and the people of Ascalon decided to advance on crusader territory near Ramlah, the newly crowned Baldwin I foolishly rushed off to fight them without sufficient forces. When he approached them he realized he had made a grave mistake, but could not then retreat. The enemy then took advantage of their much larger numbers and viciously attacked, causing great losses of Baldwin’s men, and driving Baldwin and his remaining troops into the citadel of Ramlah. Fortunately an Arabian chief felt obligated to Baldwin because of an earlier kindness that Baldwin had paid to

his wife. He sneaked away from the enemy in the middle of the night, received an audience with the king, and shared the Egyptian army’s plans, which were to besiege the citadel at dawn and kill everyone within it. To save Baldwin’s life, the Arabian chief took him into the mountains to hide, leaving most of the crusader soldiers behind for an ugly death in the morning. The following morning the king left with a few followers and went to Arsuf, where the townspeople were overjoyed to find him alive. At the same time, there were rumors of the king’s death because followers who had been able to escape the rout of Ramlah returned to Jerusalem and reported him thus, causing kingdom-wide sorrow. Afterwards, the king hastened to Jaffa to show he was still quite alive.

The Geneva manuscript’s miniature portrays the moment from chapter twenty-one when the heroic Arabian chief approaches the walls of Ramlah’s citadel, requesting his audience with King Baldwin, who was ostensibly hidden away in the interior of the structure (f. 93v, Fig. 2.37).241 The king is not pictured, but instead his followers who had made it into the citadel’s safety along with him cluster together to gaze over the wall. No other manuscript shows this exact moment. In the early fourteenth century, Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 22495 portrayed the king in hiding in the mountains and then his triumphant return to Jaffa (f. 86, Fig. 2.38).242 In sharp contrast, the Geneva Eracles shifts the focus away from the more humiliating moment when Baldwin hides in the mountains while his troops are slaughtered, and emphasizes instead the valor of the Arab who came to rescue him.

241 The rubric reads: “Coment ung hault home turc preserva le roy de Jhrlm de mesadveture.” Folda indicates that this miniature was influenced by BnF, Ms. fr. 22495. Folda “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1: 484, 513n15.

242 BnF, Ms. fr. 22496, f. 99, according to Folda, portrays Turks discussing the rumor that the king was killed.
The Geneva *Eraclès* dedicates three miniatures to Baldwin I’s exploits, equal to the three in Edward IV’s manuscript (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i), discussed below in chapter four. Each of the other fifteenth-century examples have only one Baldwin miniature. A Gothic example, BnF Ms. fr. 22495, has nine miniatures dedicated to Baldwin I, while another, BnF Ms. fr. 22496–97, has five miniatures. Such comparisons reveal that the increased number of miniatures given to Baldwin in Wolfert’s manuscript is not due to copying an earlier cycle. The miniature for book four in particular focuses on Baldwin through its complex and newly formulated, multi-scene composition. The three miniatures in Wolfert’s manuscript valorize Baldwin, at times eliding his less honorable behavior.

After the first crusade few cities in the Holy Land remained peacefully unthreatened by Muslim advances. The Geneva manuscript illustrates later crusades launched to push back these incursions on the Latin Kingdom’s territories. Representations for the second crusade frequently emphasize the heroic presence of individual secular rulers in the Holy Land, including the French king and the Holy Roman and Byzantine emperors.

King Louis VII of France and Holy Roman Emperor Conrad on Crusade

A half-page miniature of the meeting of Emperor Conrad of Germany (r. 1138–52) and King Louis VII of France (r. 1131–79; f. 146, Fig. 2.39) further emphasizes the presence of western princes in the Holy Land.243 In 1145–46, Pope Eugenius III and St. Bernard of

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Clairvaux called for a second crusade among the western rulers and people. William of Tyre chronicled how Bernard’s message was successful with the emperor and French king, each of whom took the cross and left with their armies on the (ultimately unsuccessful) second crusade in 1147. According to the chronicle, the two armies left separately and were reunited after the Turks defeated Conrad’s army on the route to Iconium from Constantinople. William describes the two leaders meeting at the emperor’s camp outside of Nicaea, where they decided to join their armies moving forward.

The Geneva manuscript’s miniature represents two moments in this second crusade march eastward. On the left the artist has posed the two mounted western leaders facing each other. At left, the crowned French king, wearing golden armor and holding a lance is mounted on a white horse adorned in blue, with fleur-des-lys by the stirrup in gold. At right, Emperor Conrad is mounted on a gray horse decorated in red and holds his golden sword before him. He wears a golden suit of armor, a blue cape lined with ermine and an imperial crown. The artists has used gold leaf on the rulers’ swords and crowns so that these implements shine brightly, even against their gold paint suits of armor. On the right the artist portrays a mêlée in which the Turks (right) rout the Christians (left).

The rubric that accompanies this miniature and the miniature itself both shift the readers’s understanding away from the facts in the text and to a more idealized view of international crusader cooperation. The artist positioned the rubric for the miniature, “How Emperor Conrad of Germany and King Louis of France met each other and went overseas” at the

head of chapter eighteen in which both rulers took the cross and departed for crusade.\footnote{245}{The rubric reads: “Coment lempereur Conrad dallemaigne Et le roy loys de france se croisierent et alerent outremer.”}

Notably, this scene including both rulers en route to the Holy Land is unique among the Eracles manuscripts and its rubric does not accurately reflect the chronicle’s content. The artist may have taken iconographic inspiration from an early portrayal like BnF, Ms. fr. 22495 (f. 153, Fig. 2.40), in which the mounted King of France meets the citizens of Jerusalem. In this earlier example, the citizens’ horses at right face the king and his retinue at left. In contrast to the illumination and rubric, the text describes how the king and emperor leave their countries at different times and communicate through envoys. They only officially meet in chapter twenty-three after Conrad’s army was nearly destroyed by a surprise Turkish attack, possibly represented by the mêlée at right, leaving open the possibility that the miniature represents the post-battle meeting, despite its position in chapter eighteen and rubric.\footnote{246}{The attack on the imperial army is also illustrated in BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 273v and the French king’s route to the Holy Land is portrayed in a thirteenth-century Eracles now at the Parisian Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Mem. et Doc. 230bis, f. 109v. Folda “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:485, 513n17.} However, it seems more likely that the combination of the rubric and the meeting scene emphasizes the two western rulers dutifully taking up the cross as an ideally united army at the beginning of the second crusade. The rubric shifts the reader’s understanding away from the facts of the departure for the crusade and instead towards the ideal scenario, making the miniature function more like a noble mirror for correct crusading behavior. Wolfert VI would have read his manuscript at a time of Ottoman expansion, when the main western leaders, notably those from France and England, were unable to move beyond their political conflicts and form a united force to defeat the Ottomans.
Byzantine Emperor in the Holy Land

The Geneva Eracles also contains a series of three miniatures that relate to the activities of the Byzantine emperors during the crusades. The first is a battle that models bad Latin behavior in contrast to that of the emperor. The second is a unique portrayal of the fateful moment an emperor fatally wounded himself, and the third shows the emperor humbling himself to embrace the Latin king in friendship. In these miniatures, the artist includes specific textual details that create fresh compositions and reveal careful coordination of the illumination program. Furthermore, the scenes represented feature the uneasy relationship between the Latin crusaders and the Byzantine rulers with the two sides struggling to unite against their common enemy.

The first example points out the difficulties between the Latin and Byzantine leaders. In the second crusade, Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenus (r. 1118–43) attacked the city of Shayzar in Cilicia to fulfill a treaty he had made with Prince Raymond of Antioch. John II would retrieve some Cicilian territories for Raymond and in exchange Raymond would render him fealty and submit Antioch to imperial authority. The emperor started his siege in the spring because it was “most favorable for the pursuit of war,” (April 1138) and he counted on having Prince Raymond of Antioch and Joscelin, Count of Edessa, join his army. The emperor began the attack in the suburbs of Shayzer, near the river that flowed by the city. While the emperor was fighting fiercely, the prince and count decided not to join the battle and stayed at camp

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playing games. William of Tyre specifically notes the youth of the prince and count to underline the contrast between their laziness and the much older emperor’s ferocity. William of Tyre describes the prince and count as bad influences on the other soldiers in their command, drawing those men into their youthful distractions and away from the ongoing battle.

The miniature (f. 133, Fig. 2.41) portrays the city of Shayzar with care. Its river flows by and, to the right, a suburban area extends into the background near the city’s bridge. The lead soldier of the emperor’s mounted army near the suburb points up as he notices spring birds in the sky. The contrast between those alert soldiers preparing for battle and the distracted prince and count playing chess in the foreground makes the emperor’s effective leadership clear and made this a very popular scene in the *Eracles* corpus. The Gothic examples generally preserve the difference in leadership by presenting a two-part illumination, in which one side shows the battle taking place and the other the dishonorable prince and count (Boulogne-sur-Mer, Ms. 142, f. 153v; Lyon, BM, Ms. 828, f. 160v, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2824, f. 94v, Figs. 2.42–2.44).

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249 This problem between the emperor and the prince and count took place within an ongoing conflict between the three, in which the emperor had attacked the prince’s territory of Antioch, and in which the count was working against the interests of the prince. William, Archbishop of Tyre: *A History of Deeds*, Book 14:26, 2:28–30 and Book 15:1–5, 2:88, 91–102, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continueurs*, 2:39–53; *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, 650–65.

250 The rubric reads “*Coment lempere assist la cite de cesaire et des faiz du prnce raimon et du cote de rohes.*” Folda notes that this miniature is influenced by BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, Folda “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer,*” 1: 484, 513n15

251 Although the overall setting of the miniature is one repeated in the artist C group (see Figs.A.85–A.88), the artist uses the actions of the characters to make it specific to the narrative.

Typically fifteenth-century examples focus on the battle at Shayzar and the emperor’s leadership and completely avoid the dishonorable conduct of the young nobles.\textsuperscript{253}

It is thus noteworthy that the artists in the Geneva manuscript chose to focus on the bad behavior of the Latin prince and count and placed the emperor’s army in the background. Instead the miniature presents these young noblemen paying no mind to the seasonal call to war. Within the context of the chronicle itself, their actions are doubly shameful, as they had just sworn fealty to the emperor and had promised to help him fight at Shayzar so that the city could be given to the Prince of Antioch as one of his own territories. This artist was responsible for another representation of inaction, positioned in a very similar setting. The previously discussed crusader defeat of Korbugha (f. 58, Fig. 2.23), shows a battle taking place by the city bridge while Korbugha watches, inactive, in the foreground. Both scenes evoke the idea that it would be more honorable and effective to fight rather than remain immobile. For an attentive reader, the message would perhaps have brought to mind the inaction of fifteenth-century leaders, who were unable and unprepared to appropriately mount an army and join the fight against the Ottomans.

The artist again uses specific textual details to make distinctive his second representation of Emperor John II Comnenus, here fatally wounded while hunting.\textsuperscript{254} William of Tyre describes that while the emperor was hunting in the spring, a wild boar was disturbed by the barking of the

\textsuperscript{253} Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 168; London, BL, Royal 15 E i, f. 241; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68. These scenes also have Gothic precedents: Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 132v; Florence, BML, Plut. 61. 10. f. 162v; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2631, f. 205, fr. 2634, f. 169, fr. 2825, f. 138, fr. 9083, f. 142, fr. 22496, f. 149v, fr. 24209, f. 143.

hunting dogs. The emperor, attempting to kill the boar with his bow and arrow, accidentally pierced his own skin with the tip of his poisoned arrow. At his camp doctors attempted to treat the wound, but to no avail. Knowing he would soon die, the emperor made certain to crown his successor, his younger son Manuel, as emperor.\textsuperscript{255}

The miniature portrays the emperor at right in a blue, fur-lined doublet, crowned with his \textit{skiadion} (f. 139, Fig. 2.45).\textsuperscript{256} He holds his bow and a companion attends to his wounded left hand, wrapping it in a bandage. The rest of the hunting party continues to attack the boar that was the object of the hunt. This theme has been touched on in other \textit{Eraclès} examples, but not in the same manner. Two manuscripts, one fifteenth-century and one Gothic, portray the emperor hunting, but not wounded (Amiens, BM, Ms 483, f 115v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, f. 139v) while two portray the transition of power from John II to Manuel I Comnenus in scenes of John II dying and Manuel I’s coronation (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2628, f. 134, fr. 24209, f. 153v).\textsuperscript{257} The unique portrayal captures the dramatic moment when the emperor understands that he has been fatally wounded, but while the courtly context of the hunt continued around him. It speaks to an interest in the story of John II as an individual rather than as a representative of dynastic continuity.

The final example shows a more positive interaction between the Latins and Byzantines, with the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (r. 1143–80) receiving the King of the Latin Kingdom of

\textsuperscript{255} This choice was against the laws of primogeniture, which dictated that the older son would inherit the throne, in this case Isaac. William, Archbishop of Tyre: \textit{A History of Deeds,} 2:128–29, \textit{Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs,} 2:80–82, \textit{Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum,} 695–96.

\textsuperscript{256} The rubric reads: “\textit{la mort de l'empereur de Constantinoble.”}

\textsuperscript{257} Folda notes that this miniature was influenced by BnF, Ms. fr. 22495. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the \textit{History of Outremer,}” 1:484, 513n15.
Jerusalem, Amaury (r. 1163–74) in Constantinople. William of Tyre wrote that Amaury found his kingdom in need of defense against Muslim incursions and decided along with his counselors to seek help from the western princes and the Byzantine emperor. The king decided that he should go to the emperor personally to ask for his help. William of Tyre underscores that the king’s retinue was wary of his taking the journey as it was very difficult and that the emperor was equally recognizant of the difficulty of this journey and was greatly honored that for the first time the king of the Latin Kingdom would visit the Byzantine court. The emperor arranged that Amaury would be honorably received in all the parts of Byzantium and that he would be given an imperial escort into Constantinople. Once inside the imperial city, the king entered the palace through the emperor’s private entryway. Elaborately woven curtains were parted to reveal the emperor’s throne-room. The king was escorted within by the most noble lords of the empire and there the emperor rose from his throne and amicably greeted the king, which William emphasizes could not have been done in a less intimate audience without marring the emperor’s magnificence. The king was then seated next to the emperor and they began to discuss the matter at hand, the threats to Jerusalem. Throughout the rest of the king’s visit, the emperor


259 King Amaury was in fact related by marriage to the emperor, as Amaury had married Maria Comnenus the daughter of John the Protosebastos, who was the emperor’s nephew. William, Archbishop of Tyre, A History of Deeds, 2:344, Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs, 2:311–12; Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, 944–45.

showed him many entertainments and provided the most luxurious hospitality, and, at the end, the two rulers signed a treaty for the emperor to provide assistance to Jerusalem.261

The miniature, set in the Byzantine court, represents the emperor descending from his throne (f. 192v, Fig. 2.46).262 The room is surrounded in a red and gold cloth, elaborately decorated, as described in the chronicle text. The emperor and the king embrace in the friendly manner described. One later fifteenth-century example represents the two rulers meeting, but at the city gate and not, as the chronicle describes, in the emperor’s throne-room (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 368v).263 The Geneva example emphasizes the luxurious court setting and the subversion of protocol in Manuel I’s unusual descent from his throne to embrace the king, thus portraying the goodwill of the emperor toward the Latin cause.

As a group, the miniatures featuring the emperor indicate the ambivalent nature of the relationship between the Latin Kingdom and Byzantine Empire. They show that it was not always easy for the two sides to work together, demonstrated by the miniature of the battle of Shayzar, and they acknowledge the importance of John II Comnenus by featuring his army specifically. They also underlined that at times the Latins had to seek help from the Greeks, as in the meeting between the two rulers. This type of portrayal evoked the inversion of this relationship in the fifteenth century in which the west was being asked to help the Byzantines who had already lost their power to the Ottomans. In addition, the artist shows a willingness to


262 The rubric reads: “Coment lemperer manuel receu honourablement le roy de Iherusalem.”

263 I was unable to consult the other example of the two men meeting, BnF, Ms. fr. 22497, f. 72. Two additional manuscripts include Amaury’s entertainments while visiting Constantinople: BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, f. 198 and fr. 24209, f. 222.
reveal intimate moments within the narrative, such as the moment John II is poisoned, or the manner in which Manual was willing to subvert protocol to welcome the Latin King into his midst.

The Fountain at Siloam

As an epilogue to the battle scenes showing the cycle of destruction and reclamation in Jerusalem, the manuscript’s final miniature shows the efforts of one individual citizen in the Latin Kingdom after it had been reclaimed by the crusaders. In the period between the second and third crusades, the crusader kingdom was in political turmoil, because the child King Baldwin V was crowned after the death of the leper Baldwin IV. Baldwin V was assisted by regent Raymond of Tripoli, but there were competing claims to the throne. At the same time, the region experienced a drought. At the beginning of the continuation of William of Tyre’s history, the pseudo-miraculous story of the fountain at Siloam is recorded. The anonymous continuator writes that between 1185 and 1186 a drought in Jerusalem dried up the water sources. A charitable burgess called Germain decided to provide water to the city by setting up public basins in three spots that he kept filled with drinking water. Due to the lack of rain, even his supply eventually ran out, but he remembered the stories of a well made by Jacob next to the spring of Siloam that was no longer used. Germain prayed to be able to find the well and the next day he prayed again at his church. He then found some workers, set out to find the well and

266 L’Estoire de Eracles empereur, 10nb; This story is also found in John 4:6.
later successfully uncovered it. He renovated it and set up a “wheel ... with pots attached which a horse turned in such a way that the pots that were full came up and the empty ones went down.” In addition, he set basins to catch the water from the pots, allowing the people of Jerusalem to retrieve it. He set his horses to work “night and day,” to pull the water from the well and had his horses and servants carry the water back to refill the city’s basins.

The miniature for this story shows the good burgess Germain praying in the background for guidance to locate the well, and then in the foreground it shows the rediscovered well (f. 214v, Fig. 2.47). The artist has carefully rendered the horse moving the wheel that pulls up the buckets of water, a worker moving the buckets out of the well and then, at left, possibly Germain himself taking the water back to Jerusalem. This story was not pictured in the other fifteenth-century Eracles manuscripts and was rare in the earlier corpus, found only in London, BL, Yates Thompson, Ms. 12 (f. 173v, Fig. 2.48), in which Germain is pictured directing the workmen near

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267 Edbury, Conquest of Jerusalem, 16; L’Estoire de Eracles empereur, 11.

268 After this happy miracle, the continuation author includes the story of Jesus performing a miracle on a blind man. Jesus placed mud on the man’s eyes and then told him to wash in the spring of Siloam, and when he did the man had regained his eyes and his sight. Following this the chronicle reports that at this twelfth-century time of drought, the regent of Jerusalem, Count Raymond of Tripoli, saw that there was not enough water to grow food and feared a famine, and so decided to make a four-year truce with Saladin, after which the Saracens brought the Christians all the food and water supplies they needed. The chronicle author goes on to report that in this time other burgesses in Jerusalem decided to do the act of charity of bringing bread and wine and money to the site of Jesus’s miracle with the blind man on the day of Lent, the day that Jesus’s miracle took place, and they offered these goods to the poor of the city. The chronicle author also notes at the end of the section regarding this charitable miracle that the people of Jerusalem later filled in the well when they heard the Saracens were coming to besiege the city.

This well is also mentioned in the Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre, chapter eight, in a description of the region around Jerusalem, in which Germain’s Pool is cited as a place where Germain had collected water for the city’s horses, but his miraculous locating of the well is not mentioned. Shirley, Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century, 19–20. Edbury, Conquest of Jerusalem, 16–18; L’Estoire de Eracles empereur, 11–14; John 9:7–11.

269 The rubric reads: “dun miracle qui advint en la cite de iherusalem par ung sec teps.”
the well by pointing back toward Jerusalem. The Geneva example casts the scene as a response to prayer, showing Germain praying at his church with the resulting positive outcome in the foreground. This manner of portraying prayer and then its positive answer, or effect, is similar to contemporary miracle stories, such as the *Miracles de Notre Dame* (Fig. 2.49), in which characters pray to the Virgin and then a miracle results. Wolfert’s crusade chronicle thus closes on a vision of a Jerusalem in which pious and dedicated individuals help to maintain the city’s wellbeing into the future.

**Conclusion**

The designers of the Geneva *Eracles* took advantage of their patron’s wish for a particularly densely illuminated and luxurious copy that would visually focus the reader’s attention on historical characters and events that reflected fifteenth-century Burgundian crusading interests and the problems fifteenth-century crusaders faced. The artists rendered much of the manuscript’s miniatures with original scene choices and in a way sensitive to the text. Some of these additional miniatures were inspired by earlier manuscripts like Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22495, but they always alter the model, using textual details to add new twists to traditional portrayals. Thus, the manuscript’s special repetition of Peter the Hermit as an instrumental first motivator, and later brave negotiator, and Urban II as powerful persuader emphasize how individuals and institutions when reacting appropriately were able to effectively

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270 Folda notes that this miniature is related to London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 12, f. 173v; Folda “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*, “ 1: 513n19; The pool of Siloam appears in Paris, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Mem. et. Doc. 230bis, f. 177v as just the pool by itself without any of the narrative activity.
respond to the Holy Land’s call for help. The large group of Antioch miniatures show the importance of the year long siege even in the fifteenth-century imagination. The series of illuminations portraying the siege of Jerusalem and the institution of the Latin kingdom under Baldwin I portray the successful fulfillment of the effort, with the Fountain at Siloam demonstrating that the struggle in the city continued beyond battle and into daily life. The example of the western rulers launching the second crusade as a united front portrays the idealized western response to a continued Muslim threat. The final group of illustrations relating to the Byzantine empire show the difficulty of organizing collaboration between the Latins and Byzantines while working for the same goal.

In the same era in which this manuscript and its visual cycle were produced, the Ottomans were advancing on the Mediterranean and eastern Europe, causing great anxiety as expressed in Pius II’s crusade preaching at Mantua. Pius II and Philip the Good were actively mounting the western response into which Wolfert VI had already been drafted in 1454, though neither successfully participated in a crusade. The fractured nature of European politics resulted in a group of western leaders too busy fighting one another to unite and reclaim Constantinople from its Ottoman occupiers. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising to see echoes of contemporary history in the representation of the past. The Geneva Eracles thus not only strongly represents the events of the historical crusade to reclaim Jerusalem but also uses Jerusalem as a way of bringing to the fore the contemporary problem of rendering Constantinople back into Christian control. It was perhaps Wolfert’s personal role as a willing warrior for Philip the Good and Charles the Bold that would have connected with the
contemporary mission to save the Holy Land and may have motivated his commissioning of this luxurious crusade history.
Unlike the Amiens and Geneva Eracles manuscripts, both of which represent fresh visual translation of the Eracles text, or Edward IV’s London Eracles, the subject of Chapter 4, which tailored its illuminations to the keen eye of its royal patron, Louis of Gruuthuse’s Eracles manuscript’s visual narrative represents a more generalized series of miniatures for the most part constructed from models circulating in the atelier of Loyset Liédet. Although Louis participated in the duke’s crusade related events, he had no opportunity to participate militarily. Lack of evidence for Louis’ engagement with crusading preparations in his lifetime implies little true interest on his part in the subject as a serious military goal. In addition, his library’s general lack of representation of the crusades as a subject indicates that in Louis’s library, unlike the Duke of Burgundy’s, the Eracles does not fit into a genre of writings on “Outremer.” Rather, the manuscript was one of many quickly produced manuscripts in Louis’s library, fitting, perhaps, more into a category of historical manuscripts painted by Liédet’s workshop than of crusade related literature. Despite this, it provides insight into the working method of Loyset Liédet’s assistants and the ways that they tailored visual cycles to patron’s needs. Even though it is likely that they produced this manuscript quickly, the painters still managed to imbue some of its distinctive miniatures with the sort of narrative detail that reveals Louis’ interest in crusading.

heroes like Godefroy of Bouillon, his brother Baldwin, Richard I of England and valiant villains like Saladin.

**Louis of Gruuthuse**

The Flemish nobleman Louis, Lord of Gruuthuse (ca. 1427–24 November 1492, also referred to as Louis of Bruges) was prince of Steenhuyse, governor of Bruges, Oudenaarde, Holland, Zeeland, and West Frisia, and the earl of Winchester. Throughout his life he was a member of the intimate circles of the Burgundian rulers: Dukes Philip III, the Good (r. 1419–67) and Charles I, the Bold (r. 1467–77), Mary of Burgundy (r. 1477–82) and Philip IV, the Handsome (r. 1482–1506). In his youth, Louis frequently engaged in chivalric tournaments, often winning prizes for his skill in jousting. In 1449 he entered Philip the Good’s household

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He was also seigneur of Arelgeon, Haamstede, Oostkamp, Beveren, Tielt-ten-Hove and d’Espiens. Jean Baptiste Maurice, _Le Blason des armoiries de tous les chevaliers de l’ordre de la Toison d’or_, 65.

His parents were Jean IV of Bruges, seigneur of Gruuthuse, and Marguerite of Steenhuyse. As Martens pointed out, the Gruuthuse family were originally brewers of beer, or _gruyte_, and gained their territory around Bruges from a privilege granted by Baldwin IX, count of Flanders. Maximiliaan Martens, “Louis de Bruges,” in De Smedt, _Les Chevaliers de l’Ordre de la Toison d’or au XVe siècle_, 148–49 (no. 61); Van Praet, _Recherches sur Louis de Bruges_, 36.

273 Joseph van Praet cites Louis as present in 1417 at the Tournament of the White Bear and then jousting for the first time in March 1443 where he won the Prix du Dehors, or the “_joûte en dehors de la barrière._” He is recorded as watching a tournament in Bruges in 1447 and winning the Prix du Dehors 7 April 1448 and the Prix du Dedans in Bruges, 19 April 1450. He jousted at the tournament for the Feast of the Pheasant 17 February 1454, and again at the celebration of the coronation of Louis XI at Reims in August 1461. Finally, he is recorded as watching Anthony of Burgundy jousting at the marriage tournament in honor of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold in Bruges in 1468. Van Praet, _Recherches sur Louis de Bruges_, 1, 2, 5, 6, 9; Marie-Pierre Laffitte, “Les Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges, Chevalier de la Toison d’or,” in _Le Banquet du Faisan, 1454: L’Occident face au défi de l’Empire Ottoman_, ed. Marie-Thérèse Caron and Denis Clauzel (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1997), 243.
as échanson, or cupbearer. In 1451, 1453, and later, in 1467–68 during the Ghent war, he was instrumental in representing the duke within the territories he governed, keeping Bruges faithful to the duke and the rest of the region relatively calm.

At the Feast of the Pheasant (17 February 1454), Louis swore a crusading vow to commit his body and wealth to the duke’s service and to go with him on his holy voyages, or to go with Lords Charolais (Charles the Bold) and Etampes (Jean II, Count of Nevers) if the duke were unable to go, unless illness or another acceptable excuse kept him from fulfilling his vow. Louis renewed his vow in Bruges, on 18 March of the same year. In 1455 Louis was a member of a council, consisting of Charles the Bold and Charles’ illegitimate brother, David of Burgundy, who was the bishop of Therouanne, charged with collecting the crusading pledges of the Flemish lords.

Malcolm Vale notes that the post of échanson was the “conventional manner of entry into the court circle, which was followed both by Olivier de la Marche an Philippe de Commynes,” in “An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Partron,” 118. See also: Martens, “Louis de Bruges,” 149; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 11; Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 2.


“Gruthuse veue à Dieu, à Nostre-Dame, aux dames au faisant, que ou cas que mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne emprengne de aler ou saint voyage, je le serviray de mon corps et de ma chevance; et sil lui plaist, de sa grace, de moy ordonner et faire cest honneur de estre aveuc lui, je me habandonneray jusques à la mort; et pareillement feray en tous autres voyages où monseigneur sera. Et sil advenoit que les affaires de mondit seigneur fussent telz que ouldit saint voyage ne peust aler, et que mon très redoubté seigneur, monseigneur de Charolois ou monseigneur dEstampes y allassent, pareillement que dessus, le serviray ouldit saint voyage au plaisir de Dieu et de Nostre-Dame, je feray ce que dit est, ou cas que je naye maladie ou ensonne, par quoy je ne puisse faire ledit veu, et que ce soit le bon plaisir et congié de mondit très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne.” D’Escouchy, Chronique de Mathieu d’Escouchy 2:187–88; Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 4.


Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 5.
Louis eventually so gained the trust of Philip the Good that he became a member of the duke’s council in 1455. He was inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1461, as Maximiliaan Martens argues, due to his successful diplomatic mission to Margaret of Anjou in England, which involved stopping, on Philip’s behalf, a proposed marriage between Princess Margaret of Scotland (b. ca. 1455) and Edward, the Lancastrian Prince of Wales (1453–71). In the same year he accompanied Philip to France to witness Louis XI’s (r. 1461–83) coronation. As a military officer, Louis fought with Philip the Good’s and Charles the Bold’s armies against the French in 1466 at the siege of Dinant, in 1470 at the siege of Amiens, and in 1474 at the siege of Nuys. In 1471 Charles made Louis one of his generals in the war against Louis XI.

As an active member of Philip the Good’s court, Louis of Gruuthuse was associated in multiple ways with the other Burgundian patrons of Eracles manuscripts. Louis was a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece along with Jean V of Créquy from 1461 to Jean’s death in

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280 Louis was the sixty-first knight in the order and is recorded as assisting in its chapter meetings in Bruges in 1468 and 1473 at Valenciennes at in 1478 at Bruges. Martens, “Louis de Bruges,” 149; Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, Lodewijk van Gruuthuse, 82; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 11; Vale, “An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Partron,” 118; Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 5–6, 8, 15, 20; Laffitte, “Les Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges, Chevalier de la Toison d’or,” in Le Banquet du Faisan, 1454, 244.

281 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 6.


283 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 11.
Louis married Margaret of Borssele, Wolfert VI of Borssele’s sister in 1455. After Charles the Bold’s death in 1477, Louis and Wolfert VI went together as Burgundian envoys on behalf of Mary of Burgundy to the French court of Louis XI to renew a peace treaty between the French king and Burgundy and to relay her announcement that she was the duchy’s new ruler. Louis governed his wife Margaret’s native territory of Holland, Zeeland and West Frisia until 1477 when the Dutch states voted that foreign-born people had no right to rule. Then Louis chose his brother-in-law, Wolfert VI of Borssele to rule in his place. During his tenure as governor of Holland, Zeeland and West Frisia, Louis successfully negotiated peace suppressing discord between the territories and the Burgundian duke. Finally, Louis and Wolfert were knights of the Golden Fleece together from 1478 until Wolfert’s death in 1486.

Louis and the English King Edward IV (1442–83) were also close associates. After Louis’s successful mission to Margaret of Anjou in 1461, Philip the Good sent Louis back to England in 1466 to negotiate the marriage between Charles the Bold and Edward’s sister, Margaret of York (1446–1503), and a peace treaty between the two leaders. Louis assisted in

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286 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 15.


Margaret and Charles’ marriage arrangements and was present at the ceremony (3 July 1468).291 In 1470 Louis took part in a naval battle at l’Écluse, led by his father-in-law Henry II of Borssele, against Edward’s enemy, Richard, Earl of Warwick, but unfortunately the Burgundian navy was unable to overtake the Lancastrian enemy.292 Louis later hosted King Edward during his exile in 1470–71 at his various homes in Holland and Bruges.293 Edward awarded Louis the title, Earl of Winchester, to thank him for his hospitality (7 June 1471), and in 1472 Louis went to England to receive this honor and accept recognition from the English Parliament.294 After gaining his English title, in 1473, Louis became a commercial representative for the Hanseatic League to England and represented English interests at the Burgundian court.295 In addition, Louis and the English king were knights of the Golden Fleece together from 1468 until Edward’s death in 1483.296 At the order’s chapter meeting in Bruges (30 April 1478) Louis served as Edward IV’s proxy.297

291 Martens, “Louis de Bruges,” 149; Vaughn, Charles the Bold, 48; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 11; Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 8–9, 10–11.

292 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 9; Laffitte, “Les Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges, Chevalier de la Toison d’or,” in Le Banquet du Faisan, 1454, 244.

293 Martens, “Louis de Bruges,” 149; Vaughn, Charles the Bold, 48; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 11; Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 8–9, 10–11.

294 As a result of this title, Louis also received 200 £ sterling annually and a coat of arms. Vale, “An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Partron,” 119. For the English account of Louis of Gruuthuse’s trip to England to be awarded the earldom, see: Frederick Madden, “Narratives of the Arrival of Louis of Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, in England, and of his Creation as Earl of Winchester, in 1422,” Archaeologia, 26 (1836): 265–86; Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 11, 14; Laffitte, “Les Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges, Chevalier de la Toison d’or,” 244.


297 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 20.
Louis also remained close to Mary of Burgundy (1457–82) throughout her life. She named Louis her first chamberlain on 26 March 1477. In April 1477 Louis announced the arrival of Emperor Frederick III’s (1415–93) envoys to Mary of Burgundy’s court and escorted them once they arrived to seek her hand in marriage to Frederick’s son, Maximilian (r. with Mary of Burgundy, 1477–82, regent 1482–94). Louis attended Mary’s and Maximilian’s wedding on 18 August 1477. He even received the couple at his chateau in Oostcamp for two nights in April 1478. Louis ordered a public holiday in Bruges upon the birth of Mary’s son Philip the Handsome (22 July 1478) and later assisted at his baptism at the church of Saint-Donat by holding the baptismal basin and towel. Afterwards he was appointed Philip’s chamberlain (1478). Following the Burgundian victory against the French at the battle of Guinegate (7 August 1479), Louis stayed by Mary’s side as she walked barefoot with an altar candle in a solemn procession to demonstrate Burgundy’s gratitude for the victory. When Mary died in 1482, Louis assisted in her burial, accompanying Maximilian and Philip in a mourning procession. He was executor of her will.

299 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 17.
300 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 18.
302 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 21.
304 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 18.
As a member of Philip of Burgundy’s Flemish council of regents (1483–85), Louis entered into a struggle with Maximilian, Philip’s father and regent. Louis was condemned by the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1481 for interfering in Maximilian’s machinations against the French and was afterwards arrested and imprisoned for three years (1485–88). In 1491 he was called before the Order of the Golden Fleece and accused of high treason for helping the French and for his 1488 prison escape. Sadly, he died in dishonor 24 November 1492.

**Manuscript Collection**

Louis was one of the most important bibliophiles of the fifteenth century. Two hundred volumes survive from his library, most of which he intentionally collected, rather than inquiring them from ancestral libraries. He most likely commissioned manuscripts from 1470–92,

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308 Just after his death in 1492 Louis of Gruuthuse’s manuscript collection passed to the French King Louis XII, perhaps through the intermediary of Louis’ son Jean of Bruges. The collection and was maintained in the royal library at Blois until it passed into the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where at least 155 volumes remain today. In many of the books Louis XII had Louis’ arms painted over with the *fleur-de-lys* of France and had the initials of Louis of Bruges and his wife Marguerite of Borssele that are also often found in his artistic commissions changed to that of Louis XII and his wife Anne of Bretagne. There was no inventory of Louis’ collection made during his lifetime; in fact none of his household accounts are extant. Scholars have been working on compiling a list of his library since the nineteenth century and have identified many volumes he owned through the presence of his arms, device and initials. Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, 193.

collecting many of the same types of manuscripts his contemporaries like Philip the Good, did.\textsuperscript{309} Louis owned bibles, books of hours, didactic, philosophical and theological treatises. As an avid jousting and lover of tournaments, it is unsurprising that Louis owned books relating to aristocratic entertainments like tournaments and hunting, for example, Rene d'Anjou's \textit{Livre des Tournois}, (BnF, Ms. fr. 2692, Bruges, ca. 1488–89, Fig. 3.1), which bears the arms of Gruuthuse on the left of the first pair of jousters.\textsuperscript{310} He also took an interest in epic romances, such as \textit{Tristan and Yseult} (BnF, Ms. fr. 103, Rouen, third quarter of fifteenth century).\textsuperscript{311} A significant portion, up to thirty percent, of his collection was devoted to historical works.\textsuperscript{312} In this genre, he owned classical history, such as Flavius Josephus' \textit{Antiquités et guerre des Juifs} (BnF, Ms. fr. 11–16, Ghent and Bruges, ca. 1480–83),\textsuperscript{313} chronicles of regions around Flanders and England, such as the \textit{Chroniques de Hainaut} (Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Mss. 809–11, Bruges?, ca. 1470), and histories relating to the Order of the Golden Fleece, such as the \textit{Conquête de la Toison d’Or}, by Guillaume Fillastre.\textsuperscript{314}

As a member of the Burgundian court and knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Louis commissioned several books that served his interests in the life of the court and the order.


\textsuperscript{310} Hans Collas and Schandel, \textit{Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux}, cat. no. 73, pl. 219, 223, 225, 227, 229 and XXX–XXXI; Martens, \textit{Lodewijk van Gruuthuse}, no. 123; Van Praet, \textit{Recherches sur Louis de Bruges}, 253, XCIX; Lemaire, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 112.

\textsuperscript{311} Martens, \textit{Lodewijk van Gruuthuse}, no. 7; Van Praet, \textit{Recherches sur Louis de Bruges}, 185, LXVIII; Lemaire, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 5.

\textsuperscript{312} Wijsman, \textit{Luxury Bound}, 363.


\textsuperscript{314} Martens, \textit{Lodewijk van Gruuthuse}, 193, 198.
broadly. His manuscript containing the order’s statutes, *Statuten van de Orde van het Gulden Vlies* (Besançon, BM, Ms. Chiflet 91, fol. 2, Bruges, after 1473, Fig. 3.2), includes a frontispiece showing the assembled Order of the Golden Fleece. Each knight has an identifying escutcheon at his foot, although the shields have not yet received their coats of arms. Several volumes from his collection relate to the Order of the Golden Fleece’s mythical founder Jason’s quest for the Golden Fleece; these include Guillaume Fillastre’s, *Conquête de la Toison d’Or* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 139–40, Bruges, ca. 1470, Fig. 3.3) and Raoul Lefèvre’s, *Histoire de la Conquête de la Toison d’Or* (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 12570, Lille, ca. 1460–70 and fr. 331, Bruges, ca. 1470–72). To these one might add multiple texts about the ancient world that he owned that contain a cycle of images regarding Jason and the Golden Fleece, such as Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 137, f. 86v).

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318 The frontispieces of the *Statuten* and Fillastre’s *Conquête* are very similar in composition, showing two rows of seated Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece with the Duke of Burgundy sitting in the central back presiding over the order. However, they are not identical by any means, as the Fillastre manuscript has an additional detail added in the foreground of a bishop reading from a book, as well as the fact that the color palettes and rendering of figures are vastly different. For BnF, Ms. fr. 331: Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, cat. no. 18, pl. 40–45 and VIII; Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges*, 175–76, LXI; Lemaire, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 76; Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, no. 86. For BnF, Ms. fr. 12570: Lemaire, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 121; Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, no. 132.

As Duke Philip the Good was interested in the crusades and commissioned manuscripts to satisfy this interest, so did the Burgundian elite like Louis of Gruuthuse commonly commission texts that featured Burgundian crusading heroes on adventures at home and abroad. Although Hans-Collas and Schandel have remarked that the contents of Louis’s library demonstrate very little interest in the east, traces of engagement with the Levant exist. Louis owned Jacques de Guise’s *Chroniques de Hainaut*, whose third volume records the histories of crusading figures from the Hainaut, such as Baldwin II of Hainaut who died in the Holy Land in the first crusade (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 809–811, ca. 1470). He possessed an unillustrated copy of the *Siège de Rhodes par les Turcs* (BnF, Ms. fr. 5646, ca. 1480s). A few of Louis’ other chronicles include small numbers of illuminations that highlight crusade activity. One example is the *Chronique dite de Baudouin d’Avesnes* (BnF, Ms. fr. 279, f. 253, ca. 1470s, Fig. 3.4) in which Emperor Henry IV is shown on crusade. Louis’ copy of Froissart’s *Chroniques* contains an illumination of the battle of Nicopolis (BnF, Ms. fr. 2646, f. 220, ca. 1470–75, Fig. 3.5). In his *Chroniques de Flandres*, Richard I of England is shown on crusade at Negrepont (BnF, Ms. fr. 2799, f. 24, ca. 1470s, Fig. 3.6) and St. Louis IX is portrayed


323 This manuscript has only a single miniature, a presentation scene, painted by the Master of the Chattering Hands. Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 13, cat. no. 17, pl. 38; Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges*, 223–24, LXXXVI; Lemaire, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 119; Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, no. 130.

324 Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, cat. no. 45, pl. 108–09 and XV.

325 BnF, Ms. fr. 2646 is volume four of four: BnF, Mss. fr. 2643–46. Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, cat. no. 71, pl. 207–18 and XXVI–XXVIII.
with his fleet at Damietta (f. 81v, Fig. 3.7). When taken together, these individual chronicle examples do not amount to a large collection of crusade related literature and illumination.

Although not a history, Louis’ romance *Gillion de Trazegnies* (Los Angeles, JPGM, Ms. 111, Antwerp, ca. 1464–70) mingles romantic and crusading adventures and is the most elaborate eastern-focused illumination cycle in Louis’ library.327 In the story, Gillion vows to go to the Holy Land if his wife, Marie, were to successfully conceive. Gillion then discovers she is pregnant so he goes to Jerusalem where he is captured by the sultan and taken to Cairo.328 The sultan’s daughter, Gracienne, falls in love with Gillion and at the moment he is about to be executed by arrows, begs her father to save him. The sultan grants her request, and she subsequently converts to Christianity.329 In the meantime, a fellow countryman from Hainaut, Amaury d’Ormais, has fallen in love with Gillion’s wife, Marie, and so he tracks Gillion down to falsely inform him that his wife is dead.330 Thinking himself a widower, Gillion then marries Gracianne. Meanwhile, Marie, still very much alive, has actually produced twin boys who


327 I would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Morrison and the J. Paul Getty Museum’s Department of Manuscripts for sharing images of this manuscript’s historiated initials with me. Until recently, the manuscript was Ms. 7535 in the collection of the duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Lemaire, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruthuse,” no. 135; Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, no. 48; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, cat. no. 1385.


328 Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 71.

329 Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 71; Sotheby’s, “Lot 51.”

330 Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 71; *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 241; Sotheby’s, “Lot 51.”
eventually travel to locate their father in Cairo and give him the news that he is now, unfortunately, married to two women.\textsuperscript{331} Gillion brings Gracianne back to Hainaut and both she and Marie enter a convent for the rest of their lives. Gillion returns to Egypt, where he dies in battle. His heart is returned to Hainaut to be buried between his two wives.\textsuperscript{332}

The financial and intellectual investment in illustrating the \textit{Gillion} manuscript demonstrates a true interest in its subject matter on Louis’ part. Lieven van Latham painted the manuscript’s eight miniatures and forty-four historiated initials, which portray fictional crusade battles like, for example, Gillion battling Saracens (f. 36v, Fig. 3.8), and intricately illustrate the details of the story, for example the Sultan kneeling before Gillion, who blocks his access to a pagan idol, as Gracianne pleads for her father to spare him (f. 45v, Fig. 3.9). The artist even includes the detail of the sultan placing his crowned turban on the ground in reverence. It will become clear that Louis’ \textit{Eracles’} illumination cycle is less elaborately made and intellectually complex than Jean’s or Wolfert’s \textit{Eracles} or than Louis’ own \textit{Gillion}. Perhaps he was more interested in bringing the highly romanticized \textit{Gillion} to visual life than he was the more didactic chronicle text. It is important to remember that the primary motivators for the fifteenth-century crusade, Philip the Good and Pius II, had already died by the time Louis’ manuscript was created. In the 1470s the crusade was thus no longer a reality but more a romantic notion and so the \textit{Gillion} may have resonated more with the prevailing understanding in the 1460s and 70s of crusade as a setting for exotic adventures rather than a realistic military project requiring reference texts about crusades of the past like the \textit{Eracles}.

\textsuperscript{331} Moodey, \textit{Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy}, 71; Sotheby’s, “Lot 51.”

\textsuperscript{332} Moodey, \textit{Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy}, 71; \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, 241.
Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 68

Loyset Liédet’s Bruges-based atelier produced Louis of Gruuthuse’s *Eracles* (ca. 1470–80) and its twenty-six demi-grisaille miniatures (Fig. 3.10). In comparison, Louis’ *Gillion de Trazegnies* manuscript has fifty-two illustrations in combined miniatures and historiated initials, his Valerius Maximus manuscript (BnF, Ms. fr. 288–89) has ninety miniatures, and his *Tite-Live* (BnF, Ms. fr. 34) and *Miroir historial* (BnF, Ms. fr. 308–11) have hundreds. These figures indicate that the *Eracles* represents the lower end of what Louis was willing to invest in illumination.

As was typical of Louis’s commissions, the manuscript contains his emblem, the firing bombard, and what is left of his and his wife Margaret of Borssele’s initials, *L-M*, in the lower margin of the manuscript’s first folio. Here, as in most of his collection that was absorbed into King Louis XII’s library, Louis of Gruthuuse’s arms have been covered by those of the French

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333 Without the attributed artist, Folda put the date at 1445–50, which I then followed in my publication “A Livre d’Eracles within the Library of the Fifteenth-Century Flemish Bibliophile, Louis de Bruges,” 193. However, more recent scholars, using stylistic comparisons, have identified the manuscript as a much later production. Hans-Collas and Schandel note that the borders were painted by an artist that associated with the Master of Mary of York, the work of whom can be found in BnF, Ms. fr. 257 and BnF, Ms. fr. 20311. In addition, they note the scribe’s hand is evident in a *Renaut de Montauban* at Pommersfelden, Library of the Count of Schönborn, Mss. 311–12. Folda, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre*, 1:515n26; Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, no. 62; Wijsman, “Luxury Bound,” cat. no. 2626; Lemaire, “De bibliothèque van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” 226; *Als Ich Can*, 585, 600–601, 604. See also Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges*, 222–23, LXXXV; Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 50–52, cat. no. 6, pl. 18–19; Lemaire, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 52; Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1: 489–90, 515–6mn26–27; Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 122.

334 Most of Louis’ manuscripts and other commissions, such as architectural sculpture and wood carved objects, bear his device, emblem, and arms as marks of his ownership. His device was *Plus est en vous*, which means “there is more in you [than there might seem],” and his emblem is a firing bombard. Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 122.
king and Margaret of Borssele’s initial ‘M’ has been changed to an ‘A’ for the French Queen, Anne of Bretagne.335

**Artist**

As discussed in the previous chapter and its appendix, Loyset Liédet (active 1460–78) frequently worked with help from members of his atelier.336 After his early career working under Simon Marmion in Hesdin, Liédet established himself in Bruges in 1469. He began to work for other clients besides the Duke of Burgundy after 1472, most frequently for Louis of Gruuthuse, for whom he produced around twenty manuscripts.337 It is within this period of the 1470s that Louis’ *Eracles* was produced.

As a secular history, Louis’ *Eracles* manuscript would have had affinities with Liédet’s knowledgeable production of other secular historical texts, such as the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9244, Bruges, 1468), the *Chronique abrégée de France* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 6463, Bruges, 1467–69), Jean Froissart’s *Chronique* (Paris, BA, Ms. 5187–90, Bruges, 1470–75), and the *Livre des fais d’Alexandre le grant* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22547, Bruges, 1470).338

335 The manuscript went into Louis XII’s library at Blois, where in 1518 it was inventoried as no. 104 and in 1544 as no. 1262. It later had the shelfmark Ms. 6744 in Bibliotheca Regia. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*,” 1: 489–90; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 122; *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 52; BnF, Archives et manuscrits, “Français 68,” [http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/cdc.html](http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/cdc.html), Accessed 3 December 2013.

336 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 230.


Louis’ *Eracles* manuscript is not a Liédet autograph but rather a production of his atelier, an attribution that can be demonstrated because several manuscripts attributed to Liédet and his atelier and produced in the same era as Louis’ *Eracles*, the 1470s, have illuminations that share the same or similar figures, settings and compositions. These examples of shared illumination models demonstrate what many historians have already pointed out — that in the later period of Liédet’s career he accepted numerous commissions at once, which were then divided up among his assistants who worked rapidly using models based on his earlier productions to complete a large number of the commissions. Assistants within Liédet’s atelier adopted his style, which is characterized by bright colors, compositions within spaces that open into deeper recesses, architectural niches with statues on pedestals, and tall, thin figures who frequently bend at the knee, making it difficult to know if a work in Liédet’s style is truly by his hand.  

The *Illumination Cycle*

The vast majority, seventeen out of twenty-six, of the illuminations in Louis’ *Eracles* manuscript are not specifically tailored to the text itself, but are a collection of generic scenes of councils, meetings, battles, coronations and marriages constructed from models that can be found employed elsewhere in Liédet and his atelier’s *oeuvre*. The scene choices, especially in the first twenty-two books, follow traditional subjects from the thirteenth and fourteenth century *Eracles* illuminations. In Louis’ *Eracles*, it is only with the illustration of the twenty-third book, the anonymous continuation text, that the scene choices become more distinctive, including a gruesome image of the demise of the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus, a cycle of miniatures

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devoted to Saladin’s battles in the Holy Land, and one illumination portraying Richard I of England disembarking at Palermo on his way to the Holy Land.

Comparison of the Eracles artist’s use of models with several examples from other manuscripts either Liédet or his atelier produced reveals how the illuminations of the Eracles were devised. Among manuscripts sharing compositions with the Eracles are manuscripts attributed to Liédet himself, including Philip the Good’s copy of the Chroniques de France, Angleterre, et Flandre (Paris, BA, Ms. 6328, Bruges?, ca. 1459),


341 Louis’ copy of the first book of Froissart’s Chroniques (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2643, Bruges, ca. 1470–75) and the first volume of Jean de Wavrin’s Anciennes chroniques d’Angleterre (BnF, Ms. fr. 2807, ca. 1470).

Manuscripts attributed to Liédet’s atelier include Charles the Bold’s volumes of Froissart’s Chroniques, books one and four (Paris, BA, 5187, 5190, Bruges, ca. 1470–75),

344 The scribe for this manuscript is David Aubert. Miniatures flamandes, 1404–92, 107; Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 239–40 and “Luxury Bound,” cat. no. 2583.

343 For Louis of Gruuthuse, the manuscript also has the hands or influence of the Master of the Getty Froissart, Master of the White Inscriptions, and the Master of Edward IV. Martens, Lodewijk van Gruuthuse, no. 59 a and b; Miniatures flamandes, 1404–92, 340; Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 65 and “Luxury Bound,” cat. no. 2618; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 45–49 (cat no. 5 a and b); Lemaire, “De bibliothèque van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” 226.

342 For Louis of Gruuthuse, the manuscript may have been a collaborative effort. Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande, no. 162; Lemaire, “De bibliothèque van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 109a; Martens, Lodewijk van Gruuthuse, 128, no. 120a; Illuminating the Renaissance, cat. no. 71 bis; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 272–73 (cat. no. 71); Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 331 and “Luxury Bound,” cat. no. 2732; Miniatures flamandes, 1404–92, 268, 276–77 (cat. no. 64, Anne Dubois), 312, 320, 413.

341 This manuscript was painted in collaboration with the Master of the Grisailles Chroniques d’Angleterre. Prevenier, Prinsen en poorters, 306; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 196; Miniatures flamandes, 1404–92, 64.

340 Wijsman, “Luxury Bound,” cat. nos. 2571, 2574; Lemaire, “De bibliothèek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse,” no. 109 d and g; Miniatures flamandes, 1404–92, 320

Even though several compositions from the *Eracles* are also found in other manuscripts, they do, nonetheless, effectively illustrate their texts. The first, the frontispiece illumination, is constructed from other court scene models. It makes no attempt to portray narrative action available in the text, but does associate the text with chronicles in his collection. The second example of Baldwin greeting the citizens of Edessa is a rare scene choice that positively highlights the crusader’s heroism but is nevertheless constructed from existing models. The final example, Emperor John II Comnenus at the siege of Shayzar, is a popular scene in the illuminated *Eracles* tradition, but in this case the composition copies other models used by Liédet’s atelier rather than the earlier crusade histories.

The frontispiece illumination in Louis of Gruuthuse’s *Eracles* is the most static of the fifteenth-century *Eracles* manuscripts (f. 1, Fig. 3.11). In it, the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 345–643) is depicted in a frontal pose, gazing out at the viewer. The scene is static and lacks the dynamic movement of later illuminations. The text is not visible in the illumination, but is associated with the illustrations through the marginal notes and the initials that guide the reader’s attention to specific parts of the text. This approach is typical of the time and demonstrates the artist’s ability to communicate the text through visual means alone.

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346 David Aubert was possibly the scribe for the *Alexandre* manuscript. Hans-Collas and Schandel point out that the same artist who created the marginal decoration in BnF, Ms. fr. 68 created the margins in BnF, Ms. fr. 20311 and that the technique of the miniatures is also similar in the two manuscripts as well as in Pommersfelden, Bibliothèque du comte de Schönborn, Ms. 311–12. McKendrick, *History of Alexander the Great: Illuminated Manuscripts of Vasco da Lucena’s French Translation of the Ancient Text by Quintus Curtius Rufus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996); Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 51–52, 68. The *Regnaut de Montauban* (Pommersfelden, Library of the count of Schörnborn, Ms. 311–12, Bruges, ca. 1470) painted by Liédet’s atelier has also been noted to share a similar stylistic technique. For the Pommersfelden manuscript, see: Sonja Brink and Hermann Maué, *Die Grafen von Schönborn, Kirchenfürsten*, (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 18 February – 23 April, 1989), 492–95 and n375, exhibition catalog; Leonardo Olschki, *Manuscrits français à peintures des bibliothèques d’Allemagne*, (Geneva, Leo S. Olschki, 1932), 61, plates 77 and 78; Dogaer, Marrow and Winkler, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th centuries*, 112.
610–40), who returned the True Cross to Jerusalem after his victory over the Persian Chosroes II in Persia in 628, is enthroned in a court setting, with courtiers greeting him at right. William of Tyre begins his chronicle with the story of Heraclius, and, as will become clear in the next chapter, other artists have used the frontispiece as a space to explore Heraclius’ heroic victories over the Persians and his pious act of returning the cross to Jerusalem. The rubric even states as much: “How this first chapter can demonstrate that Heraclius conquered Persia, killed Chosroes and returned the True Cross to Jerusalem.” In Louis’ example, the artist merely poses him inside a throne room without any further attempt to portray actions described within the rubric and text.

A comparison with other opening scenes that Liédet constructed in the Chroniques de France, Angleterre, et Flandre and Froissart’s Chroniques (BA, Ms. 6328, f. 2, ca. 1459, Fig. 3.12 and BnF, Ms. fr. 2643, f. 13v, Bruges, ca. 1470–75, Fig. 3.13), shows that the artist of the Eracles has clearly followed Liédet’s earlier models for a courtly audience. For example, in the Chroniques de France, Angleterre, et Flandre (Fig. 3.12), Liédet posed a relaxed French king on his throne with his right leg stretched out before him and his left bent further in. The ermine on the king’s cape forms small points along its edges and the cape opens over the king’s right 133


348 There is one Gothic example of Heraclius enthroned, painted by the Fauvel Master (BnF, Ms. fr. 22495), but it is painted in the top register of a multi-part frontispiece. In the middle left register, he returns the True Cross, carried by Bishop Modestus of Jerusalem, to the Holy City. It is unlikely that if this manuscript were used as a model for BnF, Ms. fr. 68 that the artist would not also use the more active narrative element of the return of the True Cross. As I will explore in the next chapter, Edward IV’s later Eracles manuscript highlights Heraclius’ return of the cross, but the manuscript dates to after the production of Louis’ copy so it also was not an inspiration here.

349 The rubric reads: “Commet en ce prémier chapitre peut apparaor q Eracles coquist perse occist cosdroe et rapporta en Jherusalem la vraye croix.”
shoulder, draping down across the left arm. The artist for Louis’ *Eracles* painted Heraclius enthroned following the same formula: one leg stretched out before him, one bent in and the same cape design. In the same scene, Liédet painted a courtier about to kneel, with his hat in hand, and behind him, behind a group of onlooking courtiers, one of which is doffing his hat. Liédet painted a similar grouping of courtiers in Froissart’s *Chroniques* (Fig. 3.13), in which a fully kneeling courtier has placed his hat on his knee, while his companion at left doffs his hat. The *Eracles* artist also followed this formula, posing the courtier before Heraclius on bent knee, with his hat on his right knee and a companion doffing his hat behind (Fig. 3.11). Liédet’s atelier produced yet another version of this court scene in Louis’ *Chronique de Flandres* (BnF, Ms. fr. 2799, Bruges?, ca. 1470–80, Fig. 3.14), in which a kneeling figure again places his hat on his knee while his companion behind doffs his hat.

These comparisons also reveal a difference in the artist hands at work between the *Eracles* and the other examples. The face of the king in BA, Ms. 6328 (f. 2, Fig. 3.15) shows a delicately modeled complexion, with wisps of a beard indicating five o’clock shadow. His nose is long and elegant and his eyes delicately pull out to the side with refined under-shadowing. The atelier artist followed the overall shapes for the Heraclius figure (Fig. 3.16), long nose, eyes that pull outwards and a beard, but every detail is painted with a heavier hand. The face’s modeling has deep shadowing under the cheekbones with a bit of obvious rose coloring. In addition, the detail lavished upon the costumes and textiles in all three previous comparative examples lacks in the *Eracles* frontispiece.
The derivative iconography revealed by the comparison between BnF, Ms. fr. 68 and the earlier Chroniques de France, Angleterre, et Flandre (BA, Ms. 6328) and the different artistic hand demonstrate that Liédet did not paint the Eracles. In addition, the Eracles frontispiece miniature shows that the artist did not attempt to portray the Heraclius narrative, or anything truly distinctive about the character, even though compositional models from earlier Eracles manuscripts were available to do so. Rather, the Eracles’ frontispiece was based on a stock court scene. As such the image of Heraclius still signifies strong leadership, with the emperor ruling with sword in hand. For Louis, the miniature grounds the start of the crusade in a recognizable court setting, made familiar by the Liédet atelier’s frontispieces in Louis’ Froissart, Chroniques (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2643) and Chronique de Flandres (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2799). This similar format assimilates the Eracles history into a group with Louis’ other chronicle texts as well.

In the second example, a miniature portraying the citizens of Edessa welcoming Baldwin, the artist instead relied on existing models used within Liédet’s atelier to construct the miniature. This illumination shows Edessa’s people streaming from the city’s gate with their arms extended, the foremost townsman with his right hand about to pick up his hat, and the fellow behind holding his hat below in his left hand, as Baldwin approaches (f. 44, Fig. 3.17). William of Tyre recounts that the citizens of Edessa were so afraid of the Turks, from whom their governor, Thoros, did not protect them, that they begged Baldwin to come to their city,

350 See also my earlier analysis of this scene in “A Livre d’Eracles within the Library of the Fifteenth-Century Flemish Bibliophile, Louis de Bruges,” 195.

351 NB: The BnF has mislabeled this scene on their web index as ‘Godefroy of Bouillon welcomed in Sicily.’
ultimately offering to replace him with Baldwin. The scene places Baldwin in a positive light as a welcomed hero, even though the text which precedes the image and the passage from which it derived describe his jealousy of and battles with another crusading leader, Tancred, and explains that his cruel behavior angers his brother Duke Godefroy. The joyous meeting of the city’s citizens with Baldwin at the gate of Edessa is nearly the only positive episode within this chronicle chapter, presenting a flattering view of the Burgundian crusader.

The scene selection, however, was most likely in the hands of the libraire. This scene is pictured in six other Eracles manuscripts, in one case as one part of the three-part miniature in Wolfert of Borssele’s Eracles, discussed above in chapter 2 (Geneva, BdG, Ms. 85, f. 34v, 1460s, Fig. 2.120). The choice of scene follows an established, albeit slim, visual tradition for illustrating book four. However, the artist, when following the libraire’s instructions, again constructed his illumination from existing models, rather than the existing Eracles tradition. Charles the Bold’s copy of Froissart’s Chroniques (Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, Bruges, ca. 1470–75, Fig. 3.18), which Liédet’s atelier produced, includes a miniature drawn from the same model. Like the Baldwin miniature, the Froissart example portrays a large army along the left that
disappears into a stack of helmets in the background, and which wraps around a central hilly landscape in the foreground, pushing the main figures forward. The army’s lances and pennons dominate the sky above their heads. At right, townspeople come out of the city gate, with the gate’s tower filling the right side of the miniature. In both examples, the townspeople wear similar garments with rolled necks and finely pleated doublets and houppelandes. The Eracles artist has clearly followed the same format as the Froissart, even providing a similarly fringed bellyband for the horse’s harness in the foreground of the Froissart for Baldwin’s horse’s harness.

The Histoire d’Alexandre (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20311, Bruges?, ca. 1470, Figs. 3.19–3.21) contains three miniatures that draw on the same model for the army, stacked deep into the left side of the composition, with a very similar juxtaposition of a city gate at the right (Fig. 3.21). Therefore, even though the scene was selected to offer a flattering view of the Burgundian crusader Baldwin and to relate to the text, the artist constructed the miniature by assembling details from models circulating in the Liédet atelier.

The miniature of the story of the Emperor of Byzantium John II Comnenus (r. 1118–43) besieging the city of Shayzar in Cilicia (April 1138) is an extremely popular scene within the Eracles corpus, which the artist of this manuscript composed from repeating compositional elements used by Liédet’s atelier.356 The emperor, wearing a crowned battle helm, is posed in the foreground, directing the siege (f. 214v, Fig. 3.22). Liédet’s atelier artists frequently used blazoned tabards like the one John II Comnenus wears over suits of armor to draw attention to figure, as, for instance, in Charles the Bold’s Chroniques of Froissart manuscript (Paris, BA, Ms.

5187, f. 342, 1470–75, Fig. 3.23), in which the same soldier wears a different colorful tabard. Although anyone who read the text would know that he was Greek, John II Comnenus wears a French *fleur-de-lis* covered tabard over his armor in the *Eracles*.\(^{357}\) The Liédet atelier seems to have adapted a type; see for instance the *fleur-de-lys* emblazoned tabard in Louis of Gruuthuse’s *Chronique de Flandres* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2799, f. 237v, 1470–80, Fig. 3.24) in which French King John II the Good wears the *fleur-de-lys* and the same crowned helmet at the Battle of Maupertuis (1356). Therefore, the application of the French armorial to the Byzantine tabard is likely the result of the artist copying a model. This argument is strengthened by the example of Philip the Good’s earlier volume of the *Chronique dite de Baudouin d’Avesnes* (Paris, BA, Ms. 5090, vol. 2, ca. 1462, f. 207, Fig. 3.25), in which Liédet dresses the Byzantine Emperor Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainaut (r. 1204–1205) in a cape covered in *fleur-de-lys*, like a French king. Although the Byzantine emperor being dressed as a French king, like John II the Good in the *Chronique de Flandres*, raises the question of whether the application of the French armorial signifies a universal ruler type rather than a particularly French figure, the visual evidence from the Liédet atelier’s *oeuvre* indicates the motif was most likely copied from existing models without further symbolic intention. Beyond the emperor figure, other elements

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The scene appears in twenty-six of the *Eracles* manuscripts, demonstrating its popularity in the visual tradition. Baltimore, WAM, Mss. W. 137 and W. 142; Bern, Bbtk, Mss. 112 and 163; Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142; Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93; Florence, BML, Plu. 61.10; Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85; Lyon, BM, Ms. 828; Paris, BA, Ms. 5220; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2630, 2631, 2634, 2824, 2825, 2827, 9082, 9083, 9084, 22495, 22496/22497, 24208, 24209; Rome, BAV, Ms. Reg. 737; Saint Petersburg, RNL, Ms. fr. F° v.IV.5; Turin, BN, Ms. L.II.17.

Twelve manuscripts show, in combination with the emperor besieging Shayzar, the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa refusing to fight for the emperor and playing chess instead. Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 137; Bern, Bbtk, Ms. 112; Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, Ms. 142; Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85; Lyon, BM, Ms. 828; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2630, 2824, 2827, 9082, 22495, 24208; Saint Petersburg, RNL, Ms. fr. F° v.IV.5.
of the scene of John II Comnenus besieging Shayzar also appear elsewhere in the atelier’s compositions. Froissart’s *Chroniques* (f. 85, Fig. 3.26) include a similar cannon, bowman and soldier mounting a ladder on the left side of the scene of Charles of Blois’ siege on the Countess of Montfort. These examples demonstrated that the *Eracles* manuscript’s artists like other artists from Liédet’s atelier, employed models pulled from other chronicle visual cycles to produce illuminations that were generally applicable to the themes in the textual narrative. Furthermore, they show the flexibility of the atelier’s chronicle models and hint that as a reader a conceptual link could be formed between different types of history, for example Flemish and crusader through the repetition of iconography in different texts.

*Distinctive Narrative Illuminations*

Most of Louis’s *Eracles*’s illuminations are positioned at the start of a textual book, pointing out the major textual divisions, and draw their subject matter from the first two or three chapters. Many of these scenes, as Folda argues, continue to follow thirteenth and fourteenth-century *Eracles* traditions. On the other hand, a small group of miniatures demonstrate distinctive scene choices and represent their text in great detail, like the unfortunate demise of the Emperor Andronicus, or heroic historical figures, like Godefroy of Bouillon, Saladin and Richard I of England.

Departing from the artist’s generalized approach to illustrating the text from existing models, the miniature portrayal of the demise of Byzantine Emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (r. 1183–85), who overthrew the imperial Regent Alexius Comnenus, the Protosebastos, and

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murdered Manuel I Comnenus’ young heir, Alexius II Comnenus (r. 1180–83) in 1183 (f. 385, Fig. 3.27) is an excellent example of precise textual illustration. According to the Eracles, after taking over the empire, Andronicus blinded and disfigured the rest of the imperial family and raped the empire’s nuns and noble daughters. Afterwards a distant relative of Manuel I, named Isaac, killed Andronicus’s henchman, Langosse, causing the people of Constantinople to rally around Isaac and crown him as Emperor Isaac II at Hagia Sophia (r. 1185–95; 1203–1204). The people then took Andronicus by siege. Once he was captive, Isaac ordered him:

stripped naked and made him wear a chaplet of garlic stalks. Such was the crown he had made for him, and thus was he crowned king... He had an ass brought and they had him mounted on it backwards with him holding its tail like a rein. And so he was led through all the streets of Constantinople and he wore his crown.

This scene is positioned in the background of the miniature, where Andronicus’ garlic stalk crown is clearly visible while he holds the donkey’s tail. The artist placed the next part of the narrative in the foreground, where the women of Constantinople tear Andronicus limb from limb and ate every piece of him in the city’s street. This gruesome event is portrayed in great detail,

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with the foremost woman holding the deposed emperor’s forearm between her teeth and his garlic stalk crown limply lying on the ground in the bottom right corner.

The illumination closely follows the book’s rubric: “How Isaac had himself crowned emperor and took Andronicus from Constantinople, crowned the aforementioned emperor with braids of garlic then made him ride an ass among the town with its tail in his hand. After he was delivered to the women of Constantinople, who ate him flesh and bone.”364 It is unlikely that the scene was copied from an earlier example, as it appears in only one other manuscript (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22497, f. 106, ca. 1350, Fig. 3.28), in which the women of Constantinople consume the emperor, but the humiliation on the donkey is not present.365 The narrative specificity of the illumination in Louis of Gruthuuse’s book starkly contrasts with the generality of the earlier examples, suggesting Louis’s or the libraire’s heightened interest in the historical episode perhaps because Andronicus was famously bad. His misdeeds were already pictured in the Amiens Eracles (Fig. 1.40) in which he tortures and kills the Emperor Alexius and the sub-deacon John, and as will be discussed later, his humiliation is shown again in Edward IV’s Eracles (Fig. 4.35). The reason for his popularity may be, as will be discussed in great detail in Chapter 4, Andronicus’ inclusion as an anti-hero in Laurent de Premierfait’s Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes in book nine, chapter eleven of which the story of Andronicus is detailed.

364 The rubric (f. 384v) reads: “Commet Kyrsac se fist couroner empere et de constantinoble prit Andronines q se disoit epere le courona dune tresse daux puis le fist moter sur i. asniss tenat p my la ville sa queue en sa main. apres fut liure aux femmes de constantinoble qui le mangerent char et os.”

365 The humiliation scene also appears in Edward IV’s Eracles, painted after Louis’ copy (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f.420v). In Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2630, f. 227v (ca. 1270–75) Andronicus is blinded.
Louis of Gruuthuse owned his own copy of the *Des cas* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 132), which contains book nine but not an illumination of Andronicus.  

**Godefroy of Bouillon**

Godefroy of Bouillon’s actions as a leader are portrayed in two rare scenes in Louis’ *Eracles* that emphasize his role as a Burgundian crusading hero. In the first, the artist portrays his skills of negotiation via a message delivered by an effective diplomat, an illumination which may have appealed to Louis of Gruuthuse’s own diplomatic leanings, and in the second the focus is on his prayerful appearance in the Holy Sepulchre, where he presents himself to Christ as the new ruler of the Latin Kingdom.

In the first scene in book two, Coloman, King of Hungary, receives Godefroy of Bouillon’s messengers, Godefroy of Esch (f. 20v, Fig. 3.29). During Godefroy’s travel to the Holy Land (1096) his army halted in Hungary where they learned that previous crusade groups led by Peter the Hermit and Gottschalk had met with great resistance from Hungarian forces when they arrived there. To find out why his army was stopped and the cause of the previous crusaders’ problems in this land, Godefroy sent a messenger who knew the Hungarian king from previous courtly exchanges, Godefroy of Esch. He delivered the duke’s message which asked why a Christian kingdom would treat his and other Christian armies so badly, and then he

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367 See also my earlier analysis of this scene in “*A Livre d’Eracles* within the Library of the Fifteenth-Century Flemish Bibliophile, Louis de Bruges,” 194–95.

threatened to avenge any wrongs done to the Christian forces. Coloman, King of Hungary, answered that, because the earlier groups of crusaders had shockingly plundered and murdered in his land, he banned further crusading armies from crossing his territory. King Coloman then returned a message to Duke Godefroy expressing admiration for his great Christian faith and offering to negotiate safe passage for a face-to-face conference between the two leaders.

Because Godefroy’s initial message revealed him to be stalwart in his protection of his troops and in his dedication to his mission, he wins a meeting with the king which in turn leads to safe passage for Godefroy’s armies. Modern historians have suggested that the represented moment displaying Godefroy’s leadership skills was important. Tyerman argues that Godefroy of Bouillon anticipated the need to bring Godefroy of Esch along to negotiate with King Coloman because of Godefroy of Esch’s previous diplomatic experience with the Hungarian court, and that this decision demonstrates the duke’s complex preparations for the crusade.369

The miniature in Louis’ Eracles shows Godefroy of Esch kneeling before King Coloman, whose bejeweled robe and hat indicate his royal status. Although Godefroy of Bouillon is not pictured in the miniature, the importance of his words, embodied in the delivered message that passes between the hands of the messenger and the king at the center of the illumination, is evident, and would draw the reader’s attention to the text’s description of the moment that Godefroy initiated contact and, through his message’s persuasiveness and his own negotiating skills, successfully won safe passage through the country. The scene must have been expressly desired as the miniature for book two, because it is rarely chosen for illumination; it appears in

only four other manuscripts in the *Eracles* corpus. Typically miniatures for book two portray the crusaders setting out on horseback for the crusade. One exception, the miniature in Jean V of Créquy’s manuscript, (Amiens, BM, Ms. 483, f. 12, Fig. 3.30), is the sole example to picture the two leaders, Godefroy of Bouillon and Coloman of Hungary, together at their conference. Although within Jean’s manuscript, the direct relationship between the two rulers is uniquely presented, in Louis’ copy the effective political negotiation performed by the highly placed mediator Godefroy of Esch may have appealed to the diplomat in Louis, who had spent much of his life engaged in complex negotiations on behalf of the Burgundian dukes and the English king.

The second scene featuring Godefroy of Bouillion is very rare and expressly chosen for Louis’ manuscript. In this miniature, Godefroy of Bouillon prays at the Holy Sepulchre as the newly elected ruler of the Latin Kingdom (f. 112, Fig. 3.31). William of Tyre wrote that Godefroy of Bouillon was escorted to the Holy Sepulchre upon his election as ruler (July 1099). The artist positions Godefroy within the spiritually weighty site of the Holy Sepulchre. The new king kneels before an altar on which leans a crucifix, the Christ of which wears a prominent

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370 Two early manuscripts similarly portray Godefroy’s envoys delivering his message to the king, BnF, Ms. fr. 2825, f. 13 (thirteenth-fourteenth century) and Paris, BnF, Ms. 2824, f. 10 (fourteenth century). In a contemporary, fifteenth-century manuscript, BnF, Ms. fr. 2629, f. 34, made for the Echevinage of Rouen, a kneeling envoy hands Godefroy’s message to the king, in an expanded scene that also includes the duke handing the original message to the envoy. I was unable to see an image for ms. fr. 22496, f. 24 (fourteenth century), which apparently portrays the same scene.

371 See also my earlier analysis of this scene in “A Livre d’Eracles within the Library of the Fifteenth-Century Flemish Bibliophile, Louis de Bruges,” 195–97.

crown of thorns. Godefroy holds his golden crown in his hands rather than wearing it, but still holds it as a part of his royal vestments.

The rubric for the miniature does not describe the action pictured: “How the very high barons of the host assembled to elect a king of Jerusalem, the opinion of the clergy, and of that which follows.” However, further along in the text, the rubric for the next unillustrated chapter and the source for the miniature’s composition presents itself on folio 112v, reading: “How the Duke Godefroy was elected king of Jerusalem and how we presented him to our Lord in his church of the holy Sepulchre.” The miniature thus portrays this moment of presentation in the Holy Sepulchre after Godfroy’s election. The crucifix resting on a bright
red cloth serves as the intercessory focal point for Godefroy’s presentation to God. The courtiers in the background maintain the role of presenters. The rubric’s description of the presenters as “we” could extend intentionally toward the reader, with Louis then conceptually joining the crowd of onlookers in presenting the new advocate of the Holy Sepulchre as he kneels before the crucifix.

The choice to represent Godefroy at the Holy Sepulchre had precedents in two thirteenth-century Eracles, though neither included the image of Christ as a focus of his devotions (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93, f. 101, ca. 1295, Fig. 3.32 and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2827, ca. 1265 f. 63v, Fig. 3.33). In both early examples Godefroy kneels before an empty altar, hands clasped together in prayer, while onlookers watch from behind. The compositional similarity is striking, which may be due to the availability of Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93 in the library of the Burgundian dukes in the fifteenth-century; it appears in the 1467 inventory after Philip the Good’s death, so it is possible that the miniature in BrB, Ms. 9492–93 was available as a model when Louis of Gruuthuse’s volume was produced. If this were the case, the added

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377 The chronicle records that Godefroy would not wear any type of crown in the city where Christ was crowned with thorns. “Quant il fu esleuz a roi tuit li baron li requistrent que il se feist coronner et receust lenneur du roiaume si hautement com li autre roi de la Crestiente le font; il respondi quen cele sainte cte ou Nostre Sires Jhesucriz avoit portee courone despines por lui et por les autres pecheeers ne porteroit il ja se Dieu plesoit corone dor ne de pierres aincois li sembloit que assez i avoit eu de celi coronnement qui avoit este fez le jor de la Passion Notre Seigneur por emnorer touz les rois crestiens qui apres lui seroient en Jherusalem. Por ceste chose que il refusa la coronne sont unas gens qui ne le vuelent conter entre les rois de Jherusale...” William, Archbishop of Tyre, Guillaume de Tyr et Ses Continuateurs, 1: 309.

In my earlier analysis of this miniature, I unfortunately over-interpreted the illumination as portraying Godefroy refusing to wear the crown, “A Livre d’Eracles within the Library of the Fifteenth-Century Flemish Bibliophile, Louis de Bruges,” 195–97. After further reflection on the working method of the artist in this manuscript, which does not indicate in depth and nuanced visual narratives, and on the rubric on folio 112v, I have changed my thoughts on the matter.

378 My thanks to Anne D. Hedeman for her suggestions regarding the interpretation of this rubric.

379 Folda, “Illuminations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 2:122; Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 85n38; Barrois no. 1455–1773; Doutrépont, Littérature française, 263.
iconographic details of the crucifix and the crown become more significant as objects that tie the miniature more strongly to the narrative only hinted at in the rubric.

It is likely that, having being told to represent Godefroy praying, the atelier artist modified a composition used elsewhere in the atelier’s oeuvre, the *Reynaud de Montauban* (Pommersfelden, Library of the count of Schönborn, Ms. 311, f. 190, Fig. 3.34). There a knight kneels before an altar full of idols with his pointed, armored feet lifting slightly off the ground like Godefroy’s in Louis’ *Eracles* manuscript. Nevertheless, the two atelier miniatures are not identical and it seems that in the case of the *Eracles*, real care was taken to construct the setting and represent narrative action in the miniature. Together, the two miniatures of Godefroy of Bouillon in Louis of Gruuthuse’s *Eracles* focus the reader’s attention on Godefroy’s strong leadership and piety during the first crusade. Both may also conceptually involve Louis of Gruuthuse in the narratives as well, through the valorization of diplomatic success in the first and through the inclusive “we” presenting Godefroy of Bouillion in the Holy Sepulchre in the second.

**Saladin**

Louis’ *Eracles* manifests a fascination with the character of Saladin, through its inclusion of a series of three miniatures highlighting Saladin’s actions in the Holy Land. These miniatures form a visual narrative arc in which Saladin enters crusader territory, destroys it, captures the king, murders the barons, and then captures Jerusalem. He is presented as a


381 Saladin is also written Salah al-Dunya wa’l-Din, which means “restorer of the faith.” Tyerman, *God’s War*, 374.
formidable foe, a characterization consistent with his presentation in other literary and historical examples.

The starting miniature of William of Tyre’s twenty-second book, the last before the anonymous continuation, portrays the start of Saladin’s path of destruction across the Holy Land (f. 359, Fig. 3.35). William of Tyre reports that Saladin set up his camp in Tripoli, where all the crusader leaders had shut themselves away in their respective castles in fear, allowing Saladin to burn the crops and granaries and drive away the territory’s livestock, leaving total destruction in his wake. 382 Although the rubric immediately above the miniature does not relate to its subject matter, a rubric on the subsequent folio 360 does, “How Saladin made his [warning shot] and entered the coast of Tripoli and how he burned and devastated the whole land.”383

The portrayal of Saladin appearing in the foreground, mounted on his horse and directing his army forward toward the burning fortified town in the background is another rare scene choice. Most Eracles manuscripts start the twenty-second book by representing either King Baldwin IV giving his sister Sibylle to Guy of Lusignan to marry or their marriage ceremony. Only two other illuminations in the Eracles corpus include the scene of Saladin burning the territory around Tripoli: London, BL, Yates Thompson, Ms. 12, f. 161 (ca. 1232–61, Fig. 3.36) and Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 265v (ca. 1460–65, Fig. 3.37). The thirteenth-century example (Fig. 3.36) shows the fires destroying multiple buildings in the top of the historiated initial ‘B’ while the bottom half portrays the livestock and even human prisoners being carted off by


383 Immediately above the miniature the rubric reads: “Comment le prince d’Antioche et le count de tripole auec grant plate de chlrs enteren ou royaume de Surie et de ce que sensult.” On f. 360, the rubric reads: “Comet Salahadin fist sa semôce et entra en la cote de tripple et comment il ardoit et gastoit tout le pays.”
Saladin’s troops. The fifteenth-century example was in the Burgundian library when Louis’ manuscript was made so it is possible that it could have inspired the scene selection, but the composition is different, focusing on soldiers actively lighting fires in granary buildings (Fig. 3.37). Louis of Gruuthuse’s Eracles portrays the destruction wrought by Saladin effectively but less specifically than the other two examples.

The second miniature in the Saladin group appears in book twenty-three, the first book of the anonymous continuation added to William of Tyre’s chronicle in the thirteenth century. In this miniature Saladin decapitates Prince Raynauld of Châtillon, a Burgundian nobleman (f. 399, Fig. 3.38). The chronicle states that at the Battle of the Horns of Hattīn (July 1187) Saladin captured king Guy of Lusignan and Prince Raynauld along with several other crusaders. Saladin offered Raynauld a drink, but Raynauld refused and said that “if it pleased God he would never drink or eat anything of his.” Saladin then asked Raynauld what he would do to him if their situation were reversed. Raynauld replied “So help me God, I would cut off your head,” after which Saladin swiftly decapitated Raynauld.

The result is visualized. In the top left corner, the captured King of the Latin Kingdom, Guy of Lusignan, is led away by two of Saladin’s soldiers. In the foreground, Raynauld is on his

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384 Moodey, Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy, 85 n38; Barrois no. 1543–1715; Doutrepont, Littérature française, 263.
385 See also my earlier analysis of this scene in “A Livre d’Eracles within the Library of the Fifteenth-Century Flemish Bibliophile, Louis de Bruges,” 197.
knees with blood gushing from his stump of a neck; his head lies on the ground with an expression of horror still upon it, while Saladin stands over him with his sword raised. This is a nearly unique scene, appearing in only one other Eracles manuscript (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 142, f. 247, Paris, ca. 1300–40, Fig. 3.39). In this example miniature, the top register of the two-register miniature portrays the captured crusader king and barons being brought before Saladin on the left and Saladin cutting off Raynaud’s head on the right. Essentially, the iconography of the two miniatures is the same, but Louis’ Eracles miniature brings the Saracen leader’s fierceness into sharp focus through the gruesomeness of the scene.

This is another case in which the choice of a nearly unique image closely dependent on the text probably signals Louis’s or his libraire’s specific interest in the event. The crusader Raynauld courageously resists taking nourishment from his and God’s enemy. He is boldly honest to Saladin and takes no interest in his own life, asserting his disdain for the Islamic ruler. He loses his life honorably, not having succumbed to the temptations of comfort from his enemy and having stayed true to his knightly code. Saladin, in his turn, is portrayed as the powerfully terrifying threat to the crusader kingdom that he was.

After the crusader King Guy of Lusignan was captured, Saladin made his way to the Holy City of Jerusalem, where he laid siege to the heart of the Latin Kingdom (September 1187). This siege is recounted in the end of the twenty-third book of the chronicle, which describes Saladin’s offer to allow the Christians to surrender the city without a violent attack, their refusal, and Saladin’s siege of Jerusalem which led to such great losses on both sides that the Christians were,

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389 The rubric reads: “Dune bataille q le roy guy de Jhrlm eut cotre Salahadin ou le roy fut pris et presq to ses baros la vraye croix perdue et comet Salahadin de sa ppre mai coupa la teste au price regnalt du crac.”
in the end, prepared to surrender the city to Saladin if he would let them leave it in peace. Saladin agreed to allow the fleeing Christians to leave if they paid him a ransom. Thus the siege ended.\footnote{Book 23:55–58. Edbury, \textit{The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade}, 55–61; \textit{L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur}, 82–88.}

Louis’ \textit{Eracles} portrays the crowned Saladin in the bottom left corner in his camp, watching the devastation of the siege unfold before him (f. 404, Fig. 3.40).\footnote{The rubric reads: “\textit{Comment Salahadin assiega la sainte cite de Jherusalem et de son maintien oud siege}.”} His army has managed to knock down one of Jerusalem’s walls on the right. The scene is not as specific as the previous illumination, but the figure of Saladin with his distinctive crowned turban and beard remains consistently presented across the last two examples, helping the reader to spot him as a repeating character.\footnote{Three other earlier \textit{Eracles} manuscripts portray Saladin’s siege of Jerusalem, two fourteenth-century manuscripts (Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 249 and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2634, f. 332v) as well as one fifteenth-century example, Wolfert VI of Borssele’s \textit{Eracles} (Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 224v).}

In this visual cycle of three Saladin miniatures the artist reveals Saladin’s destructive force as he reaches the shores of Tripoli and devastates the territory, captures the King of the Latin Kingdom and decapitates Reynaud de Châtillon, and then finally conquers Jerusalem. The fact that there are three miniatures dedicated to Saladin’s story in Louis’s \textit{Eracles} is highly unusual. Two earlier \textit{Eracles} manuscripts have more, five, Saladin illuminations (Baltimore
WAM, Ms. W. 142 and BnF, Ms. fr. 22496, 22497), and two—the later *Eracles* belonging to Edward IV of England (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i) and BnF Ms fr. 9083 — have the same number. The number of Saladin miniatures in Louis’ manuscript indicates a specific interest in the subject and each of these illuminations are rare scene choices, pointing to an express desire to visually emphasize Saladin’s narrative.

From the thirteenth-century onward, Saladin became a noble enemy in Old French literature, for example the *Roman de Saladin*, the *Voyage d’oultre mer du comte de Pontieu*, in which the daughter of the count of Pontieu eventually marries the sultan and becomes Saladin’s

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393 Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142 contains the following: f. 247, Book 23:45, Saladin has captured crusaders brought before him, decapitates Raynaud de Chatillon; Countess of Tripoli surrenders Tiberias to Saladin; f. 249, Book 23:55, Saladin besieges Jerusalem; Balain d’Ibelin comes to Saladin seeking terms of surrender for Jerusalem; f. 251v, Book 23:62, Saladin gives 1,000 captured men to his brother for services during siege and 500 captured men to Balian; f. 255, Book 24:11, Saladin and men besiege Tripoli by land as navy of king William arrives by sea; Green knight rides to meet saladin near Tripoli; and f. 259, Book 26:7, Richard I rides to take Jaffa from Saladin. BnF, Ms. fr. 22496, 22497, contain the following: f. 103, Book 22:30, Baldwin IV chases Saladin from siege of Kerak; f. 113, Book 23:44, Saladin has captured king Guy and barons brought before his camp; f. 115v, Book 23:55, Saladin besieges Jerusalem; f. 117v, Book 23:62, Saladin orders captured Christians in Jerusalem escorted out of city; and f. 120v, Book 24:10, Saladin besieges Tripoli.


great-grandmother, providing him an aristocratic genealogy, or the *Pas Salhadin*. Margaret Jubb has shown that the figure of Saladin in the Old French *Eracles* is more *chevalresque* than he is in William of Tyre’s original Latin; he is described with knightly attributes such as debonair speech, bravery, and wisdom. She shows that Saladin was a much admired historical figure and that this admiration is manifested in Old French literature through the Saracen leader’s portrayal as a courteous and noble warrior interested in being knighted and always true to his word. Examples include Ambroise’s *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, the *Estoires d’Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* and the fifteenth-century prose *Saladin*.

Although Louis of Gruuthuse did not own any volumes besides the *Eracles* that visually feature Saladin, there were examples of Saladin illuminations in the library of the Burgundian dukes. Philip the Good owned two illustrated manuscripts containing significant miniature cycles devoted to Saladin. The Wavrin Master painted the first, a gift from Jean of Wavrin to Philip, in pen and wash technique (BnF, Ms. fr. 12572) that contains the *Histoire des très vaillants princes Monseigneur Jean d’Avesnes*, the *Comte de Ponthieu son fils, de Thibaut, Seigneur de Dommart son beau-fils*, and the *Roman de Saladin*. The Wavrin Master illuminated the *Roman de Saladin* with ten miniatures dedicated to the sultan’s chivalric exploits, for


example, portraying him sailing to France (f. 203v, Fig. 3.41) or combatting Lambert of Berry in a tournament setting (f. 207v, Fig. 3.42). The text describes the sultan as even being baptized and knighted to fully complete his transformation to chevalier.398

Loyset Liédet painted the second example in the duke’s library, the _Chronique dite de Baudouin de Avesnes_ or the _Chroniques des Empereurs_ (Paris, BA, Ms. 5090), which contains six miniatures dedicated to Saladin within a long section of the chronicle that covers the crusades.399 Examples include Baldwin defeating according to the rubric, the “valiant Turk Saladin,” (f. 101v, Fig. 3.43), Saladin capturing King Guy of Lusignan (f. 140, Fig. 3.44) and then the city of Jerusalem surrendering to Saladin (f. 144, Fig. 3.45).400

In addition, the _Gillion de Trazegnies_ also romanticizes the Sultan character who becomes the father-in-law to Hainaut nobleman Gillion. The illumination of Gillion at the Sultan’s court and the historiated initial portraying Gillion kneeling before his father-in-law show the Sultan as chivalric leader (ff. 150v and 235, Figs. 3.46 and 3.47). The catalogue for the 2012 Sotheby’s sale of the _Gillion_ manuscript implies that it was produced as a part of the crusade fervor in the Burgundian court. Philip the Good intensified his efforts to organize a crusade after

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398 Moodey, _Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy_, 75–76; _Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises_, 745–46; Barrois cites this manuscript as no. 1279 of Philip’s library; Schandel places the manuscript as having been made in Lille, ca. 1452–60. Saladin is found on folios 165–262. _Miniatures flamandes_, 1404–92, 362–63; Schandel, “Le Maître de Wavrin et les Miniaturistes Lillois à l’époque de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire,” PhD diss. (Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, 1997), 1:197–200, 2:135–152.

399 David Aubert was the scribe for this manuscript and, as Moodey points out, provided a fresh fifteenth-century translation of the text in 1462. Moodey, _Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy_, 89–90; Chipps-Smith, “Artistic Patronage,” 140; _Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamandes_, no. 180–81.

400 This title’s volumes were listed in the inventory of Philip’s library under Barrois nos. 1684, 1696; _Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamandes_, 146, no. 181.

   It is worth noting that Louis of Gruuthuse’s copy of the _Chronique dite de Baudouin de Avesnes_ (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 279, ca. 1470, Master of the Grisailles Fleurdelisées) does not contain a cycle of illuminations dedicated to Saladin. Hans-Collas and Schandel, _Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux_, 165–68, cat. no. 45.
eastern ambassadors, including the patriarch of Antioch, an Armenian, a Turk, and a Georgian, visited the Burgundian court in 1461, especially in the years 1463–64, and the Gillion manuscript can be dated in the half-decade immediately following this event. David Aubert may have copied the text originally for Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy (the manuscript of which is now Dülmen, library of the Duc de Cröy, Ms. 50) during this charged period. Anthony was particularly implicated in his father’s crusade efforts, personally attempting to go on crusade but getting no further than Marseilles in 1464. In contrast to Anthony, however, Louis of Gruuthuse was never seriously involved in the duke’s crusade efforts. For him, the Gillion probably represented a rare and collectable title. Only three other fifteenth-century French copies exist: Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9629, ca. 1455; Anthony of Burgundy’s copy, and Jena, Thüringer Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, Ms. El. f. 92, late 15th century, with only Louis’ and Anthony’s copies containing illuminations. The Saladin group of miniatures in Louis’ Eracles relates to a larger popular context in which the figure of Saladin and, by extension, general sultan figures were understood in western chivalric terms as formidable yet admirable leaders.

Richard I’s Arrival in Palermo

A final example combines many of the themes already discussed in the analysis of Louis of Gruuthuse’s Eracles illuminations: it represents a heroic crusade figure, Richard I, a unique

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401 Sotheby’s, “Lot 51,”; Vaughan, Philip the Good, 367.
402 Vaughan, Philip the Good, 371.
403 Sotheby’s, “Lot 51.”
scene choice that may evoke Louis’ lived experience, and the artist also constructed it from existing models. This is, in fact, the final miniature in Louis of Gruuthuse’s manuscript, portraying King Richard I of England arriving in Palermo (f. 417, Fig. 3.48). William of Tyre writes that on his way to his crusade, Richard landed in Palermo because he wanted to winter with the King of France, Philip II Augustus with whom he shared a great friendship (1190).404 The rubric is the source for the iconography of this illumination: “How the king of England with a great navy arrived in the city of Palermo...”405 The illuminator has followed the rubric’s description of the event, emphasizing the English king’s naval strength through the numerous ships, and the importance of the English king himself by placing him on a plank that stretches across the two boats in the foreground. Richard is crowned and wears armor that evokes the English armorial blazon, half-blue and half-red, with gold impressions of fleur-de-lys on the blue and illegible gold decoration on the red, indicating the rampant lion. He stands on a platform between two boats in the Sicilian harbor. This scene was unique at the time of its making.406

Although the scene selection is unique in Eracles manuscripts and nicely illustrates the narrative of Richard I’s arrival, the composition is not. The artist constructed this miniature from existing models. Ships in three miniatures in Froissart’s Chronique (Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, ff. 59,


405 The rubric reads: “Comet le roy dangletre avec grat nauie arriua en la cite de palerne a la a meschines deuers le roy de france.” Tyerman points out that Richard’s army, “when mustered in Sicily in the winter of 1190–91, including sailors may have numbered as many as 17,000,” with “one of the largest,” armadas to head to the Holy Land. Tyerman, God’s War, 433, and on the Anglo-French departure for the crusades in general, 431–46.

406 King Edward IV’s later copy of the Eracles also portrays Richard I’s arrival in Palermo, probably following Louis of Gruuthuse’s scene selection. Earlier Eracles manuscripts that portray this section of the chronicle emphasize Richard and Philip’s friendship, for example the rulers’ embrace in BnF, Mss. fr. 2827, f. 234, and fr. 2754, f. 198.
95v, 327, Figs. 3.49–3.51) include almost identical pairs of ships dominating the foreground. The king figure, with his fluffy hair and tall hat decorated with plumes, appears in other guises in the Chronique de Flandre and the Histoire d’Alexandre (BnF, Ms. fr. 2799, f. 24, Fig. 3.52 and BnF, Ms. fr. 20311, ff. 128 and 131, Figs. 3.53 and 3.54).

This distinct miniature indicates a specific interest in the historical theme of the king of England arriving in a harbor in great naval splendor. Louis of Gruuthuse might have expressly requested its inclusion as he had personally experienced just such an arrival not long before the manuscript was produced, when Louis learned that Edward IV’s fleet was seeking shelter in the harbor at Alkmaar due to his exile from England. Louis jumped directly into a boat to personally receive Edward and his brother Richard of York (1452–85). This vision of the English king on his vessel would have been in sharp focus in Louis’ memory when he worked with his libraire in selecting specific scenes for inclusion in his Eracles.

Conclusion

The details of Louis of Gruuthuse’s life and the content of the visual cycle of his Eracles work against interpretations of the manuscript as a commission based on crusading fervor. If Louis was passionate about anything, it was the Burgundian court itself where he spent most of his life deeply engaged in chivalric pursuits. Not only did he participate in tournaments and in the largest ceremonial events to take place at court during three Burgundian leaders’ reigns, such as the Feast of the Pheasant, the wedding of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold and the wedding of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria, but also Louis mingled with the most

407 Van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, 10 and 329n33.
elite nobility in Burgundy through the Order of the Golden Fleece and with heads of state in England and France through his diplomatic missions. His manuscript collection represents these passions well. He amassed tomes related to tournaments, the Order of the Golden Fleece, and the chivalric deeds of leaders from the past, whether they were historical figures or fictional ones.

Louis’ Eracles represents many of Louis’ passions at once. It functions less as a reference book for a contemporary crusade and more as an objet d’art. Much like the text of Gillion de Trazegnies, the Eracles text was rare and collected by Louis’ elite colleagues and family members. As an avid manuscript collector, it is not surprising that Louis would be certain to obtain a copy of a rare text like the retranslated Eracles that was popular with close companions like his brother-in-law, Wolfert of Borssele.

Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68 seems to lack financial and intellectual investment when compared to the elaborate visual programs that carefully incorporate textual narrative details like those found in Louis’ Gillion de Trazegnies or Wolfert of Borssele’s Eracles. Louis’ Eracles manuscript’s cycle only contained twenty-six miniatures, and although it was given to the well-known Loyset Liédet to illuminate, it was delegated to the hand of one of the master’s assistants and with few exceptions was rapidly produced from pre-existing artistic models. The atelier was generally uninvested in its visual program, dropping in preformulated scenes from other models and only constructing detailed visual narratives in a small number of cases. However, these are telling. They concentrate on crusading heroes like Godefroy of Bouillon and valiant villains like Saladin, as well as on images which could have been imbued with a strong personal reference for
Louis like that of the English king and his fleet. Thus despite its less sophisticated mode of production there was a level of intellectual and artistic effort given to the manuscript’s construction that personalized the *Eracles* for Louis’s use, even if he commissioned it because it was *en vogue*.
The English King Edward IV (1442–83; r. 1461–70; 1471–83) had many political, familial, and cultural connections throughout his reign with the Flanders-based court of Burgundy, which Duke Charles the Bold governed at the time.\(^{408}\) In 1468, Edward arranged for his sister, Margaret of York, to marry Charles.\(^{409}\) The same year Charles inducted him into his powerful, knightly Order of the Golden Fleece, and reciprocally, Edward inducted Charles into the English Order of the Garter. Jean V of Créquy was among the delegation of Burgundian nobles charged with notifying Edward of his 1468 nomination to the order; he arrived in England on 5 April 1469 to give Edward the order’s statutes before the king accepted its collar.\(^{410}\) In 1470, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, placed the former King, Henry VI, back on the throne and forced Edward IV into exile for five months. After first unsuccessfully trying to find shelter in Calais, Edward landed in Holland where Louis of Gruuthuse hospitably hosted him, first at his home in The Hague and later in Bruges.\(^{411}\) Between 1470–71, Edward witnessed the flourishing

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\(^{408}\) I would like to extend my deep thanks to the many participants of the British Library’s Royal Manuscripts Conference, held 12–13 December 2011, where I gave the early form of a portion of my research for this chapter in a paper titled “A Royal Crusade History: The Livre d’Eracles and Edward IV’s exile in Burgundy.” The comments of Dr. Sonja Drimmer, Dr. Anne D. Hedeman and Justin Sturgeon were particularly helpful and I thank them for their discussions.

\(^{409}\) Edward IV’s and Margaret’s parents were Richard of York and Cecily Neville. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 190.


\(^{411}\) After Edward IV’s return to England, he rewarded Louis of Gruuthuse with the earldom of Winchester. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 355. For a detailed account of Edward IV’s activities while in exile and a critique of the historical sources for these facts, see Livia Visser-Fuchs, “’Il n’a plus lion ne lieppart, qui vouelle tenir de sa part’: Edward IV in exile, October 1470 to March 1471,” *Publication du Centre européen d’études bourguignonnes (XIV\(^{\text{e}}\)–XVI\(^{\text{e}}\) s.)* 35 (1995): 91–106.
Burgundian culture of art and fashion, including the illuminated manuscripts that his host Louis was beginning to collect at the time.

**Manuscript Collection**

While in exile, Edward IV was penniless and thus unable to commission works of art. However, after his victorious return to the throne in 1471 he regained the full resources of his realm, and over time built a manuscript collection that became the early basis for the royal library. He commissioned most of his manuscripts between the 1470s and his death in 1483. There are twenty-one volumes dating from this period that can be explicitly linked to Edward IV’s patronage through heraldic evidence, including his *Eracles* manuscript, Royal Ms. 15 E i. There are around thirty more that are thought to have been his commissions though they lack his heraldic identifiers. Edward’s collecting choices fell well in step with other English

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414 McKendrick, “A European Heritage: Books of Continental Origin Collected by the English Royal Family from Edward III to Henry VIII,” in *Royal Manuscripts*, 56; Drimmer, “The Visual Language of Vernacular Manuscript Illumination,” 181–82. McKendrick also notes that fifteen out of the twenty-one manuscripts that can be attributed to Edward IV’s patronage were histories in “The Romuléon and the Manuscripts of Edward IV,” 165.
monarchs; he chose, for the most part, extensively illuminated, French manuscripts. Like the other fifteenth-century patrons of Eracles manuscripts, he frequented a few Bruges-based artists for his commissions, particularly the Master of Edward IV and the Master of the White Inscriptions. His interests tended toward ancient and contemporary histories that provided historical lessons. Although many scholars have suggested that Louis of Gruuthuse inspired Edward IV’s interest in collecting large, luxury, history manuscripts during Edward’s exile, others have shown that Louis had not yet begun his collecting activities at the time of Edward IV’s visit. Nevertheless, the two men did tend to collect the same types of history manuscripts, and Louis at times gave his own manuscripts to the king. The men also often used the same artists, many of whom painted Edward IV’s Eracles. It is possible that Edward commissioned his Eracles after seeing Louis’ copy. The text in Edward’s manuscript shares a


418 Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 360; Drimmer, “The Visual Language of Vernacular Manuscript Illumination,” 183–84. Other scholars point out that it also may have been Edward IV’s sister Margaret of York, Charles the Bold’s wife, who influenced Edward’s interest in Flemish manuscripts. Backhouse, The Illuminated Page, 178.


420 McKendrick notes Louis may have been trying to promote the Flemish illuminators he so often commissioned to the king due to a downturn in demand in Flanders for illuminated manuscripts in “A European Heritage,” 56.
However, the cycle of illuminations in Edward IV’s manuscript is far larger than Louis’ and thus contains visual content unrelated to Louis’ cycle. It is possible that Edward’s interest in the Eracles text was piqued through his relationships with Louis of Gruuthuse and Jean V of Créquy, but it took a different form. Although Edward’s Eracles manuscript does share some iconography with the examples owned by these men, this chapter will show that his manuscript was specifically tailored to appeal to the king’s own interests.

Royal Crusader?

King Edward IV may have owned a Flemish Eracles crusade chronicle, but he was not involved in the Burgundian crusade culture like the other patrons considered in this study. First of all, he was not an active member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, having been admonished in both 1478 and 1481 for not wearing the order’s collar and not sending a proxy to its chapter meeting. The historical evidence also suggests that the English king did not share Duke Philip the Good’s enthusiasm to take on a new crusade. He may have been preparing to send

421 The text found in these two manuscripts is distinct from those found in the other fifteenth-century examples. Edbury, “The French Translation of William of Tyre’s Historia; the Manuscript Tradition,” Crusades 6 (2010): 93. For more on the textual recension, see my introduction, pp.121–24. Smeyers argued that the two men both owned manuscripts that shared similar text and illustrations, evidence that Louis of Gruuthuse “acted as an intermediary in their acquisition,” in “Flemish Miniatures for England,” 248.

422 The two manuscripts share thirteen scene selections in common, but do not always approach the illustration of these scenes in the same way. These commonalities arise at books 8:1; 9:2, 9; 11:1; 12:4; 13:4, 6; 14:1; 15:1; 16:3; 19:1; 20:1; 23:14; 23:55–58; 25:8–9. This list shows that in many cases the commonalities are found at book incipits.

423 Ann Payne and Lisa Jefferson, “Edward IV: The Garter and the Golden Fleece,” 194. A presentation scene of Jean de Wavrin’s Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d’Angleterre (Royal Ms. 15 E iv, f. 14) pictures Edward wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece. Bruges-based artists familiar with the collar’s presentation on the order’s members painted this manuscript. Thus, the collar’s inclusion may have been less at the request of Edward and more due to the habits of the artists. Christopher Tyerman, God’s War, 886–87.
archers to Burgundy to aid Philip’s crusade preparations, and he did “authorize a crusade grant when Pius II actually announced the papal alliance with Burgundy and Venice,” (19 October 1463). Although Mehmed II’s Ottoman Turks (r. 1451–81) were advancing quickly on western territories, attempting to besiege Rhodes in 1480 and sending a force to Otranto, Italy in the same year, neither attempt was successful and neither elicited a response from Edward.

Edward’s library offers no evidence for Edward’s historical interest in the crusades. He owned one other crusade-related illustrated manuscript, the *Histoire de Godefroy de Bouillon* (Royal Ms. 17 F v, Fig. 4.1). The Master of the Dresden Prayerbook painted this manuscript’s two illuminations: Godefroy of Bouillon enthroned (f. 3, Fig. 4.2) and the coronation of Baldwin I (f. 118, Fig. 4.3). These miniatures represent the dynastic foundation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and lack the elaborate narratives found in Edward’s *Eracles* manuscript. Unillustrated texts in his library included the Greek Cardinal Bessarion’s *Orationes*, a 1471 call to arms written to western leaders, and the poet John Kay’s English translation of Guillaume de Caoursin’s *Siege of Rhodes*, an account of the Ottomans’ 1480 blockade. In addition, William Caxton dedicated his unillustrated English translation of the history of *Godfrey de Bouillon* (printed in 1481) to Edward, who commissioned the work, and to his sons.

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425 Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, 255.

426 Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, “chevalerie...In som partie is worthi forto be comendid, and in some part to ben amendid: Chivalry and the Yorkist Kings,” in Richmond and Scarff, eds. *St. Georges Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, 123; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 305.

London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i

Neither the king’s actions nor the surviving contents of his library manifest more than a fleeting interest in the crusades. So what is the context for understanding his Eracles? Although Edward may have learned about the text from his Burgundian court connections, the expanded illumination cycle was planned specifically for the king’s gaze. It will become clear that, albeit full of illustrations of crusade battles and dynastic successions, the manuscript contains a subset of illuminations that demonstrate its function as a royal book; these were intended to communicate a vision of kingship to its royal patron. Further, the illumination cycle manifests visual instructive exemplarity, picturing both positive and negative historical examples of rulers divorced from their customary foundational texts in “Mirrors of Princes” and other collections of historical exempla. The visual cycle even twists the manuscript’s crusade content in certain cases, in order to provide historical lessons for the monarch, using not only examples of good crusading kings, but also negative archetypes of bad Christian rulers and their downfalls.

Artists

Edward IV’s Eracles manuscript, Royal Ms. 15 E i was made ca. 1475–80 in Bruges. Illustrated with fifty-four miniatures, it contains the most extensive illumination cycle of the fifteenth-century examples and the fifth-largest cycle in the entire corpus of extant William of Tyre manuscripts. Clearly Edward IV committed considerable financial resources to ensure the

Eracles would be a lavish book. The manuscript is one example among many of collaborations between the Ghent-based atelier of the Master of the Flemish Boethius and two assistants as well as two Bruges-based artists.  

The Master of the Flemish Boethius (active 1480s), who painted both in Ghent and Bruges, is named after his contribution of five miniatures to Boethius’s *De consolatione philosophiae* (BnF, Ms. neerl. 1, 1492, Fig. 4.4). The Boethius manuscript was made in Ghent

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The Master of the Flemish Boethius collaborated with the Master of Edward IV on Paris, BA, Ms. 5082–83, a manuscript made for Wolwert VI of Borssele, and BnF, Ms. lat. 4804. The second assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius, who painted most of the second half of the *Eracles* manuscript, also worked with the Master of Edward IV on BL, Royal Ms. 15 E iii. The Master of Edward IV was known to collaborate with the Master of the Getty Froissart as well, as evidenced in Los Angles, JPGM, Ms. Ludwig XIII 7. All of these artists also collaborated at various times with the Master of the White Inscriptions.  

The Royal *Eracles* manuscript is constructed from sixty–two quires, with a general distribution of one miniature per quire. The collation of the quires is as follows: 18, 27, 3–298, 306, 31–618, 622. There are two miniatures in each of quires 10, 13, 17, 44, 45 and 48. In these cases, the same artist painted both miniatures, except perhaps in quire 10 where one may be painted by one of the assistants to the Master of the Flemish Boethius (f. 74) and the other by the Master himself (f. 77).  

The first assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius painted the following quires: 5–8, 10 (f. 74), 11, 13, 15–17, 21, 36(?) [ff. 32v, 47, 51, 56, 74, 85, 98v, 101v, 116, 122, 128v, 134, 162v]. The Master of the Flemish Boethius painted the following: 9, 10 (f. 77), 12, 14, 18–20, 22, 24–25, 31(?) 33, 56(?) [ff. 69v, 77, 91, 108v, 137v, 150v, 155v, 170, 185, 192v, 241, 259, 438]. The second assistant painted the following quires: 23, 27, 29, 34–35, 37–50, 53, 55, 57 [ff. 177v, 209, 224v, 266, 273v, 293v, 300, 308, 317v, 321v, 330v, 335, 342, 347, 353, 357, 365v, 368v, 375v, 377, 383, 393, 420v, 433v, 450v]. The Master of the Getty Froissart painted the frontispiece in quire 3 (f. 16) and the Master of Edward IV painted the miniature in quire 51 (f. 404v). McKendrick, in, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 310–11, cat. no. 87.


Paul Durrieu attributed Edward IV’s *Eracles* manuscript to the hand of Alexander Bening because the word “Alexander” is written on f. 57v, in “Alexander Bening et les peintres du bréviaire Grimani,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 33 (1891): 59–69, 353–67. Alexander Bening (d. 1519) joined the painters’ guild in Ghent in 1469 but also worked in Bruges and Antwerp. This historical figure has been thought to be the artist of a number of manuscript illuminations, but without any substantial evidence to link him with the illuminations. Georges Dogaer argues that the inscription ‘Alexander’ should not be seen as a signature, but rather a reference to the text. He does however argue that the ‘presumed’ Alexander Bening worked on five miniatures in the Boethius manuscript. Dogaer, Morrow and Winkler, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, 157. Scot McKendrick notes that no one considers this artist to actually be Alexander Bening any longer, in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 309. Friedrich Winkler renamed the artist the “so-called Alexander Bening” in *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. Und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 117, 179; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 60–61, 365. The artist was named the Master of the Flemish Boethius in Claudine Lemaire and Antoine De Schryver, “De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruthuse,”, 263, 272 and again by Roger Wieck in *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350–1525, in the Houghton Library*, (Cambridge: Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1983), 52, cat. no. 25.
for Louis of Gruuthuse, a frequent patron of the artist.\footnote{The scribe for the Boethius manuscript was Jan van Krieckenborch, who completed it 16 March 1492. Dogaer, Morrow and Winkler, Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries, 157. There are around forty volumes attributed to the Master of the Flemish Boethius, twenty of which were produced for Louis of Gruuthuse. A selected list of of his works includes: Cambridge, Houghton Library, Mss. Typ. 129–130, Frederick II Hohenstaufen, De l’art de la chasse des oiseaux and Gaston Phoebus, Livre de la chasse: Livre de l’ordre de chevalerie, 1486, Ghent, Louis of Gruuthuse; London, BL, Royal Ms. 16 G iii, Michel de Massa, Vie de Jésus Christ, 1479, Ghent, scribe David Aubert; Royal Ms. 18 E iv, Valerius Maximus, Facta et Dicta memorabilia, vol. 2, 1479, Bruges, one miniature, with the Master of the White Inscriptions and Master of the Harley Froissart, for Edward IV; Paris, BA, Ms. 5082–83, Flavius Josephus, Antiquites des Juifs, ca. 1485–90, Flanders, first 2 miniatures of vol. 1 and first 8 of vol. 2, with the Master of Ed IV and Master of the Trivial Heads, for Wolfert of Borssele; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 11–16, Flavius Josephus, Antiquites des Juifs, ca. 1480–83, Ghent and Bruges, for Louis of Gruuthuse; fr. 38, Caesar’s Commentaires, 1482, Ghent, for Louis of Gruuthuse; fr. 82–85, Jean de Wavrin, Chronique d’Angleterre, ca. 1480–85, Bruges or Ghent, Louis of Gruuthuse; fr. 181, Ludolf of Saxony, Vie du Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ and Vengeance de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, ca. 1480, Ghent, frontispiece, some grisaille miniatures, for Louis of Gruuthuse; fr. 190, Le secret parlement, ca. 1483, Ghent, Louis of Gruuthuse; fr. 2692, René d’Anjou, Livre des Tournois, 1488–89, Bruges, Louis of Gruuthuse; fr. 9136, Jean de Mandville, Livre des simples medicines and Lapidaire, ca. 1480, Ghent, for Louis of Gruuthuse; lat. 4804, Ptolemaeus, Cosmographia, ca. 1485, with Master of Edward IV, for Louis of Gruuthuse; lat. 8733A, Nicole Oresme, De Origine et natura, 1485, Ghent, for Louis of Gruuthuse; neerl. 1, Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae, 1492, Ghent, for Louis of Gruuthuse. Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 225, 269; McKendrick in Illuminating the Renaissance, 309; Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 60, 265 and n. 41, 365.} In the 1480s the Master of the Flemish Boethius painted mostly large-scale miniatures in secular manuscripts, at times in collaboration with other artists like the Master of Edward IV, as happened in the Eracles manuscript, in which he painted a combination of interior and exterior one-column and one-half-page miniatures.\footnote{McKendrick in Illuminating the Renaissance, 224, 309. The Master of the Flemish Boethius was known to work not only with the Ghent-based Jan van Krieckenborch but also with the Bruges-based scribe David Aubert. Miniatures flamandes, 1404–1402, 425; Hans-Collas and Schandel, Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 226.} The first assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius painted many of the Eracles manuscript’s exterior scenes, which were often battles, in the first part of the manuscript.\footnote{McKendrick in Illuminating the Renaissance, 310 n. 5–11, cat. no. 87.} McKendrick points out that this assistant may have worked with the Master of the Flemish Boethius in Jean de Wavrin’s, Chronique d’Angleterre (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 82, Bruges or Ghent, ca. 1480–85,) which was painted for Louis of Gruuthuse.\footnote{McKendrick in Illuminating the Renaissance, 311 n. 5, cat. no. 87.} The second assistant to the Master
of the Flemish Boethius painted much of the second half of the *Eracles* manuscript. This artist also collaborated on Edward IV’s copy of Jean Corbechon’s, *Livre des propriétés des choses* (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E ii and iii, Fig. 4.5).

The last two artists each painted a single miniature in the manuscript. The Master of the Getty Froissart (active 1480s) most likely painted the *Eracles* manuscript’s frontispiece (f. 16, Fig. 4.6). Scot McKendrick named this master for his work in the J. Paul Getty Museum’s Jean Froissart, *Chroniques* manuscript (Los Angeles, JPGM, Ludwig XIII 7, ca. 1480). Although there is much left to uncover about this artist, he is known to have worked frequently with groups of artists. One example is Edward IV’s copy of Laurent de Premierfait’s, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* in which he worked with the Master of the White Inscriptions and the Master

435 McKendrick in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 311, cat. no. 87.

436 The Corbechon manuscript was finished in 1482 in Bruges. The second master painted the following miniatures therein: vol. 1) ff. 10v, 19v, 60, 77v, 139v and vol. 2) ff. 32, 102, 126, in a team that included a follower of the Master of the Getty Froissart and the Master of Bruges 1482. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 311, cat. no. 87.


438 The Getty Froissart was also a collaborative manuscript, using the talents of the Master of the Soane Josephus, Master of Edward IV, and the Master of the London Wavrin. A selected list of the Master of the Getty Froissart’s works include: London, BL, Royal Mss. 14 E v, Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, trans. of Giovanni Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, ca. 1480, Bruges, with the Master of the White Inscriptions and possibly the Master of the London Wavrin, for Edward IV, 14 E vi, Jean Corbechon, *Profits ruraux des champs*, trans. of Petrus de Crescentiis’s *Ruralia comoda*, ca. 1478–80, Bruges, with the Master of the White Inscriptions and another associate, for Edward IV, f. 10; 15 D i, Guyart des Moulins, *Bible Historiale*, trans. of Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* ca. 1470 and 1479, Bruges, with the Master of the Soane Josephus, Master of Edward IV, Philippe de Mazerolles / Master of the Harley Froissart (Commynes), a follower of Loyset Liédet and the Master of the Vienna *Chroniques d’Angleterre*, for Edward IV, f. 66v; 18 E ii, Jean Froissart, *Chroniques* (vol. 4), ca. 1480, Bruges, with the Master of the Chattering Hands, Philippe de Mazerolles / Master of the Harley Froissart (Commynes), for Edward IV, f. 7 or 206; Los Angeles, JPGM, Ludwig Ms. XIII 7, Jean Froissart, *Chroniques* (vol. 3), ca. 1480, Bruges, with the Master of the Soane Josephus (and assistants), Master of Edward IV, Master of Pierre de Luxembourg’s Caesar and another associate, most likely for Edward IV. For more on the Master of the Getty Froissart see: Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 222; The Master of the Getty Froissart’s work is considered similar to that of the Master of the White Inscriptions. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 65; McKendrick in *Royal Manuscripts*, 198, cat. no. 49 and for the Getty Froissart manuscript (Los Angeles, JPGM, Ludwig Ms XIII 7), see Donovan in *Imagining the Past in France*, 273–75, cat. no. 52.
of the London Wavrin (London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 E v, ca. 1480, Bruges, Fig. 4.7). The final artist, the Master of Edward IV (active 1470–90), painted only one single-column miniature in the *Eracles* manuscript (f. 404v). He was based in Bruges and is documented to have worked in multiple atelier manuscript productions, painting manuscripts not only for Edward IV but also for Louis of Gruuthuse and often for Baudouin de Lannoy. He is named for his work in Edward IV’s *Bible historiale* (BL, Royal Mss. 15 D i, 18 D ix–x) but he also notably worked with the second assistant of the Master of the Flemish Boethius on the second volume of Edward IV’s *Livre des propriétés des choses* (BL, Royal Ms. 15 E iii, Fig. 4.8).

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439 The Master of Edward IV is believed to have moved to Lille between 1477–92, during a politically turbulent time in Bruges. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 66, 427; McKendrick in *Royal Manuscripts*, 214, cat. no. 57. For more on this artist see Vanwijnsberghe, “Marketing Books for Burghers,” 136–44. He was known to have worked with the Master of the Trivial Heads, Master of the Soane Josephus, Master of the London Wavrin, and the Master of the Getty Froissart. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 65–66; Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 204; McKendrick in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 295–305, 335, 343, cat. nos. 82–85, 95, 98. His work for Edward IV and Louis of Gruuthuse is thought to have occurred in the 1470s and afterwards he moved on to other patrons like Engelbert II of Nassau and Johann van Oettingen. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 417, 427, 463, 467, 536–37.

The Cycle of Illumination

As a team, these artists created an *Eracles* (BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i) that is distinctive from the other fifteenth-century examples both in its status as a royal book and its employment of intertextual references to construct visual exempla. Edward’s *Eracles*’ frontispiece embodies these themes, as it not only shows a conscious tailoring to the royal gaze but also offers an exemplum. The three-quarter-page frontispiece miniature offers a dramatic introduction to the *Eracles*. The miniature portrays the story of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–40) who brought the True Cross back to Jerusalem after his victory over Chosroes II in Persia (f. 16, Fig. 4.6), an event that modern historians generally agree took place on 21 March 630. **441** Although this moment in history is not actually a part of the crusades (the first crusade did not begin until 1096), William of Tyre includes it as a pre-history of the Christian struggle with Islam from its start in the 620s. William limits his discussion of Heraclius only to a few facts: he was victorious in Persia over Chosroes II, he returned the cross to Jerusalem, he ordained a new

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Patriarch of Jerusalem and he ordered all the churches in the city be cleaned and rebuilt because Chosroes II had damaged them.\textsuperscript{442}

The frontispiece’s visual narrative expands on that of William of Tyre’s text.\textsuperscript{443} The Master of the Getty Froissart painted the illumination in two scenes. In the background, the emperor carries the True Cross proudly on horseback, before a city gate on which stands an angel brandishing a sword (Fig. 4.9). In the foreground, the gray-bearded Heraclius stands barefoot, in his underclothing, with the cross over his shoulder (Fig. 4.10). His followers, at left, await barefoot, the foremost with his hands in prayer. At right, a member of Heraclius’s entourage seeks entry into the gated Holy City. Although William of Tyre mentions that Heraclius returned the cross to Jerusalem, he does not mention the angel. Instead, these scenes derive from a different text, Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea (ca. 1261–66), or Golden Legend, a popular collection of saints’ lives organized according to their feasts in the liturgical calendar.

Furthermore, Jacobus used a Latin legend, the Reversio Sanctae Crucis (also known as the Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis and hereafter as the Reversio),\textsuperscript{444} as a source for his chapter concerning


\textsuperscript{443} I am grateful to Dr. Anne D. Hedeman for discussing this miniature with me while at the British Library.

In the fourteenth century Jean de Vignay translated the *Golden Legend* into French as the *Legende dorée* (ca. 1333–34). It was also translated into English, in verse in the *South English Legendary* (ca. 1290) and in prose in the fifteenth century in the *Gilte legende* and William Caxton’s *Golden Legend* (printed 1483).

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445 The *Reversio* was composed in the West between the end of the seventh and the mid-eighth-century to celebrate the 14 September liturgical feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, or *Exaltatio Crucis*. Borgehammar argues that the *Reversio* itself took inspiration from a source written in the 630s at the time that Heraclius had just returned to Jerusalem with the cross. In addition, he points out there is a contemporary Latin text in the form of a sermon that uses the same source material as the *Reversio*. He calls this sermon text the *Sermo de exaltatione sanctae crucis*. He also cites that the legend text is listed in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina as number 4178 or BHL 4178. A homily, *Homiliae de festis praecipuis*, by Hrabanus Maurus (780–856), archbishop of Mainz also contains this legend, PL 110, cols. 9–134 (at 131–34). The *Reversio* legend is frequently linked with the *Inventio*, or Invention, of the Cross; the legend of Empress Helena finding the cross. Borgehammar, “Heraclius Learns Humility,” 146 and n. 6, 147 and n. 7, 149, 159–60; See also, Barbara Baert, “Heraclius and the Persians. The Legend of the Exaltation of the Cross,” in *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, 140. The *Reversio* legend was also translated into verse in the twelfth century by Gautier d’Arras in his *Eracles*. Hans A. Pohlsander, “Helena, Heraclius, and the True Cross,” 23. It is significant that none of the historical accounts considered by Frolow in describing Heraclius returning the cross to Jerusalem include mention of the incident with the angel, showing that the devotional tradition surrounding the *Golden Legend* story did not cross over into the historical accounts, in “La relique de la vraie croix: Recherches sur le développement d’un culte,” and “La vraie croix et les expéditions d’Heraclius en Perse.”

The Bollandist catalogue lists 146 extant manuscripts containing the *Reversio* legend, including ten extant fifteenth-century copies, which are as follows: Chartres, BM, Ms. 473, t. II, ff. 153–56, 194v–98v and 201v–203v; Cologne, HA, Ms. W. 164a, f. 1–2v; The Hague, KB, Ms. 70 E 21, f. 161–62; Melk, SB, Ms. M. 7, ff. <914> 69–70v; Milan, BA, E. 84 InF, ff. 190v–92; Münster, UB, Ms. 23, ff. 76v–78; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 3809a, ff. 84–84v and Ms. N.A. lat. 1154, ff. 22–23; Vatican, BAV, Ms. Pal. lat. 850, ff. 55–55v; Société des Bollandistes, “BHL (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina) Ms. 4178,” *Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latin publiés par les Bollandistes*. bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be, revised 09/12/98. Cited in: Borgehammar, “Heraclius learns Humility,” 146 n. 6.

446 Baert notes there are thirty-nine extant manuscripts of the French *Legende dorée*, of which twenty-nine are illuminated, in “The Spreading of the Finding and Exaltation of the Cross in the Late Middle Ages,” 202.

Edward IV’s reign is most contemporary with Caxton’s edition of the *Golden Legend*, the king having died the same year Caxton published his work, and so it is a reasonable comparative text to use to understand the form of the Heraclius legend when Edward IV’s manuscript was painted.

In Caxton’s *Golden Legend*, Heraclius returns the True Cross to Jerusalem and tries to enter the city through the gate by the Mount of Olives. The emperor approaches on horseback, outfitted in imperial garb. Upon his approach the gate to the city is miraculously bricked up and he is unable to pass. The Angel of the Lord appears and tells him that to gain access to the city he must enter humbly, barefoot and in poverty, like Christ. Heraclius heeds the angel and

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448 According to Pierce Butler, Caxton’s translation was mostly based on the French revision of Jean Vignay’s *Legende dorée*, found in London, BL, Stowe Ms. 50–51, but also used fifteenth-century English manuscript sources including, BL, Additional Ms. 11,565, Egerton Ms. 876, Harley Ms. 630 and 4775, Lansdowne Ms. 350 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce Ms. 372. He points out that Harley Ms. 4775 is the most complete textually. Caxton made the translation at the behest of his patron, Lord William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel. “*Legenda aurea - Légende dorée - Golden legend. A Study of Caxton's Golden Legend with Special Reference to its Relations to the Earlier English Prose Translation.*” PhD dissertation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1899), 50, 76, 91, 147. For a twentieth-century critical analysis of Caxton’s translation, see Sister Mary Jeremy, “Caxton’s *Golden Legend* and Varagine’s *Legenda Aurea,*” *Speculum* 21: 2 (Apr. 1946): 212–21.

449 Caxton’s translation reads as follows: “and tooke the hooly crosse / and brought it ageyne to Jerusalem / and as he descended fro the mount of Olynete / and wold have entryd by the gate / by whiche our Sauyour wente to his passion on horsbacke aourned as a kynge / sodenly the stones of the yates descended / and ioyned them to gyder in the gate lyke a wall and alle the peple was abasshed / and thenne the Aungel of oure lord appyered upon the gate holding the signe of the crosse in his honde / and sayd / whanne the kynge of heuen wente to his passion by this gate / he was not arayed lyke a kynge / ne on horseback / but cam humbly uppon an asse / in shewynge theexample of humyltye / which he left to them that honoure hym And when this was sayd / he departed and vanysshed aweye / Thenne thenperour took of his hosen and shone hymself in wepyng / and despoylled hym of alle his clothes in to his sherte / and tooke the crosse of our lord / and bare it moche humbly unto the gate / And anone the hardnes of the stones felte the celestyalle commandement / and remeued anone / and opened and gaf entree unto them that entred / Thenne the swete odour that was felt that day whanne the hooly Crosse was taken fro the Toure of Cosdroe / and was brought agyne to Jherusalem fro soo ferre coutre / and so grete space of lond returned in to Jherusalem in that moment / and replenysshed it with al swetenes / Thenne the ryght dewoute kyng beganne to saye the praysyngs of the Crosse in this wyse / O Crux Splendidior / et cetera / O Crosse more shynyng than alle the Sterres / honoured of the world / ryght holy / and moche amayng to alle men / whiche only were worthy to bere the raunson of the world / Swete tree / Swete nayles / Swete yron / Swete spere berynge the Swete burthens / Saue though this present company / that is this daye assembled in thy lawde and praysyngs / And thus was the precious tree of the Crosse reestablysshed in his place / And thaus eyent myrackles renewed / ...” f. CLXXXX verso. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia. The Golden Legend*, trans. William Caxton, (Westminster: William Caxton, between 20 November 1483 and March 1484). Compare Caxton’s English version to Stephan Borgehammar’s Latin edition and his English translation of the original Latin *Reversio Sanctae Crucis* in “Heraclius Learns Humility,” 186–89.
removes all of his imperial adornment and shoes, dismounts from his horse, and humbly carries the cross to the gate, where he is finally allowed access. A series of miracles then follow.

The frontispiece portrays this narrative but raises the question from where the artist took his visual inspiration? Only one earlier Eracles example includes the angel confronting Heraclius (BnF, Ms. fr. 9082, f. 25, Rome, 1295, Fig. 4.11).\(^{450}\) This illumination portrays Heraclius on a white horse in the foreground, carrying the cross over his shoulders with his army behind him and an imperial flag flying over their heads. The gate to the city of Jerusalem is closed before them and an angel stands on top of the city gate. However, the artist did not include his humble entry that follows in the narrative. There is no provenance research that would put this manuscript, made in Rome in the thirteenth-century, near the Flemish atelier that produced Edward’s Eracles, so iconographic transmission between the two is unlikely.

On the other hand, this iconography was popular enough to be present in many contexts, and remained fairly stable no matter the text in which it was placed. First, it is of course found in illustrations of the Golden Legend. The Morgan Library holds a beautiful example of the Jean de Vignay translation, the Legende dorée, painted in Bruges ca. 1445–65 by the Chroniques II Workshop (PML, Ms. M. 675, f. 77, Fig. 4.12).\(^{451}\) The demi-grisaille miniature portrays Heraclius joyously entering Jerusalem, barefoot, in his underclothing, welcomed by angels. It

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\(^{450}\) Folda noted BnF, Ms. fr. 9082 as an influence for this illumination in “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1: 483–84, 511 n. 11. Heraclius is featured in two other fifteenth-century Eracles manuscripts, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 1, in which he is enthroned, and Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, showing him ordering the rebuilding the churches of Jerusalem in the top left corner. Other scenes in the Eracles corpus that include Heraclius in some part include: Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2628, f. 1; fr. 2824, f. 1; fr. 9082, f. 25; fr. 9083, f. 10; fr. 24209, f. 10v; fr. 22495, f. 9; Paris, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, mem. et doc. 230bis, f. 2; Rome, BAV, Ms. Reg. Lat. 737, f. 1.

\(^{451}\) This manuscript was created for Jean IV of Auxy. Barbara Baert cites this manuscript as also containing the St. Helena Legend, in “The Spreading of the Finding and Exaltation of the Cross in the Late Middle Ages,” 212, 215 (figure 46)–216.
does not show the Angel’s chastisement for his earlier prideful entry attempt. As a traditional
legend for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, the iconography of Heraclius and the True
Cross is often found in devotional contexts.\footnote{Baert argues that the oldest known western iconography for the humiliation of Heraclius is found in the
Sacramentary of Mont Saint-Michel (1066; New York, PML, Ms. 641, f. 155v) in “Heraclius and the Persians. The
Legend of the Exaltation of the Cross,” 144–45. For more on the history of the iconography of Heraclius’s humble
entry, see and Pohlsander, “Helena, Heraclius, and the True Cross,” 15–42.
Some parts of this analysis of the Heraclius and the True Cross cycles in wider contexts was delivered as a
part of my paper “Visual Narrative in the Livre d’Eracles: Did a Formidable Gothic Tradition Shape Illuminations of
Late-Medieval Examples?” at the Narrative in Gothic Art panel chaired by Dr. Elizabeth Morrison at the College Art
Association conference on 23 February 2012 in Los Angeles, CA.}

Prayer books that contain the Hours of the Cross sometimes use the Heraclius iconography. The contemporary Blackburn Hours portrays the first
part of the narrative, emphasizing the emperor’s sin of pride, Heraclius approaches the city gate in full imperial regalia and the Angel denies him entry (Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art
Gallery, Hart Ms. 20884, f. 34, ca. 1480–90, Figs. 4.13–4.14).\footnote{The Heraclius miniature opens the Hours of the Cross. McKendrick in Illuminating the Renaissance, 342–43, cat.
nos. 98.} Notably, an artist from the
same atelier that painted Edward IV’s Eracles, the Master of Edward IV, painted this Heraclius
scene. The miniature of Heraclius faces the Crucifixion and even Christ carrying the cross in the
\textit{bas-de-page} of folio 33v, juxtaposing Christ’s humility in the Passion with Heraclius’s impious
imperial entry.

Although most likely not directly related to the Eracles miniature, it is important to note
that the iconography participates in a strong parallel Italian tradition of portraying this story in
monumental art, frequently along with representations of the legend of St. Helena finding the
True Cross, which would be used in celebrations of the 3 May feast of the Invention of the Cross,
for instance Agnolo Gaddi’s fresco the \textit{Legend of the True Cross}, in the Chancel Chapel at Santa
Croce, Florence (ca. 1385, Fig. 4.15). This fresco shows a strong iconographic connection to
Edward IV’s fifteenth-century frontispiece, including both scenes from the narrative. In the central background, the emperor holds the cross on horseback. He meets the closed city gate, and the angel above admonishes him. In the bottom right corner, Heraclius approaches the gate again, barefoot, humbled, and carrying the cross and this time he is granted access. In Santa Croce’s choir, Gaddi also painted the companion imagery of Saint Helena discovering the location of the True Cross (Fig. 4.16).

The use of the independent *Golden Legend* text to construct the more complex frontispiece for the *Eracles* indicates that Edward IV’s artists, *libraire*, and/or Edward himself was familiar with the *Golden Legend*’s “Exaltation of the Cross.” Perhaps the artist or *libraire* was inspired by designs from his colleague the Master of Edward IV from the Blackburn Hours, or perhaps it was the other way around, as the Blackburn Hours is most likely a later production than the *Eracles*. The miniature’s intertextuality, in which not only the artist but the viewer of the miniature brings a knowledge of multiple texts to construct its meaning, and in which the illumination represents at once the “Exaltation of the Cross” and the beginning of the *Eracles* chronicle, demonstrates the complexity of communication embedded in this miniature.454 The visual message is not just an illustration of the text, in which Heraclius returned the True Cross to Jerusalem, nor is it a message of Christian crusade victory, the triumphant reclamation of Jerusalem and restitution of the cross to the Holy Sepulchre. It foregrounds the humility of Heraclius’s second attempt at entering Jerusalem to emphasize his humble Christian leadership. This multivalence alone would make this frontispiece and the manuscript that contains it

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distinctive among contemporary copies of the *Eracles*. Furthermore, when considered within the contemporary historical context, King Edward’s frontispiece betrays an even greater level of complexity, first as a portrayal of royalty within a royal book and second as the embodiment of a historical exemplum of a good ruler.

**A Royal Manuscript**

John Lowden defines a royal book as containing images of a ruler and having been made for a ruler to be used by a ruler. A manuscript’s royal destination affects the choices of its creators during the course of its creation. The creators’ awareness of the royal user visually manifests itself in the illumination cycle of the resulting manuscript. Lowden argues that the “more highly developed the interest in rulership of any particular individual...the greater the likelihood that the possibilities of the royal / imperial book will be exploited.” Furthermore, he states that in royal books, “we might expect to find a ruler’s self-image...” or rather “an image of kingship.” Following Lowden’s definitions, Royal Ms. 15 E i, Edward IV’s *Eracles*, is a distinctively royal book, made for the English king’s use, and this purpose was considered when the Master of the Flemish Boethius’ atelier created the manuscript. Edward IV’s royal identifying armorials mark it as his possession, the frontispiece trumpets a vision of ideal

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455 Lowden’s conception is further nuanced to consider whether the manuscript is made for use by the court as well, from within or outside the court, in “The Royal / Imperial Book and the Image or Self-Image of the Medieval Ruler,” in Anne Duggan, ed. *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe* (London: King’s College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1993), 214, 216.

456 Lowden, “The Royal / Imperial Book and the Image or Self-Image of the Medieval Ruler,” 239.

kingship, and several subsequent miniatures to reflect back to Edward a vision of English crusading.

Edward IV is identified as the intended audience for the Eracles because the frontispiece bears the royal arms of England, surrounded with the blue and gold Garter, in which is written the order of the Garter’s motto ‘Honi soit qui mal y pense’ (f. 16, Fig. 4.6). The armorial shield is topped with a crown. In the right border stands a flag with the royal arms, the Yorkist badge of the ‘rose-en-soleil’ and the English royal motto: Dieu et mon droit.458 The manuscript is hence a ‘royal’ book, claimed for use by the king of England through the inclusion of his heraldic devices and arms, like the twenty other surviving manuscripts that do the same.

The frontispiece image rests above the English royal arms as the opening illumination of the manuscript and is thus planned as the first to greet the gaze of its royal patron. This miniature functions as a royal image, or an image of royal self-reflection. The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, successful in battle against the Persians, returns to reclaim Jerusalem for Christianity and to restitute the True Cross to the Holy Sepulchre, rectifying the disorder that preceded his arrival. After the Angel chastises him, he enters from a more knowledgeable, humbled, and even more Christ-like standpoint. The parallel in this portrayal of Heraclius to Edward’s own recently victorious return to his country after his five-month exile would have been evident. After returning from exile, humbled, like Heraclius returned to the city gate, he restored his proper rule in England, just as Heraclius restored Christian rule in Jerusalem.

The idea of using an imperial theme to demonstrate a political argument about Edward’s own time is something that scholars have already identified in Edward’s other commissions. McKendrick argues that Edward was particularly drawn to texts that dealt with imperial Roman history and that promoted themes of “empire and imperial ambition,” citing the examples of the Grande histoire César (BL, Royal Ms. 17 F ii, Bruges, 1479) and the Romuléon (BL, Royal Ms. 19 E v).\footnote{McKendrick, “A European Heritage,” 59; Driscoll in Royal Manuscripts, 200, cat. no. 50. Often these texts used the historical circumstances as moralizing exempla. Doyle, “Edward IV: Founder of the Old Royal Library,” 192.} In his discussion of La Grande histoire César, Joshua O. Driscoll argues that Edward’s interest in imperial history may be seen as a part of Edward’s or his counselors “attempts to recast his return from exile (1471) as a time of peace and prosperity: a golden age with Edward as England’s Augustus.”\footnote{Driscoll in Royal Manuscripts, 200, cat. no. 50. Edward IV published multiple proclamations after his return to the throne that framed his Lancastrian predecessor as more cruel than the Saracens and Edward himself as the divinely supported victor over such evils. Alison Allan, “Royal Propaganda and the Proclamations of Edward IV,” Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research 59 (1986): 150.} This type of propaganda was echoed by Edward IV’s contemporaries, like John Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Albans, who referred to Edward as “a new Hector and a second Achilles” who “would reign ‘more happily than Augustus and better than Octavianus.’”\footnote{Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, “chevalerie...In som partie is worthi forto be comendid,” 116; Cited from: Thomas Wright, ed. Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III. Rolls Series, 2 vols., (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859–61), 264–65.} McKendrick proposes that the textual figure of Augustus in the César stands as a positive parallel to Edward because of his role in ending the “civil war and bring[ing]
of peace to the land.” Augustus’s return to Rome to institute his empire is featured in a miniature in Edward IV’s Romuléon (BL, Royal Ms. 19 E v, f. 336v, Fig. 4.17) in which Augustus is pictured in prayer before a vision of a Virgin and Child.

*La Grande histoire César’s* cycle of illumination illustrates the life of Cesar up to his murder (BL, Royal Ms. 17 F ii, Fig. 4.18). After the Cesar section, the planners of the manuscript included additional textual accounts of the history of the Emperor Augustus (ff. 346v–53v) as well as an abbreviated account of the emperors that followed him up to the reign of Frederick II (r. 1212–50; ff. 354–59v). Notably, Heraclius is included among this list of emperors. On folio 357v, the author notes that in the twelfth-year of his empire, Heraclius killed Chosroes II and returned the Christian people and the True Cross to Jerusalem. McKendrick posits that these textual additions were possibly a new revision of the Roman history made especially to suit Edward IV’s contemporary Yorkist propaganda. For McKendrick, the additional imperial histories in the manuscript would reflect Edward’s “ill-fated aspiration for

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462 Augustus Gaius Octavius (63 BCE–14 CE) was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar, who adopted Augustus as his own son to pass on his inheritance to him. Augustus founded the Roman empire after Caesar was murdered (15 March 44). To do so, he had to end the civil wars as well as all rivalries that would impede his path to imperial power. He was able to institute the first peaceful period in his lifetime, even decreeing the construction of an altar of peace (Ara Pacis Augustae) in 13 BCE. Frédéric Hurlet and Fredrik Vervaet, “Augustus,” trans. Johanna M. Baboukis, in Micheel Gagavin, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford Reference, 2010, rev. 2012, EISBN: 9780195388398); McKendrick, “*La Grande histoire César,*” 122; Drimmer, “The Visual Language of Vernacular Manuscript Illumination,” 185–86.


464 The César manuscript is securely attributed to Edward IV’s collection through a colophon that mentions him (f. 353v) as well as the heraldic identifiers of Edward and his sons, and has been dated to 1479. McKendrick, “La Grande Histoire César,” 110, 114, 129.

465 “xiie. an de l’empereur eracle cosdroe roy de perse fut occis par eracle et lors fut ramene le peuple de chetuiosion[?] avec la sanite vraye croix.”
establishing a long succession.” 466 Therefore, Edward’s self-imagining in relationship to the imperial Roman succession included Heraclius’s restoration of the True Cross. All of this being said, the Heraclius frontispiece may represent the intentional adaptation of an imperial Byzantine figure as a conscious political metaphor for Edward IV’s restoration of the realm.

The manuscript continues to feature the presence of Byzantine emperors in subsequent miniatures, for example, the illumination of Emperor John II Comnenus (r. 1118–43) besieging Shayzar in April 1138 (f. 241, Fig. 4.19).467 The emperor’s army encircled the city and battered it with siege machines that flung enormous stones, which successfully broke down Shayzar’s fortified walls, but they failed to capture the city.468 Eventually the imperial army was able to gain control of the suburbs outside the city walls, causing the inhabitants inside the walls to ask for a truce and the lord of Shayzar, Machedolus, to offer to pay John II Comnenus to raise the siege. Because the emperor was only laying siege to Shayzar on behalf of the Prince of Antioch, who refused to participate in the effort, he was more than happy to accept the lord’s offer and raise the siege.469 The Master of the Flemish Boethius painted the two-column opening miniature of book fifteen, representing the Emperor John II Comnenus during the siege of

467 Various Byzantine emperors are shown throughout the manuscript, including at the Siege of Shayzar (f. 241), receiving the king of the Latin Kingdom at both Antioch (f. 321v) and Constantinople (f. 368v) and the downfall of the evil emperor Andronicus (f. 420v). BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i contains the highest proportion of miniatures explicitly featuring the Byzantine emperor out of the fifteenth-century group of Eracles manuscripts, with five representations. Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 has four, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68 and Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 have three, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045 has one and BnF, Ms. fr. 2629 has none.
The emperor stands at left in golden armor, wearing a crown, observing the siege underway. His camp is labeled “Imperator” (Emperor),” on the flowing, red, battle standard that waves before the emperor. The scene’s action seems to be paused and the imperial presence is quite powerful though the employment of the labeled imperial standard and the extremely tall, strongly posed emperor in golden armor. The miniature offers a visual representation of imperial power working to restore order in Christian territories, obfuscating the end of the episode in which the emperor raises the siege. Such a portrayal of strong imperial leadership provides Edward IV an additional opportunity for imperial self-imagining.

Two other miniatures visually demonstrate royalty in a crusade context. The first is the siege of Damascus, which took place during the second crusade in 1148 (f. 280v, Fig. 4.20). The text reads that there were three battalions involved in the siege led by their respective kings: King Baldwin of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, King Louis of France, and finally Conrad, the Holy Roman Emperor. The first assistant of the Master of the Flemish Boethius painted,

470 The rubric reads: “How the emperor of constantinople besieged Cesaera [Shayzar] and held the aforementioned siege with his own hand and how he left the siege of Cesaera without having taken the city,”; “Comment lempereur de constantinoble assiega cesaire de son maintieng ou dit siege. Et comment il se partit du siege de cesaire sans prendre la ville.”

471 The siege of Shayzar is also pictured in the Eracles manuscripts belonging to Louis of Gruthuse and the library of the Burgundian duke. Louis of Gruthuse’s manuscript is the most similar to Edward IV’s, portraying John II directing the siege. The Brussels example does not explicitly include the emperor but does portray a siege underway. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 214 and Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 168. Gothic Eracles manuscripts that feature this scene include: Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 132v; Florence, BML, Ms. Plut. 61.10, f. 162v; Paris, BA, Ms. 5220, p. 309; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2634, f. 169, fr. 2825, f. 138, fr. 2827, f. 119, fr. 9083, f. 142, fr. 22496, f. 149v, fr. 24209, f. 143.

472 In the text he is referred to as ‘le Roy d’outremer,’ f. 280v.

473 After first attacking in the orchards outside of Damascus, the crusader army was encouraged to move their camp to a more vulnerable side of the city, which they did. Unfortunately, thereafter they ran out of food and drink resources and decided to withdraw from the siege all together, making the entire engagement a loss. Book 17:1 and 3. William, Archbishop of Tyre: A History of Deeds, 2: 184–93, Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs, 2:138–39 and 141, Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, 1:758–59, 761–63; For a modern historical discussion of the siege of Damascus, see Tyerman, God’s War, 329–35.
on the right, the army of the Holy Roman Emperor carrying the imperial standard of the double-headed eagle on a gold ground (again, infusing an imperial presence into the visual cycle). The emperor is crowned, wears gold armor and displays the imperial eagle on his back. In the bottom left the French battalion carries the French standard: the fleur-de-lys emblazoned on a blue ground. The crowned French king to the far left wears gold armor and holds a shield also bearing the French insignia. In the upper left corner, the final battalion is painted, which should be led by the king of the Latin Kingdom, who would wear the armorial insignia of his realm, a golden cross on a white background with small gold crosses in each of the quarter panels. Instead, the artist has painted a battalion holding a red and gold shield and standard evoking, although not replicating, the English blazon.\textsuperscript{474} It is noteworthy that this siege was chosen for illustration, as the battle ended in defeat for the crusader army but the miniature avoids the end of the story, much like the aforementioned siege at Shayzar. It elides the unfortunate ending to the episode, focusing on the opportunity to show three princely divisions of the crusader army in an intimidating pre-siege muster. The point of the miniature, like the Shayzar illumination, is thus to portray princely engagement with crusade regardless of the details of the particular outcome. Moreover, the alteration of the historical participants hints at English military colors, reinforcing the idea of royal military engagement for the English king.

\textsuperscript{474} The rubric does not include mention of the particular armies involved, reading: “About the situation of the city of Damascus and how the Christians first attacked the gardens of this town” (f. 280). “De la scituation de la cite de damas et comment les crestiens assaillirent premierement les jardins dicelle ville.” My transcription and translation. The text in the manuscript itself correctly lists the king of the Latin Kingdom leading the lead battalion (f. 280v). This same artist rendered multiple scenes of armies in the manuscript, but none contain specific armorials identifying the participants as he did in this scene. This scene is not pictured in any of the fifteenth-century Eracles manuscripts. Gothic manuscripts that contain scenes from the siege of Damascus include: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Ms. 163, f. 162v; Epinal, BM, Ms. 45, f. 145; London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 12, f. 109v; Lyon, BM, Ms. 828, f. 189; Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2628, f. 160; fr. 2754, f. 21v; fr. 2827, f. 140; fr. 9081, f. 206; fr. 9082, f. 183v; fr. 9083, f. 168; fr. 22496–97, f. 20; fr. 24209, f. 170; fr. 22495, f. 154v; and Saint Petersburg, RNL, Ms. fr. iv 5, f. 166.
The manuscript’s last miniature, the English King Richard I landing in Palermo (f. 450v, Fig. 4.21) reflects a particularly English engagement in the crusades. The second assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius painted King Richard I about to enter the city gates of Palermo behind members of his army. He wears a crown and golden armor under his robe. Two boats full of his army wait to disembark. The chronicle recounts that on his way to his crusade, Richard landed in Palermo because he wanted to winter with the King of France, Philippe II Augustus with whom he shared a great friendship. The artist in Edward’s manuscript, however, did not include the figure of Philippe Augustus, who is typically included in earlier Eracles manuscripts to emphasize the amity between the two rulers, as for example in BnF, Ms. fr. 2827, f. 234 and fr. 2754, f. 198 (Figs. 4.22 and 4.23). The only fifteenth-century manuscript to include the scene is Louis of Gruuthuse’s Eracles in which Richard I stands on a platform between two boats and is about to disembark in Palermo, and in which, again, the King of France is not present (BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 417, Fig. 4.24). In this instance, the artists of Edward’s manuscript chose, as in Louis’ manuscript, to ignore the friendship that the king shared at Palermo with Philippe Augustus. In the illumination, the king’s military function is

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475 The rubric for this scene reads: “Comment le roy dangleterre auecques grant nauie arriua en la cite de palerne. Et comment il alla a meschines deuers le roy de france.”


477 Other manuscripts in the Eracles corpus that include scenes of King Richard’s arrival are as follows: BnF, Ms. fr. 2754, f. 198; fr. 2827, f. 234; Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, mem. et doc. 230bis, ff. 189v and 196v.

478 In Louis’s example, Richard is crowned and wears armor that implies the English armorial blazon, half-blue and half-red with gold impressions of fleur-de-lys on the blue and illegible gold decoration on the red. Although the iconography of the miniature in Edward’s manuscript is related to that in Louis’s, it seems to me that the artists would not have missed the opportunity to reproduce the English heraldic devices present Louis’s example if they were looking at the earlier illumination when making the Edward’s copy. Folda noted that Louis’ manuscript was a possible model for the London miniature. Folda, ‘The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:487, 491.
emphasized through his armor and his navy as well as his trajectory toward his crusade. As the final miniature in the book, the scene ends the visual cycle with a last look at an English king just beginning his crusade journey, en route to heroically defend the Holy Land, providing an independent vision of English crusading leadership for Edward.

Edward IV’s *Eracles* manuscript already departs from the preceding fifteenth-century examples in its intentional status as a “royal book.” Its program trumpeted not only a vision of ideal rulership through imperial imagery, but also a conscious emphasis on highlighting crusading princes. Of course, these are not the only examples that promote rulership in the manuscript. A series of positive and negative visual exempla takes a particular interest in themes of leadership and visualizes kingship more broadly for the English king.

**Public Exempla**

Besides operating as a royal book that consciously shapes parts of its visual cycle to serve the ends of its royal user, Edward IV’s *Eracles* also functions as a collection of visual, royal, public exempla—the kind of “public exempla” that Larry Scanlon categorizes as historical narratives that “address...issues of lay authority,” and “public matters” in a political way. The ideal authority to which the exemplum always compares itself is the monarch. Ideally, the king should combine “ruler and exemplar” in one person, and his actions should be instructional.

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for future rulers. By its nature the office of king is exemplary, and individual kings must strive to attain the ideal established through the history or deeds of their ancestors. Exempla are typically found in “Mirrors of Princes,” or Fürstenspiegel, which are didactic texts meant to instruct a king in morals and governance and were, especially in the fifteenth century, decidedly political in scope. Princely mirrors were meant to instruct rulers on ideal rulership, modeling good government. Such instructive texts were often commissioned for kings allowing them to be seen to be open to “sage counsel.” Thus, they were often “royal books” because of their intentional communication to the monarch.

Not all exempla in “Mirrors of Princes” were positive portrayals of ideal rulership. Negative public exempla were often used to “demonstrate the efficacy of their sententiae [brief moral sayings, like proverbs] by enacting violations of them.” They demonstrate the ideal equally as well through historical examples that completely fail to meet the mark of perfection. For Scanlon, Giovanni Boccaccio’s De casibus virorum illustrium is the ultimate negative exemplum text. This text was often read through Edward IV’s era in adaptations such as

Laurent de Premierfait’s, Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, and John Lydgate’s Fall of

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Princes.\textsuperscript{487} Such texts portray historical kings failing to reach the royal moral ideal in spectacular ways in a series of famous downfalls, which serve as memorable examples of what not to do.\textsuperscript{488}

Moreover, exempla appear in texts not identified as “Mirrors of Princes.” In writing about thirteenth-century vernacular histories, Gabrielle Spiegel suggested that medieval histories are, at their base, exempla collections, written with the intention of being morally instructive.\textsuperscript{489} Kings are their most appropriate audience, as they would be best prepared to receive instruction from them.\textsuperscript{490} Exempla thus allowed readers to judge the actions of their rulers by the standards set in the past. At their most powerful, rulers used the moral authority of exempla to legitimate their own actions through propaganda.\textsuperscript{491} Exempla were furthermore brought into the present by genealogies that connected historical actors to the contemporary rulers for whom the histories were intended.\textsuperscript{492} Historians thus constructed their narratives to most directly relate to the ruler for whom they were writing and at times to even support the political purposes of that ruler.\textsuperscript{493} Edward IV’s collection of historical exempla demonstrate that historical rhetoric was powerfully employed in both text and image into the end of the fifteenth century.

\textsuperscript{487} Scanlon, “The Public Exemplum,” 120–22.

\textsuperscript{488} Scanlon, “The Public Exemplum,” 126–33.


\textsuperscript{490} Spiegel, “Political Utility in Medieval Historiography,” 89.

\textsuperscript{491} Spiegel, “Historical Thought in Medieval Europe,” 84–86.

\textsuperscript{492} Spiegel, “Political Utility in Medieval Historiography,” 97.

\textsuperscript{493} Spiegel, “Historical Thought in Medieval Europe,” 93, 95.
Although the *Eracles* is a crusade chronicle and not a princely instructional treatise, its artists embedded illuminations that evoke mirrors of princes. These illustrate the text of the crusade chronicle, but Edward IV would have understood them as visual exempla due to their intertextual relationship with other collections of exemplary figures, such as the *Golden Legend* and the *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*. This broadened understanding would derive from the king’s familiarity with other historical exempla and their visual cycles, which he would bring to his reading of the *Eracles*’s illumination cycle.

Chronicle illuminations often feature royal genealogical blood-lines through portrayals of births, marriages, coronations and deaths, and position more recent rulers as the inheritors of those important ancestral figures who came before. William of Tyre wrote his Latin *Historia* at the behest of king of the Latin Kingdom, Amaury, also known as Amalric (r. 1163–74), perhaps as a call for help to western rulers during the third crusade.\(^{494}\) His text and its anonymous French translation and continuation contains a genealogical progression of the rulers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem after its creation through to the rulers of his own time, featuring heroic leaders who reclaimed the Holy Land in the name of Christianity, as well as those who unfortunately failed to meet that standard. The exempla that were transmitted into and visualized in Edward IV’s royal copy of the French *Eracles* chronicle include both positive and negative archetypes of crusading rulers, explicitly portraying public exempla that visually refer to exempla in other historical texts and “Mirrors of Princes” of the same period. The artists were conscious of their royal patron, and Edward, as a king, was an ideal audience, prepared to

construct the inherent meanings in the visual exempla and to take instruction from, or at least comprehend, their lessons in rulership.

Edward IV owned examples of positive “Mirror” texts. Sonja Drimmer examines one example in her recent dissertation, John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (New York, PML, Ms. M. 126).\(^{495}\) She demonstrates that Edward IV and his wife, Elizabeth Woodville, were its patrons, based on iconographical and historical evidence.\(^{496}\) Drimmer shows that the Morgan *Confessio*’s illuminations feature royal public exempla and argues for the Morgan *Confessio* as an example of a “Mirror of Princes,” because of positive presentation of royalty as particularly wise, for example, an illumination of Alexander the Great learning from Aristotle (f. 158, Fig. 4.25).\(^ {497}\)

Drimmer also shows that Edward IV owned a copy of John Lydgate’s *Fall of Princes* (Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, Ms. 439/16, Fig. 4.26) the English adaptation of Boccaccio’s *De casibus* that was also copied by the scribe of the Morgan *Confessio*, was decorated by one of the same marginal artists, and bears a similar mottos: VIUE LE ROY (f.

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\(^{495}\) I would like to thank Dr. Drimmer for kindly sharing with me her dissertation, “The Visual Language of Vernacular Manuscript Illumination: John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (Pierpont Morgan Ms M. 126),” which, in its presentation of the Morgan *Confessio* as a manuscript containing visual exempla, inspired me to look at Edward IV’s *Eracles* manuscript not only as a crusade text, but also as possibly containing exemplary imagery, and which provided me many new bibliographic avenues to explore for my analysis.

\(^{496}\) First, in one miniature, the royal arms are emblazoned in a window (f. 103) and in several other pictures the badge of the crown is painted on the sleeves of male figures, indicating they are yeomen of the crown, a group of men dedicated to the keeping of the king’s library (ff. 26v, 68v, 169). Next, mottos wound into script ascenders indicate the manuscript’s intended owners, including: VIUE LE ROY (ff. 70v, 104), VIUE LE BELLE (f. 50v), and VIUE LE ROY EDUARD VRAIE (f. 42). Finally, the manuscript’s scribe, Ricardus Franciscus, was known to have copied other manuscripts for Edward IV and his family. Drimmer, “The Visual Language of Vernacular Manuscript Illumination,” 169–71 and nn. 22–23, 189, 191, 195; Kate Harris, “Ownership and Readership: Studies in the Provenance of the Manuscripts of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” (PhD thesis: University of York, 1993), 117; Martha Driver, “Printing the *Confessio Amantis*: Caxton’s Edition in Context,” in *Re-visioning Gower*, ed. R.F. Yeager (Ashville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1998), 282.

\(^{497}\) According to Drimmer, there are seventy-one illustrated exempla in the Morgan *Confessio*, though there are one-hundred and six illuminations over all. Of the seventy-one illustrated exempla, fifty-two are historical in nature, in “The Visual Language of Vernacular Manuscript Illumination,” 206 and n. 3, 210, 218, 227.
Drimmer therefore demonstrates that Edward inhabited a literary and artistic atmosphere in which texts describing public exempla and their visualizations were familiar. Edward IV’s Eracles is also part of this context; not only does it contain positive portrayals of crusading rulers, but its planners consciously featured illuminations that were iconographically linked to textual collections of exemplary figures.

Royal Hagiography

The Eracles illuminations of good crusader kings relate to the Golden Legend’s saints’ lives (one might say the ultimate collection of exemplary figures). Saints’ lives provide classic models of exemplary behavior for late medieval audiences. In Edward IV’s time, one of the most popular ways to read saints’ lives was in Jacobus de Voraigne’s compendium the Golden Legend, which contained the lives of many types of saints (Biblical, martyr, monastic, papal, etc.). For Edward IV, stories in the Golden Legend involving rulers would have been particularly instructive. The Golden Legend recounts Emperor Heraclius’s humble restitution of the True Cross, regardless of his official status in the canon of saints, and as I have already discussed, the story was widely illustrated in both manuscripts and early printed books, as for instance, the woodcut illustration of Caxton’s 1483 edition (f. CLXXXIX verso, Fig. 4.27).

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In her study of visual narratives in earlier saints’ lives, Cynthia Hahn outlines the overarching characteristics of portrayals of royal saints. She points out the fundamental conflict for artists when representing royal saints: although kings are duty-bound to defend their realms and engage in the violence of war, saints are traditionally portrayed as nonviolent and Christlike. Royal crusading saints in the later Middle Ages posed a particular problem for artists illustrating their hagiographies. Artists addressed this problem by shifting the visual focus to other parts of the hagiographic narratives, such as preaching the crusades and performing acts of charity.

The visual narratives of royal saints highlighted specifically royal, saintly virtues and actions. Foremost is the virtue of humility, which could be shown by representing a king touching the poor or removing his royal clothing (or, at times, having them forcibly removed), modeling himself after Christ’s ministry and Passion. Another royal action is undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which Hahn argues is founded in the imperial hagiography of Empress Helena in the Invention of the Cross, discussed above. For a strong example of a royal, saintly warrior that was accessible to a royal audience in the late Middle Ages, Hahn discusses the Life of Charlemagne and analyzes the thirteenth-century, gilded reliquary shrine reliefs at Aachen.

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500 Hahn, “Lay and Royal Saints,” 209, 211.


504 Hahn, “Lay and Royal Saints,” 249.
4.28) In Charlemagne’s *Life*, a holy intercessor, St. James, appears to the emperor and commands him to rid his tomb at Compostela of Muslims. Charlemagne then wages his holy battle, prays for the dead, receives forgiveness for his sins, and receives the relic of the Crown of Thorns. In a twelfth-century version of his *Life*, he even apocryphally travels to Constantinople as a pilgrim.

The hagiographic iconography of Charlemagne continues into the later Middle Ages. John II the Good’s *Grandes chroniques de France* (BL, Royal, Ms. 16 G vi, Paris, ca. 1332–40) came into the English royal library between 1447 and 1535 when the Richmond Palace inventory was performed. It is thus possible that it was in Edward IV’s library, though there is no evidence to that effect. The saintly iconography of Charlemagne is found in this fourteenth-century example, albeit mixed in with scenes of Charlemagne at war. He is portrayed baptizing Saxons (f. 130v) and welcoming pilgrims (f. 152v). Most importantly, he is portrayed receiving the divided relic of the Crown of Thorns (f. 159, Fig. 4.29) and as present while a nail from the True Cross heals the sick (f. 161, Fig. 4.30). The artists feature the Passion relics through their central placement and link the two scenes with the use of the same red decorative background.

The Heraclius frontispiece in Edward IV’s *Eracles* can also be categorized as royal hagiography. Heraclius is not a canonized saint, but he is treated with an elevated liturgical

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506 Hahn notes Charlemagne is no longer considered to be saint in today’s church, but was canonized in 1165 and was thought of as an exemplar of royal sanctity, in “Lay and Royal Saints,” 235–36, 387n93.


508 *Royal Manuscripts*, 384; British Library “Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts.”
status as a part of the legend dedicated to the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. The portrayal of Heraclius entering Jerusalem with the True Cross in humility is an exemplary archetype of ideal Christian kingship (f. 16, Fig. 4.6). Heraclius accomplished exactly what the western crusaders that followed him sought to do; he restored order to Jerusalem’s holy places and the city itself. The Reversio and Golden Legend emphasize how Heraclius learns and then performs the virtue of humility through his removal of his imperial garb and shoes, and that his humble approach to the Holy City was modeled after Christ’s Passion. This humility is really the subject of the frontispiece’s iconography, with its two-scenes showing the intercessory Angel of the Lord instructing the emperor and then Heraclius humbly complying. This iconographic choice forces the viewer into thinking of Heraclius as the pious emperor and associates the miniature with the legend of the Exaltation of the Cross rather than the historical imperial slayer of Persians. In comparison, the Blackburn Hours representation of Herclius in full imperial regalia, facing the bas-de-page illustration of Christ carrying the cross in his Passion, emphasizes the emperor’s secular pride (Figs. 4.13 and 4.14). Edward IV’s Eracles’ foreground scene of Heraclius is more akin to the Blackburn Hours’ Christ figure than its Heraclius. Thus the artist

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509 In fact, the Latin sermon that is contemporary with the Reversio, the Sermo, refers to Heraclius throughout as “most blessed”. In the Reversio and the Golden Legend texts, however, he is referred to as a “most christian prince,” and “ryght deuoute kyng,” but not as a saint. Borgehammar, “Heraclius Learns Humility,” Reversio §10, 185 and Sermo §10, 197; Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea sanctorum, f. CLXXX verso.

510 In the Golden Legend: “whanne the kynge of heuen wente to his passion by this gate / he was not arayed lyke a kynge / ne on horseback / but cam humbly uppon an asse / in showing the example of humylyte...” Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea sanctorum, f. CLXXX verso; In the Reversio, “When the king of the heavens, the Lord of all the earth, entered through this gate on his way to fulfilling the mysteries of the passion, he did not appear in purple or shining diadem, nor did he ask for a strong horse to carry him, but sitting on the back of a humble donkey, he left his servants a paradigm of humility.” Borgehammar, “Heraclius Learns Humility,” Reversio §16, 187, 189.

purposefully shifted focus away from the prince’s status as a warrior and to a portrayal of the ruler as virtuous, in the case of the Heraclius frontispiece, demonstrating his humility.

There are additional parallels between Hahn’s example of Charlemagne as an archetype of a royal saint and the Eracles Heraclius image. First, the focus on Heraclius’s entry into Jerusalem shows the emperor performing a pilgrimage to the Holy City expressly to return the cross to its proper location in the Holy Sepulchre and to restore the city’s churches and holy places.512 This imperial journey not only strongly parallels empress Helena’s journey to find the location of the formerly lost True Cross in Jerusalem, a voyage that demonstrated her royal piety, but also Charlemagne’s campaign to Compostela to restore the tomb of St. James to Christian hands (Fig. 4.16).513 Beyond this, Heraclius, as portrayed in the Eracles frontispiece, was visited by the Angel of the Lord, as Charlemagne was visited by a holy intercessor, St. James.514 Heraclius carried the relic of the Cross as Charlemagne received the relic of the Crown of Thorns.515

All of this is not to suggest that the artists intended to show Heraclius as a saint. If that were so he would be haloed, as he is, for example, alongside St. Helena before the gates of Jerusalem in the Retable of the Holy Cross, painted by Miguel Ximénez and Martin Bernat (Museo de Zaragoza, Fig. 4.31).516 Rather, the Master of the Getty Froissart used the visual vocabulary of royal saints’ lives to clearly display Heraclius in the most pious and exemplary

512 Hahn, “Lay and Royal Saints,” 249 and 387 n. 93.
515 Hahn, “Lay and Royal Saints,” 236.
516 Pohlsander, “Helena, Heraclius, and the True Cross,” (figure 8) 37, 39, 42.
light. Heraclius in Edward IV’s *Eracles* is not simply a historical emperor who performed a good deed. He is a positive royal exemplar, the stories of whose virtue were culled from the pages of texts in which he appeared alongside the most important saints. Furthermore, the *Golden Legend* text was current in Edward IV’s circle. Ricardus Franciscus, who worked for Edward IV, copied one extant English manuscript (BL, Harley Ms 4775, ca. 1470), William Caxton, who also was in the king’s employ, printed his own English translation around 1483 (Fig. 4.27), and another copy, the French version, Caxton used to create his translation (BL, Stowe Ms. 50, Fig. 4.32).\(^{517}\) All of these examples were relatively contemporary with Edward’s *Eracles* manuscript.\(^{518}\) Taking all of this into account, it is clear that the designer of the Heraclius frontispiece uses the authority of the *Golden Legend* exemplum to portray Heraclius as a devout prince humbly returning the Holy Land to its proper state. When considering the additional imperial implications of the imagery, which Edward IV was known to employ to promote himself as an Augustan restorer of peace, it is possible that the iconography uses the exemplary authority taken from the *Golden Legend* to legitimate Edward IV’s reclaiming his realm and ending the civil war.\(^{519}\) I have shown thus far that the planners of Edward IV’s *Eracles* manuscript made visual choices that engaged with external texts containing historical exempla which Edward would have understood these texts as such because they were contemporary with his reign and the era of his most active manuscript collecting activities.


\(^{519}\) Spiegel, “Historical Thought in Medieval Europe,” 84–86.
Edward IV’s library also contained texts focused on negative exempla. An example is Giovanni Boccaccio’s *De casibus virorum illustrium*, which, as Scanlon pointed out, is an important and popular collection of negative exempla that clarify the notion of ideal rulership by portraying its inversion. Edward IV owned a copy of this text in Laurent de Premierfait’s adaptation, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (BL, Royal Ms. 14 E v, Bruges, ca. 1480). This manuscript’s illuminations vividly underscore the punishments meted out to evil leaders.\(^5\) Edward IV’s *Des cas* is, like his *Eracles*, associated with Edward’s patronage through the inclusion of his royal arms and devices (f. 5, Fig. 4.33) and is contemporary with Edward’s *Eracles* (ca. 1480). Their frontispieces display the same *mis-en-page*, with the same hand at work in the borders and decorated initials. The *Eracles* also shares some negative exempla with the *Des cas*.

An *Eracles* miniature that shares much with the *Des cas* tradition is the portrayal of the famously evil Byzantine Emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (r. 1183–85), who overthrew the imperial Regent Alexius Comnenus, the Protosebastos, and murdered Manuel I Comnenus’ young heir, Alexius II Comnenus (r. 1180–83) in 1183.\(^6\) After taking over the empire, Andronicus blinded and disfigured the rest of the imperial family and raped the empire’s nuns and noble daughters.\(^7\) Isaac was crowned Emperor Isaac II (r. 1185–95; 1203–1204),

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\(^5\) The Master of the Getty Froissart, the frontispiece artist in the *Eracles*, was one of the artists who worked in the *Des cas* manuscript along with the Master of the White Inscriptions, who often worked with the rest of the members of the team that made the *Eracles*, and perhaps the Master of the London Wavrin. Deirdre Jackson in *Royal Manuscripts*, 222, cat. no. 61.


captured Andronicus and forced him to wear a crown of garlic while riding backwards on a donkey.\textsuperscript{523}

The miniature highlights the humiliation of Andronicus as the punishment for his many evils (f. 420v, Fig. 4.34).\textsuperscript{524} Although the artist does not paint Andronicus nude as the text describes, he is posed backwards on the donkey, holding its tail. Andronicus’s head is clearly crowned with white garlic stalks which frame his head and drape around his shoulders, as though his ermine collar has been replaced by garlic. He is publicly paraded through the center of the town.\textsuperscript{525}

This horrific episode was not exclusive to \textit{Eracles} manuscripts. Several fifteenth-century copies of the \textit{Des cas} include the tale of Andronicus’s rise to power followed by his death at the hands of the people of Constantinople. The \textit{Des cas} thoroughly lists all of Andronicus’s many

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524 This miniature, which the second assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius painted, represents a scene from the fourteenth chapter while being positioned in the sixth chapter. L’\textit{Estoire d’Eracles Empereur}, 2:20–22; Edbury, \textit{The Conquest of Jerusalem}, 22.

525 The scene also closely follows the abbreviated description in the rubric, which describes the scene as: “...Andronicus who called himself emperor crowned with a braid of garlic then made to mount an ass, taking the aforementioned ass in his hand among the town. After he was delivered to the women of Constantinople who ate him raw,”; “Commet kayrsac se fist couronner empereur de constantinoble. Adroines qui se disoit empereur couronna dune treche dà puis le fist monter sur une anesse tenant parmy la ville la que de la ditte anesse en sa main. Aps fut livre aux femmes de costantinoble qui le mengerent tout creu.” The scene does not, however visualize the next portion of the description, where the women of Constantinople eat Andronicus raw.

This is in contrast to Louis of Gruuthuse’s \textit{Eracles}, which also visualizes Andronicus being humiliated on the ass, wearing the crown of garlic, but then brings to the forefront the emperor’s dismemberment and consumption by the women of Constantinople (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 385). The rubric in Ms. fr. 68, f. 384v, is also very similar to that in the London example, citing that Andronicus was crowned with garlic, made to ride an ass through the town, and then delivered to the women of Constantinople who ate him, “Commet Kyrssce se fist couroner emperer de constantinoble prit andronies q se disoit eperes le couraffa dune tresse daulx puis se fist moter sur .1. anesse tenat pmy la ville sa queue en sa main aprs fut livre aux femmes de constantinoble qui se mangerent char et oz.” Folda noted that Ms. fr. 68 is a possible model for this miniature. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the \textit{History of Outremer},” 1:487, 491.

Similar subject matter is also treated in two Gothic \textit{Eracles} examples but in very different ways. BnF, Ms. fr. 2630 portrays a moment not yet discussed when Isaac has Andronicus blinded in one eye before being placed on the ass (f. 227v) and Ms. fr. 22497 shows only the women of Constantinople eating him (f. 106).

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evils, including those contained in the *Eracles*, and offers an independent account of his
divesting the nobility of Constantinople of their wealth for his own sins of luxury.\textsuperscript{526} All of his
crimes compromise the dignity of the imperial throne.\textsuperscript{527} This loss of dignity was accentuated by
the humiliations enacted upon him by the people of Constantinople, including passing a law that
allowed the people to do or say anything they wanted to him, as well as parading him through the
streets, putting out his eyes and forcing him to wear the crown of garlic while riding an ass with
his face turned toward the throngs of citizens.\textsuperscript{528}

Illuminated copies of the *Des cas* featured Andronicus’s downfall as especially worthy of
5193, f. 378 Figs. 4.35–4.37) expressly portray his humiliation on the ass with the crown of
garlic in a manner similar to that in Edward IV’s *Eracles*.\textsuperscript{529} Notably, Andronicus is also found
as an evil ruler in Edward IV’s *Des cas* (BL, Royal Ms. 14 E v, f. 477v, Fig. 4.38).\textsuperscript{530} In this
miniature he is nearly nude and being dragged up the scaffold. The *Des cas* text and
illuminations thus show a direct iconographic link to the portrayal in Edward IV’s *Eracles* and
the presence of a volume of the *Des cas* in Edward IV’s library implies his knowledge of the

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\textsuperscript{526} *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (Laurent de Perpierfait, translation of Giovanni Boccaccio, *De casibus
virorum illustrium*). Boccace des nobles maleureux: Imprimé nouvellement à Paris (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1494),
9:11, f. CCLXXX and verso.

\textsuperscript{527} *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, 9:11, f. CCLXXX verso.

\textsuperscript{528} *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, 9:11–12, ff. CCLXXX verso–CCLXXXI.

\textsuperscript{529} BnF, Ms. fr. 229 was made ca. 1435–40 by the Master of the Vienna *Roman de la Rose*; Ms. fr. 236, f. 205 was
made in the first half of the fifteenth century by the Dunois Master; and BA, Ms. 5193 was painted for Jean sans
Peur, ca. 1409/10. For more on these and other *Des cas* manuscripts see Anne D. Hedeman’s *Translating the Past:
Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio’s “De Casibus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008). *Des cas*
miniatures that I have thus far located showing Andronicus’s death rather than his humiliation include BnF, Mss.

\textsuperscript{530} The Master of the White Inscriptions and the Master of the Getty Froissart both painted this manuscript.
narrative and thus his ability to read the Andronicus miniature in the Eracles through the lens of the Des cas as a negative exemplum.

The miniature that immediately follows Andronicus’s humiliation also offers a negative exemplum. The terrible crusader loss at the battle of the Horns of Hattīn, at which Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria, and his army routed the crusaders and captured both the True Cross relic and Guy of Lusignan, King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Saturday, 4 July 1187; f. 433v, Fig. 4.39). As Saladin was advancing through the Latin Kingdom’s territories in late June 1187, Guy could not decide how to respond. He had been counseled both to refuse to battle with the sultan and to fight him head on. He decided to march against Saladin, moving his crusader forces toward the town of Tiberias, but on the route Saladin’s forces were able to halt the army’s advance, causing them to suffer losses of men and lack of water. To attempt to escape annihilation, the crusader forces moved to perceived safety to the Horns of Hattīn, which was an area protected by ruins of ancient walls. However, thirst ultimately weakened Guy’s army to such an extent that they were unable to fend off Saladin’s final attacks.

531 The second assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius painted the illumination, which represents Book 23: 40, from the anonymous continuation text, L’Estoire de Eracles empereur, 2: 62–6; Edbury, The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, 45–7.


533 Tyerman, God’s War, 369.

534 Tyerman, God’s War, 369–71.

535 Tyerman, God’s War, 371.
Tyerman posits that the crusaders had already lost their morale when the True Cross was captured and the bishop of Acre, who was carrying it, was killed before their final defeat.\textsuperscript{536} The army of the Latin Kingdom often brought the relic into battle with them to remind them of “God’s support and the promise of victory.”\textsuperscript{537} Its loss was thus felt widely, not only among the crusaders, but also in the West, as a “spiritual catastrophe.”\textsuperscript{538} The result of the defeat at Hattīn was the exhaustion of the kingdom’s defenses and later Saladin’s ultimate victory over Jerusalem in October 1187.\textsuperscript{539}

The \textit{Eracles} text underscores that King Guy took bad advice regarding the battle when he had trouble deciding to fight and chose to march on Saladin’s forces. It presents Guy’s bad and indecisive leadership as the cause of his downfall.\textsuperscript{540} The Hattīn miniature in Edward IV’s

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\item Tyerman, \textit{God’s War}, 371. Frolow indicates that historical evidence generally agrees that the cross was not only lost to the crusaders at Hattīn, but was equally lost to Saladin’s men in the battle, in “La relique de la vraie croix,” 347–48. Other historians argue the cross was taken to Damascus by Saladin’s army. Lyons and Jackson, “Hattīn,” 265.
\item Tyerman, \textit{God’s War}, 371.
\item Tyerman, \textit{God’s War}, 371; Riley-Smith, “Peace Never Established,” 92–93. Even Muslim historians remarked on the depth of grief felt by the crusaders upon the loss of the cross at Hattīn. For example, Imad Ad-Din, Saladin’s secretary, stated that the loss of the cross was a calamity that “none of them [the Christians] would survive...” Francesco Gabrieli, \textit{Arab Historians of the Crusades}, (Florence, KY: Routledge, Oct 2009), 81–82. See also, Ibn al-Althir, XI, 351–55, Gabrieli, \textit{Arab Historians of the Crusades}, 74.
\item Saladin’s taking of Jerusalem is portrayed in the manuscript’s next miniature (f. 438), implying, perhaps, a causal relationship between the loss at Hattīn and the resulting defeat in the Holy City. Tyerman, \textit{God’s War}, 372, 274.
\item Edbury, \textit{The Conquest of Jerusalem}, 45; \textit{L’Estoire de Eracles empereur}, 2: 62.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Eracles portrays the crusader king Guy, crowned and in a golden suit of armor on the left. 541

Enemy soldiers bind his hands and his neck. On the right, one of Saladin’s soldiers irreverently uses the inverted cross relic as a weapon, smashing a dead soldier below. The artist clearly captures the military and spiritual losses the crusader army felt and explicitly shows Guy’s personal downfall through his capture.542 The defeat is so profoundly catastrophic that it could have been included in the Des cas, which actually does include Guy of Lusignan in its list of great men fallen from grace. In the Des cas, Guy shames the great and heroic reputation of

541 As discussed in my first chapter of this study, the Amiens manuscript portrays the same scene as in Edward’s manuscript, the loss of the Cross relic and King Guy de Lusignan (f. 202, Fig. 1.47). One of Saladin’s soldiers carries off the inverted cross in the bottom left corner. Although this model for the scene existed in Jean V of Créquy’s manuscript, the rest of the Eracles tradition does not include it, most likely because it highlights such a shameful defeat. The Amiens manuscript had been created much earlier than the London manuscript, around 1440–50, and in northern France rather than in Bruges. Jean V of Créquy had died and his library was scattered by the time Edward IV’s book was made. Little is known about its provenance after this point. I have yet to uncover any evidence to show that the Créquy Master’s work in the Amiens manuscript was seen by the illumination atelier that painted the London example, or that perhaps Jean V showed Edward his manuscript at some point in Flanders or in London. However, three volumes that Edward IV owned included the hands of artists who also worked for Jean V of Créquy. The first is a Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia (BL, Royal Ms. 17 F iv) in which the hand of the Rambures Master is found. The second and third are a two-volume set of Bartholomaeus Anglicus’s De proprietatibus rerum (Livre des proprietez des choses, BL, Royal Mss. 15 E ii–iii) painted in part by the Master of Bruges 1482, who worked along with the same atelier that painted the London Eracles manuscript, including the Master of Edward IV, the second assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius and a follower of the Master of the Getty Froissart. It is plausible that these artists had seen the Créquy Master’s designs for his True Cross miniatures and had somehow communicated them to the artists working for Edward IV. It is clear, in any case, that both manuscripts demonstrate an intentional focus on the cross relic, with Edward IV’s manuscript further elaborating on its history in its frontispiece.

Although to my knowledge no other miniatures in the Eracles corpus portray the loss of the True Cross itself, two fifteenth-century manuscripts include related scenes from this battle. The first is Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 287v, in which crusaders battle Saladin at the Horns of Hattīn in a general mêlée battle scene. The second is Louis of Gruuthuse’s manuscript, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 399, in which Saladin decapitates Raynauld of Châtillon quite brutally while King Guy is carried away by two soldiers in the upper-left corner. Folda notes that Ms. fr. 68 is a possible inspiration for this miniature, though it portrays activities from after the battle had already ended. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:487, 491.

This moment was already visualized in England in the thirteenth century in Matthew Paris’s Chronica Majora (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 26, f. 140), where Saladin, at left, and Guy of Lusignan, at right and falling backwards, fight over the cross. Saladin pulls on the cross bar while Guy and the crusaders attempt to hang on. See Suzanne Lewis’s analysis of this image in her study of Paris’s Chronica Majora, in which she discusses Paris’s approach to Islam and the history of the crusades. In Lewis’s analysis, the loss of the cross stands in as a metaphor for the overall loss of Jerusalem that followed, in The Art of Matthew Paris in the “Chronica Majora,” (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 269–90, 272 in particular; Riley-Smith, The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades, 37.

542 The rubric reads, “Of a battle in which King Guy of Jerusalem was against Saladin, where the aforementioned king was taken and nearly all the barons and the True Cross were lost...”; “D’une bataille que le roy guy de Iherusalem eut contre Salhadin ou ledict roy fut prins et presque tous les barons La vraye croix perdue ...,” (f. 433v).
Godefroy of Bouillon by allowing Saladin to chase him from his territory all the way to Cyprus and then Sicily.  

Representations of this scene in the *Des cas* tend to show either Saladin chasing Guy of Lusignan or Guy sailing away in a boat to Cyprus, for example in a copy painted by the Bedford Master and collaborators (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 226, f. 260, ca. 1415–20, Fig. 4.40) or in the copy owned by Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy (Paris, BA, Ms. 5192, f. 324v, ca. 1460–70, Fig. 4.41). Edward IV’s *Eracles’* rare portrayal of the moment Guy of Lusignan is captured, and the True Cross and kingdom of Jerusalem along with him, could have been understood in a similar way as the examples in the *Des cas*, in that it portrays his shamefully catastrophic defeat. Though the *Des cas* images show the aftermath of all of these events, King Guy fleeing in cowardice, the *Eracles* shifts the focus to the moment his downfall originally occurred at Hattīn.  

Furthermore, when considered together, the frontispiece miniature valorizing the return of the True Cross to Jerusalem and the miniature mourning its loss at Hattīn make a strong pair of opposite exempla, clarifying the theme of ideal Christian rulership through each miniature’s visual support or inversion of that idea (Fig. 4.42 and 4.43). The *Eracles* text picks up on this inversion when it describes William of Tyre’s personal opposition to the election of bishop Heraclius (r. 1180–90/91) as Patriarch of Jerusalem. The text quotes William as saying, “I have found in a book that an Eraclius brought the Cross from Persia and placed it in Jerusalem and an Eraclius will take it from Jerusalem and in his time it will be lost.”  

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543 *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, 9:15, f. CCLXXXIII.  
as Patriarch, the cross was lost on the battlefield and Heraclius himself cites its loss as one of the
many sorrows to befall the kingdom of Jerusalem in a letter to Pope Urban III (r. 1185–87). The loss was thus such a shame for all involved that Guy was badly received by history and was added to the Des cas as a fallen leader.

Edward IV’s Eracles contains a set of miniatures that communicated on a more complex
level than simply illustrations of a crusader history. The visual cycle shows examples of ideal
and failed rulership that their royal patron would have understood primarily as visual exempla
instructive in just and moral leadership, possibly noting their visual and textual relationships to
other texts containing collections of exempla in his collection. Edward IV, as an educated and
engaged reader, would have been able to associate various illuminated texts to construct the
complex exemplary meanings offered by the illustrations of royalty within his royal manuscript.

Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that Edward IV’s Eracles represents a departure from the
copies made for Burgundian nobility, primarily due to its status as a royal book. The artists who
made it and planned its visual cycle were conscious of its royal readership and of the tradition of
mirrors of princes. Due to this special audience, they were able to create illuminations that
highlighted English crusading valor. They also interwove complex images which gained
resonance from an understanding of multiple texts. This intertextuality allowed several
miniatures to emerge as particularly effective portrayals of an ideal vision of kingship, even,
perhahps, as self-conscious elements of Edward IV’s self-promoting propaganda. They touted

545 Edbury, The Conquest of Jerusalem, 158, 162–63; translated from Rudolf Hiestand, Papsturkunden für Kirchen
Edward as having reclaimed his territory and restored peace in it, as Heraclius did for Jerusalem. Intertextual readings made possible by this visual cycle also allowed the king to interpret the miniatures as a series of positive and negative exempla, through visual linking to texts such as the *Golden Legend* and *Des cas*. Through such associations the crusade history was associated with other visual collections of historical public exempla offering royal lessons on rulership.
Epilogue

Before concluding this study of the nobility in the orbit of the Dukes of Burgundy and how their *Eracles* manuscripts very differently represented both the early crusades and their owners’ possible intellectual engagement with the contemporary crusade, it is useful to return to the central mover of Burgundian crusade culture, Duke Philip the Good. His interests throughout the fifteenth-century set the tone at court and provided perhaps the instigating interest in crusade materials like the *Eracles*, especially for the noble patron closest to his age, Jean of Créquy. He owned not just one, but three copies of the *Eracles* history. One is no longer extant and another illuminated copy was made in Hainaut in the thirteenth century (Brussels, BrB, Ms. fr. 9492–93).

**The Duke’s *Eracles***

The third of the duke’s copies is the only manuscript that is not directly considered in this study but is nevertheless related to the same historical context (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045) and represents historical illustration produced for the ideological center of Burgundian crusade culture.\(^{546}\) It was created in the decade following the Feast of the Pheasant, during the era in

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\(^{546}\) It was one of the three copies noted in the duke’s 1467 inventory and was accompanied in the royal library by two other *Eracles* manuscripts, one is now lost and the other is now Brussels 9492–93. Schandel notes that this manuscript was mentioned again in the 1469 inventory of the duke’s library, in “De l’ombre à la lumière,” 65. See also: Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 85 and nn38–40, Barrois no. 1543–1715; Doutrepont, *La littérature française*, 263; Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 2:360; Gaspar, Van den Bergen-Pantens, and Lyna, eds. *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 188.
which Pius II was planning his crusade and Philip the Good was conceiving his logistical crusade plan of attack and repeating his crusade vow. Therefore, this manuscript would have been highly relevant to the duke’s personal interests and ambitions. However, it is most likely that the Brussels Eracles manuscript was not the duke’s commission, but rather a gift to him, as it does not contain any armorial identifiers to show it was his possession.\footnote{Moodey suggests that it was a gift to the duke because of the absence of armorial ownership marks. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 85 and nn38–40.}

The manuscript represents the creative collaboration between its scribe, Germain Picavet, who was active as a clerk in Lille between 1443 and 1466, and its artist, the Master of the Livre d’Eracles, who was active in Lille in the 1460s.\footnote{Schandel, “De l’ombre à la lumière,” 84; *Miniatures flamandes, 1404–1482*, 358, 367; Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 165; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 56.} Preliminary study by Pascal Schandel shows that Picavet, a clerk for the city of Lille, made the manuscript as an attempt to promote himself in the Burgundian government following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Feast of the Pheasant in Lille in 1454.\footnote{Schandel, “De l’ombre à la lumière,” 86–87. Schandel has also studied the artist in the manuscript in his, unfortunately, unpublished DEA thesis from Strasbourg, “Un miniaturiste lillois contemporain du Maître de Wavrin,” Mémoire de DEA (Strasbourg 2, 1991).} Schandel argues that Picavet would have understood that the text would have been of great interest to the court because of Philip the Good’s crusading fervor. Based on the active dates of Picavet and the artist involved, however, the manuscript was probably produced a decade after the Feast of the Pheasant in the first half of the 1460s. Picavet appears to have intended the manuscript gift to provide him some personal promotion because he inserted his name into three of the grandiose calligraphic initials
throughout the book (Fig. E.1, f. 1). Schandel’s argument is persuasive because throughout the manuscript the script competes for space and attention with the illustrations, advertising Picavet’s skill (Fig. E. 2, f. 1). It seems that the duke appreciated the manuscript as it was ultimately placed in the Burgundian library with the copy that was made in Hainaut in the thirteenth century (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93, Rothelin continuation) and the copy that is no longer extant, amongst his other crusade related volumes (see my Introduction section on the duke’s library, pp. 20–21).

This manuscript is textually distinctive from the other four because it contains a completely different textual continuation, the Rothelin continuation, which extends to 1261 and is thought to have been written near Soissons in the thirteenth century. Edbury’s analysis of the textual transmission of the different versions of the Eracles text shows that Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045 is related to several manuscripts containing the shorter Eracles continuation: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 779 (Champagne, ca. 1270–75), fr. 2630 (Northern France, ca. 1270–75), fr. 2824

550 These signatures are found on ff. 1, 91v, and 166. Gaspar, Van den Bergen-Pantens, and Lyna, eds., Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 188; Schandel, “De l’ombre à la lumière,” 66.

551 This continuation is named after Abbè Rothelin who was a later owner of one of the manuscripts in this group. Folda, “The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the History of Outremer,” 1:14. The edited French text for this continuation appears in Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin, in Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux (abbreviated RHC Occ.), vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), 489–639. Extracts of this continuation are translated into English in Shirley, Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century.

The continuation includes entertaining material, such as a lengthy description of Jerusalem, legends about the Holy Land, a text called the Prophecie le Fil Agap which foretells the Christians reclaiming Jerusalem from Saladin, a letter to Innocent III regarding Saladin, a description of the Caliph of Baghdad, two anti-crusading songs, stories about Cato and Alexander, discussions of sea creatures, extracts from Li Fet des Romains, and a narration of St. Louis IX’s crusade to Damietta. Morgan, The “Chronicle of Ernoul” and the Continuations of William of Tyre, 20; Morgan, “The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre” in Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer, 248; Shirley, Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century, 2.
(Flanders, fourteenth-century) and fr. 24208 (Champagne, ca. 1265–70), all of which share a common ancestor.\textsuperscript{552}

The Brussels \textit{Eracles} is also stylistically very different from the other four. Its illumination cycle contains twenty-seven miniatures drawn by pen and colored in with an aquarelle wash on paper in the style of Lille illustrators like the Wavrin Master. The Master of the \textit{Livre d’Eracles} is thought to have worked in Lille with the Wavrin Master and the Master of the \textit{Champion des Dames} because of the strong stylistic similarities among this group of artists.\textsuperscript{553} The Master of the \textit{Livre d’Eracles} (active 1460s), is thought to have illustrated at least six manuscripts, of which the Brussels \textit{Eracles} is one.\textsuperscript{554} The most relevant of this artist’s known works is Bertrandon de la Brouière’s \textit{Avis directif pour faire la croisade} and Tozzelo’s \textit{Voyage} (Paris, BA, Ms. 4798, Lille, ca. 1459–60), translated by Jean Miélot. This manuscript was created for Jean, the Bastard of Wavrin. It contains two illustrations painted in the same watercolor method as the \textit{Eracles}. One of these miniatures is a presentation scene (f. 10) and the other shows a Saracen kneeling before a western noble (f. 153, Fig. E.3).

The \textit{Eracles} manuscript’s illumination scheme positions its miniatures at the start of each textual book. The miniatures are all a half-page in size, leaving the other half of the page for Picavet’s extravagant script. Of these miniatures, seven represent scenes found in the opening chapters of the book, while the rest are found deeper into the text, betraying the scribe’s textual

\textsuperscript{552} Edbury, “The French Translation of William of Tyre’s \textit{Historia},” 76, 93.

\textsuperscript{553} \textit{Miniatures flamandes, 1404–1482}, 358, 367; Wijsman, \textit{Luxury Bound}, 56.

\textsuperscript{554} They include: The \textit{Songe du Vieil Pelerin} (Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 183, Lille, ca. 1460), the \textit{Enseignement de la vraie noblesse} (London, BL, Add. Ms. 15469, Lille, ca. 1470), the \textit{Avis directif pour faire la croisade} and \textit{Voyage} (Paris, BA, Ms. 4798, Lille, ca. 1459-60), the \textit{Estrif de fortune et de vertu} (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1151) and the \textit{De proprietatibus rerum} (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22533). Wijsman, “Luxury Bound,” cat. nos. 1624, 1863, 2553, 2711, and 2811.
knowledge. Many of the scenes lack specific narrative detail and are extremely similar to one another, including battles, sieges and coronations. However, in a few cases, the specific narrative details are integrated into the composition, for instance the siege of Jerusalem, in which the artist draws a siege castle that Godefroy of Bouillon’s troops used to mount the city’s walls (f. 81, Fig. E.4). The detail of the siege castle is not used in the other fifteenth-century representations of the siege, but is found in just a few earlier examples (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 352, ff. 61 and 62, Paris, ca. 1350, fr. 2824, f. 45, Flanders, fourteenth century, and fr. 9081, f. 77, Paris, ca. 1245–48, Figs. E.5–8). In the chronicle, Godefroy of Bouillon’s troops used beams that were supported by their siege castle on one side and the walls of the city on the other to build a bridge into Jerusalem, and once constructed, Godefroy of Bouillon was the first into the city. The Brussels manuscript carefully portrays the soldiers constructing the siege castle, at left, and crossing over the bridge in the center, fighting the Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem who are bunched behind the walls. The Gothic examples have the crusaders crossing over into the city, or just fighting from the castle, but do not include the building activity. This construction activity is hinted at in the Geneva Eracles (f. 76v, Fig. 2.28), but without the siege castle present in the composition. Including such a specific and rare illustration in the manuscript must have been intentional. It is significant that it shows the moment that the goal of reclaiming Jerusalem is about to be attained, when the heroic Godefroy of Bouillon breaches the Holy City’s walls. Curiously, the artist did not feature Godefroy himself, but chose instead to highlight the curious military technology of the siege engine employed to accomplish the goal.

My previous analysis has shown that the Brussels *Eracles* shares scene choices and iconography with its contemporary manuscripts. It was made after Jean of Créquy’s *Eracles*, and is contemporaneous with Wolfert VI’s. Louis of Gruuthuse’s and Edward IV’s were both created after the duke’s copy. The Brussels example shares scene choices with Jean of Créquy’s manuscript in five cases, the Wolfert VI’s in seven, Louis of Gruuthuse’s in five and Edward IV’s in seven. However, in the Brussels manuscript, many of these shared scenes are represented with a non-specific battle or coronation scene.

More narratively significant examples include Peter the Hermit delivering the Patriarch of Jerusalem’s message to Pope Urban II (f.1, Fig. E.2), which is also found in the Amiens *Eracles* (f. 1, Fig. 1.23) and the Geneva *Eracles* (f. 2, Fig. 2.5) and a scene of the crusader army defeating Korbuga outside of Antioch (f. 58, Fig. 2.24), showing the crusader army, at right, pouring out of the city, crossing the bridge, and coming out to meet Korbuga’s army at left. This iconography is also found in the Amiens manuscript (f. 46v, Fig. 1.10), the Geneva manuscript (f. 58, 2.23) and the London manuscript (f. 101v). Another example is the formidable Saladin burning the territory around Tripoli (f. 265v, Fig. 3.37), pictured in the Paris example (f. 359, Fig. 3.35), in which soldiers actively light fires in granary buildings. These examples show that the artist worked closely with Picavet to bring the text to life and that some of its illuminations fall well in line with those of its contemporaries.

556 The shared scenes are found as follows: with Amiens, BM, Ms. 483, at books 1, 8, 11, 17 and 23; with Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, and books 1, 6, 8, 15, 16, 24 and 28; with Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, at books 10, 15, 16, 17, and 22; and with London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, at books 4, 6, 11, 15, 16, 19 and 23.


558 Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*, 85n38; Barrois no. 1543–1715; Doutrepont, *Littérature française*, 263;
Picavet, in collaboration with the Master of the *Livre d'Eracles*, would have planned the illustrations of the manuscript to impress the duke, choosing scenes pertinent to what he thought Philip’s interests were. Two examples show that Picavet may have attempted to provide Philip with a pleasing view of court life in particular. In the first, (f. 142v, Fig. E.4), a king is dressed by his valets, who offer him his crown and clothing. This scene is unique in the *Eracles* corpus, thus newly conceived for this manuscript, and appears in a section of the chronicle that describes the nobility of Tyre.\(^{559}\) In the second (f. 217v, Fig. E.5), already referred to in Chapter 1 in the Amiens *Eracles* (f. 159, Fig. 1.43), a treaty between the crusaders and the Caliph of Egypt, takes place and includes a very large and sumptuously dressed leader wearing a large turban topped with a crown.\(^{560}\) The Egyptian court scene in particular presents an exotic group of easterners with pointed beards, like the figure on the far right, and dramatically embellished hats, for example the two figures in the background of the far right whose hats curl inside at the extreme edges, the leftmost of which has detailed ornaments in the front of the brim and central cone of the hat. These both intimate and exotic views of rulership attempt to attract the eye of the crusade-dedicated Duke Philip.

In addition, Picavet included a few scenes that may have been strategically chosen for their relationship to the duke’s crusading project. The scene of the breaching of Jerusalem’s walls has already been discussed, showing an awareness of the crusade propaganda circulating during the mid-fifteenth century, in which the goal of saving the Holy Land referred metaphorically to Jerusalem but in reality to Constantinople. This second part of the analogy and

\(^{559}\) Book 13:5.

\(^{560}\) Book 19:19.
true goal of Philip the Good’s crusade aspirations, Constantinople, was represented as well in this manuscript, through the illustration of the fourth crusade siege of Constantinople (1204; f. 326v, Fig. E.11). This siege was represented in four Gothic and one fifteenth-century Eracles manuscript (Geneva, Ms. fr. 85, f. 237v), thus it is relatively rare.\(^{561}\) The chronicle describes the Latins taking various towers of the city.\(^{562}\) In the miniature, a city tower is destroyed at right while the Latin army floods into the city, while fighting the Greeks inside. Again, this moment of crossing over into the desired city is portrayed. Here, the artist has provided a representation of winning Constantinople for the duke who was trying to organize himself to do just that.

Duke Philip the Good’s Eracles shows some visual elements that resonate with the duke’s contemporary crusade propaganda. The manuscript is textually different from and its cycle is not as visually complicated or luxurious as the other Eracles manuscripts of the period, nor as Philip’s other manuscripts. Philip’s other crusade related commissions have been well studied by previous scholars, and so it is not useful to delve into them here. This brief analysis, however, demonstrates that Philip’s crusading wishes were widely enough understood that this gift from the Lillois clerk, Picavet, still communicates this conflation of the reclamation Jerusalem with the recovery of Constantinople, so prevalent in the calls to crusade in the 1450s and 60s, within its cycle.

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This study has demonstrated that the four fifteenth-century *Eracles* manuscripts produced in Flemish ateliers should not all be seen as equally relevant to the crusading fervor possessed by Duke Philip the Good. Although scholars have formerly posited that Philip disseminated crusade ideology among his nobles who were a unified group of willing receptors, this study shows the situation to be much more complex. Philip the Good may have been the strongest voice calling for crusade and the most prolific collector of luxury manuscripts in the territory, but the four manuscripts under examination reveal independence of not only their elaborate illumination cycles but also their patrons, each of whom had his own unique rapport with the activity of crusading.

The mid-fifteenth-century crusade fervor may have been the impetus to reintroduce the *Eracles* text into circulation in the Burgundian territories, but the knowledge of textual cycles circulated among related artists’ ateliers and fueled its propagation. The Mansel Master influenced the Créquy Master, Simon Marmion and Loyset Liédet, and Liédet in turn worked with members of the atelier of the Master of the Flemish Boethius. With each succeeding copy of the *Eracles* produced, the title became more well-known and thus more desirable among the elite circle of patrons and the illumination cycles were more familiar to the Flemish artists. The British Library manuscript ultimately leaves the Burgundian and Flemish context altogether and its royal-centered cycle clearly has nothing to do with a contemporary crusade.

It is perhaps fitting that the final two manuscripts thoroughly considered here were Louis of Gruuthuse’s and Edward IV’s. It was Louis of Gruuthuse’s *Eracles* manuscript that Edward IV’s printer, William Caxton, translated to bring William of Tyre’s history into the future with his
unillustrated 1481 printed edition, *Godefrey of Boloyne, or The siege and conquest of Jerusalem, or Eracles*. This printed version was dedicated to Edward IV and was the first translation of the text in English. As the fifteenth-century came to a close the *Eracles* patrons and artists died or dispersed, the Burgundian territories were absorbed into those of the Hapsburg emperors, and manuscripts in general were less and less frequently commissioned, thus none of the motivating factors in creating this revival of the text remained.

This study provides an avenue to further exploration of Flemish manuscript painting. Its examination of artists’ visual vocabulary and narrative methods, focuses the art historical inquiry on the artists’ means of visual communication. It thus instigates the overall query of how artists, especially working collaboratively in atelier settings, share their ways of storytelling, particularly for the histories that were so popular amongst their most frequent clients like the duke and his nobles.

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Appendix A Analysis of Artistic Hands in Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85

The Geneva Eracles manuscript (Fig. A.1) was produced in an atelier related to the makers of Wolfert VI’s Valerius Maximus, Faits et dits mémorables (Paris, BA, Ms. 5196, f. 1, ca. 1470, Fig. A.2) and shows evidence of the participation of at least three artists who were followers of Simon Marmion and Loyset Liédet working in the milieu of Hesdin.\footnote{Both Reynaud and Gil posit that the Master of Rambures illustrated the presentation scene of Paris, BA, Ms. 5196 and that the rest of the manuscript was painted by followers of Guillaume Vrelant. Les Manuscrits à Peintures en France, 1440–1520, 97; Gil, “Maître du Mansel,” 2:1015.\label{footnote1} Wijsman agrees with Reynaud’s attribution of the Valerius Maximus but argues the rest of the manuscript was painted by the Master of Wauquelin’s Alexander. Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 262.\label{footnote2} Scot McKendrick points out that the Rambures Master worked with Loyset Lièdet in Hesdin, Artois. Illuminating the Renaissance, 230, 256.\label{footnote3} Marc Gil linked Arsenal manuscript with Edward IV’s Valerius Maximus, London, BL, Royal Ms. 17 F iv, and puts them both as made in Bruges between 1468–75 (1468–69 for the Arsenal example), as they share the same scribe and illuminators. Miniatures flamandes, 1404–1482, 404–405.\label{footnote4} Gil has written a study of the connection between Simon Marmion and the Rambures Master, which hopefully will reveal evidence for connections between the Rambures Master’s work and that of the atelier responsible for the Geneva Eracles. Marc Gil, “Picardie-Hainaut: Quelques remarques sur les livres d’heures produits par le Maître de Rambures,” in Books of Hours Reconsidered, eds. Sandra Hindman and James Marrow (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming); Gil, “Maître du Mansel,” 2:939, notice 25; Smeyers, L’Art de la Miniature flamande du XIII au XVII siècle, t, 332.\label{footnote5} Wijsman argues that Wolfert VI used ateliers run by Simon Marmion, the Rambures Master and the Master of the Bruges Genealogia deorum. Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 266–67n49; Gil, “Maître du Mansel,” 2:458.\label{footnote6}} The Eracles contains the same mis-en-page as the Valerius manuscript, including the framing of the miniature and the decoration of the initials (Figs. A.3–A.5, elements labeled ‘a’ belong to Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 and those labeled ‘b’ belong to Paris, BA, Ms. 5196).\footnote{Wijsman argues that Wolfert VI used ateliers run by Simon Marmion, the Rambures Master and the Master of the Bruges Genealogia deorum. Wijsman, Luxury Bound, 266–67n49; Gil, “Maître du Mansel,” 2:458.\label{footnote6}} It is possible that the artist of the secondary decoration worked on both manuscripts, even though different artists painted the two miniature cycles, or that all the artists in both manuscripts were working together at some point in Hesdin or Bruges. Perhaps because of these diverse relationships, there has been confusion in the scholarship regarding the artist attributions for the Eracles manuscript. Art
historians have argued the manuscript was painted by and under the direction of either Simon Marmion or Loyset Liédet.\textsuperscript{567} This confusion is understandable as the two artists worked together in Hesdin, with Liédet picking up some of Marmion’s stylistic traits.

**Simon Marmion**

Simon Marmion (active 1447–89) was born in Amiens around 1425 and moved to Valenciennes by 1458 where he lived until his death on Christmas day 1489.\textsuperscript{568} He worked with the most powerful Burgundian patrons, frequently for Philip the Good, and had the opportunity to work as one of thirty artists in Lille on the duke’s 1453 Feast of the Pheasant.\textsuperscript{569} In Valenciennes Marmion seems to have worked partly in conjunction with the atelier of Jean Mansel, who authored, translated, and copied manuscripts that frequently were historical texts like the *Fleur des histoires*.\textsuperscript{570} In this atelier he worked with the artist known as the Mansel Master (active 1420–60), who also trained the Créquy Master.

Many manuscripts and panel paintings are attributed to Simon Marmion.\textsuperscript{571} The *St. Bertin Altarpiece* from the Abbey of St. Omer (Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie and London, National Gallery, NG 1302–1303, Figs. A.7–A.10) is the central

\textsuperscript{567} On the manuscript’s artistic hands see also: Dobratz, “Conception and Reception,” 585, 589 and n28, 594, 602, 605; Dogaer, Marrow and Winkler, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, 51–53, 55, 107, 112; Smeyers and Van der Stock, eds., *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, 1475–1550*, 140.

\textsuperscript{568} *Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482*, 394–95; For more on Marmion see *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: 1440–1520*, 80–89.

\textsuperscript{569} *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 98; *Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande*, 61; *Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482*, 394.

\textsuperscript{570} *Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande*, 60–61.

\textsuperscript{571} *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 98; Dogaer, Marrow, and Winkler, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, 55.
focus of studies of Simon Marmion’s (active 1447–89) style. This altarpiece is the standard against which other examples of the artist’s style have been compared.\textsuperscript{572} In it Marmion portrayed panoramic landscapes and atmospheric perspective, frequently placing the horizon high in the picture plane. He employed warm, delicate colors but used gold sparingly. His compositions frequently combine several scenes into one miniature, placing them in the fore, middle, and background depending on their narrative importance.\textsuperscript{573} This style influenced other artists as they came into contact with him during his travels around the Burgundian territories.\textsuperscript{574}

Scholars have considered the frontispiece of the Geneva Eracles to be Marmion’s work (Fig. A.1).\textsuperscript{575} It shares Marmion’s traits of a high horizon line, warm colors and combination of multiple scenes within both the foreground and the background. A group of figures in the bottom left corner of the frontispiece repeat figures used elsewhere in Marmion’s other works (Figs. A.11, A.13, A.18, A.24, A.28, A.33).\textsuperscript{576} However, when examined closely, the modeling of the

\textsuperscript{572} For this reason, Dogaer argues he should be called the Master of the St. Bertin Altarpiece rather than Simon Marmion. Dogaer, Marrow and Winkler, \textit{Flemish Miniature Painting}, 51.

\textsuperscript{573} Dogaer, Marrow and Winkler, \textit{Flemish Miniature Painting}, 51–53.


faces differs slightly from that found in Marmion’s autograph works (compare Fig. A.13 to Figs. A.14–A.17). The comparative examples attributed to Marmion are executed with a larger contrast in the light and dark elements of the modeling. The upper cheekbones use a nearly white highlighting in contrast to the more deeply shaded eye sockets and cheeks. The lack of contrast in the Geneva manuscript’s figure (Fig. A.13) results in a flatter face. The same difference in modeling is found when comparing the frontal spectator (compare Fig. A.18 to Figs. A.19–A.23), the gesturing man in rose (compare Fig. A.24 to Figs. A.25–A.27), and the man holding a letter (compare Fig. A.28 to Figs. A.29–A.32). In each case, the artist of Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85 successfully copied the shapes of the facial features without achieving the same delicacy of modeling. In addition, the modeling of the faces of figures in the right side of the frontispiece differ completely from those on the left (compare Figs. A.11 and A.12 as well as Fig. A.33 to A.34). There is a larger contrast between them in the rendering of the cheekbones and darkly shadowed cheeks. The right side group has rounded eyes and puckered mouths with cheeks and mouths highlighted with pink. The left group’s figures have more slanted eye shapes and frowning mouths. Either two artists pieced together the miniature together, a scenario that seems functionally unlikely, or a single artist painted the miniature attempting to closely follow Marmion’s hand on the left based on exemplar figures but then freely composing, or at least following a different model, for the figures on the right. Gil argues that the frontispiece miniature was not painted by Marmion, and the evidence presented here demonstrating the disparity between this example and Marmion’s other works supports this argument.  

the master’s work, copying his figures and mixing them with self-designed figures or figures from a different model. This is a probable scenario since Marmion’s style was often adapted by other artists with whom he had worked.

Loyset Liédet

Loyset Liédet (active 1460–78), who learned his trade working with Simon Marmion and the Mansel Master, has also been identified as the artist for the Geneva Eracles. Liédet worked for Philip the Good, his son Charles the Bold, King Edward IV of England, and Louis of Gruuthuse. Many of the manuscript commissions for which he was responsible contain multiple artists’ contributions because he frequently worked with help from members of his atelier.578 Payment records for Philip the Good show Liédet was established in Hesdin by 1460.579 In 1469 he joined the book producers’ confraternity in Bruges, appearing in the records there the last time in 1478 in the archives of the guild of St. John the Evangelist.580 Liédet frequently illustrated secular texts, such as the Chroniques de Hainaut (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9244), the Chronique abrégée de France (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 6463), Jean Froissart’s Chronique (Paris, BA, Ms. 5187–90), and the Livre des fais d’Alexandre le grant (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22547).581

578 Illuminating the Renaissance, 230.


580 He is found again in the records of the city of Lille in 1483. Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482, 267; Vanwijsberghe, “Marketing Books for Burghers:” 143, 147 n52; Weale, “Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges,” 278, 300.

581 Illuminating the Renaissance, 230–31; Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482, 268; Bousmanne et al., eds. La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne, 3: 50–51.
Liédet’s style is characterized by bright colors, crowded compositions with a high horizon line, architectural niches with statues on pedestals, and tall, thin figures who frequently bend at the knee. As happened with Marmion, assistants within Liédet’s atelier adopted his style, making it difficult to know if a work in his style is truly by his hand. Dogaer argues that Liédet’s style changed between his Hesdin and Bruges periods, postulating that when he was in Hesdin, he was heavily influenced by the Mansel Master and Simon Marmion. While in Bruges, Liédet illustrated a high volume of secular works. Apparently because his work was in high demand, his style had a more hurried look.

Delaissé argues that the stylistic association between Marmion and Liédet is so strong that the work of the two artists should not be separated and that manuscripts in their style should be seen as a part of the Marmion/Mansel milieu. This observation might apply to the Geneva Eracles, which demonstrates elements of both artists’ styles. Delaissé argued for the Geneva manuscript’s origin in the atelier of Liédet in Hesdin; he thought that several artists collaborated on it and that they were also strongly under the influence of Marmion, particularly in the opening miniature. He argues that the marginal decoration in particular shows that the manuscript emanated from Liédet’s shop in Hesdin.

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582 Illuminating the Renaissance, 230; Dogaer, Marrow and Winkler, Flemish Miniature Painting, 107.

583 Illuminating the Renaissance, 230.

584 Dogaer, Marrow and Winkler, Flemish Miniature Painting, 107; Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande, 69–70; Anne Dubois also underscores Marmion’s influence on Liédet, especially in the rendering of figures’ faces. Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482, 266.

585 Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande, 70.

586 Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande, 73.

587 Le siècle d’or de la miniature flamande, 74.
There are motifs within the Geneva manuscript that are consistent with those found in Liédet’s *oeuvre*. The cycle certainly demonstrates his characteristically bright color palette, high horizons, crowded compositions, and even sculptures in architectural niches (ff. 12, 196, 217). However, the figures do not have Liédet’s elongated, spindly legs. The portrayals of cardinals and academics in the Geneva manuscript (ff. 2, 12v, Figs. A.35–A.39) are strongly consistent with those found in Liédet’s *Histoire de Charles Martel* (Los Angeles, JPGM, Ms. Ludwig XIII 6, ff. 7v, 14, Figs. A.40–A.41) and *L’Arbre des batailles* (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9079, f. 10v; Fig. A.42). However, the Geneva figures have stronger lines delineating the lower cheeks near the mouth, heavier eyelids, and slightly heavier shading of the outer cheeks. One of the few women portrayed in the Geneva manuscript (f. 217, Fig. A.43) shares the long, curled red hair, long neck, oval face and long nose to one in the *Chronique dite du Baudouin d’Avesnes* (Paris, BA, Ms. 5089, f. 62, Fig. A.44), though the Geneva example has a double chin, a heavier brow, and more deeply set eyes. Academic figures in *Renaud de Montaubon* (Paris, BA, Ms. 5072, f. 76b, Figs. A.45–A.46) are similar in costume and have similarly shadowed sides of their faces to those in the Geneva *Eracles* (ff. 139, 196, Figs. A.47–A.49), although the figures have heavier brows and more deeply carved eye sockets in the Geneva examples. A knight in the *Anciennes chroniques de Pise* (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9029, f. 80v, Fig. A.50) seems to have been copied several times into the Geneva manuscript sharing the same posture seated in the saddle with the right arm raising a sword above the head, elbow bent, the left arm holding the horse or a shield and the head tilting forward (ff. 146, 182v, 235v, Figs. A.51–A.53). Even a more independently composed encampment scene (f. 133, Fig. A.54) does seem to take inspiration from the soldiers’
tunics in *Renaud de Montaubon* (Paris, BA, Ms. 5075, f. 188, Fig. A.55). Nevertheless, the transmission of such motifs does not justify attribution to Liédet’s hand, because Liédet both collaborated with multiple artists and took stylistic inspiration from Marmion. Therefore, again, the evidence seems to indicate a follower of Liédet’s rather than the master himself having worked on the Geneva *Eracles*.

**Other Hands**

Scholars typically attribute the rest of the manuscript to at least two different hands. Smeyers argues that the outdoor setting illuminations are from one artist and the miniatures positioned under the columns by another.\(^{588}\) Gil divides up the non-frontispiece miniatures into two hands, B and C.\(^{589}\) The two scholars’ divisions align well, as artist B was generally responsible for the interior scenes and artist C the exterior.

Scholars have additionally attributed other artists’ work in the manuscript including the Second Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St. Petersburg (active ca. 1460) and the Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen *Golden Fleece* (active ca. 1470–80). Gil suggested that the Second Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St. Petersburg was responsible for the frontispiece and an anonymous Bruges atelier responsible for the rest of the miniatures.\(^{590}\) The Second Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St. Petersburg worked in Amiens and collaborated with Marmion on

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\(^{589}\) Hand ‘B’ is responsible for painting ff. 12v, 34v, 37, 87v, 93v, 109, 125v, 130, 139, 140v, 162v, 174, 196, 204, 217 and hand ‘C’ is responsible for ff. 19v, 39, 57, 58?, 67v, 71, 76v, 98v, 117v, 122, 133, 146, 182v, 192, 214v, 224, 229, 229v, 235, 236, 238v. Gil, “Maître du Mansel,” 2:939 (notice 25).

several manuscripts, including the *Pontifical de l’Eglise de Sens* (Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9215).\(^{591}\)

Reynaud has pointed out that the Second Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St. Petersburg favored composing scenes in a frieze-like line and crowding architectural scenes with figures.\(^{592}\)

This artist’s figures are short with large heads, red cheekbones, and are posed animatedly with drapery that gives the impression of being in motion.\(^{593}\)

There are elements of the frontispiece that could be interpreted with this master’s style. The frontispiece artist filled in its architectural spaces with figures, which have rouged cheeks, though they and their drapery are less animated.

Gil cites the similarity of a series of figures positioned under an arcaded architectural space found in this master’s work in the St. Petersburg *Grandes Chroniques* (RNL, Erm. 88, ff. 223, 247, 324v, Figs. A.56–A.58) and compares them to the space found in the right foreground of the Geneva frontispiece (f. 2, Fig. A.59).\(^{594}\)

In addition, the pope figure in the *Grandes Chroniques* (f. 188v, Fig. A.60) strongly resembles that in the Geneva manuscript (Fig. 2.59) in their robes attached with a gold medallion, their cross-topped scepter, their throne and blue and gold cloth of honor, though the Geneva example has a beard, a much darker shading of cheeks, a less elaborately designed tiara and more puckered lips.

Wijsman suggests that a follower of the Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen Golden Fleece was also involved in the manuscript.\(^{595}\)

This artist worked in Lille for patrons such as

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\(^{591}\) *Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482*, 398.

\(^{592}\) *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: 1440–1520*, 84.

\(^{593}\) *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: 1440–1520*, 84, 91.

\(^{594}\) I am grateful to Dr. Anne D. Hedeman for sharing images of this manuscript’s illuminations with me.

\(^{595}\) Wijsman, “Luxury Bound,” cat. no. 1618.
Charles the Bold, Edward IV and Louis of Gruuthuse. Hans-Collas described his style as filled with decorative detail, using unrealistic architectural spaces that have open arcades and tile floors. He favors using scroll motifs on architecture, costumes and armor. His compositions are filled with figures and contain no perspective or horizon. His figures are frequently walleyed, with strong bone structure, red cheekbones, thickly lined cheek folds, hair styled in curls, and fingers spread out. The figures often have short legs and men are often bearded. Some costume motifs seem consistent with the milieu of the Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen Golden Fleece, for example the black chaperons, a hat style with folds of fabric piled within popular in the mid-fifteenth century, found on figures on several folios (ff. 97, 125v, 139, 174, Figs. A.61–A.64), which compare strongly to an example from the Anciennes chroniques d’Angleterre (BL, Royal Ms 14 E iv, f. 217v, Fig. A.65). The Geneva manuscript includes his unrealistic architectural spaces (f. 109, Fig. A.66), which can be found in this artist’s work in the Chroniques de Pise (Darmstadt, ULB, Ms. 133, f. 5, Fig. A.67) and the Doctrine du disciple de sapience (Munich, BSB, Ms. Gall 28, f. 51, Fig. A.68). However, looking carefully at the faces of this master and those in the Geneva manuscript demonstrates that they are not the same. The Geneva example lacks the strongly lined lower cheeks that are deeply rouged and also generally the walleyed look. On the other hand, it does seem possible, as Wijsman suggested, that the

596 *Miniatures flamandes 1404–82*, 378, 380.
597 *Miniatures flamandes 1404–82*, 381.
598 *Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482*, 381.
artist in the Geneva manuscript is a follower of the Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen Golden Fleece.

Gil’s general division of hands in the manuscript into three (the frontispiece artist A, and the B and C hands) seems likely. However, inconsistent stylistic elements in each artist’s group of miniatures indicate that others participated. Examples include artist B’s bishops’s heads (ff. 87v, 109 and 196, Figs. A.69–A.71). Two bishops (ff. 87v and 196) have wider faces with features that pull to the side rather than down as opposed to the thinner bishop’s head in f. 109. Also, some of artist C’s faces seem to slide into the style of artist B. Comparing artist B’s figures (f. 109, Fig. A.72) to artist C (f. 67v, Fig. A.73) the difference is evident. Artist C draws short nosed figures with eyes set nearly at nostril level, with very little shading of eye sockets, making them seem shallow. This artist also provides busy, spring-like hair and prominent chins. Artist B’s figures have long noses, deeply set eyes, hidden or discrete hair, and chins that melt into the neck. The facial details in another example that Gil labeled artist C (f. 117v, Fig. A.74) are much more aligned with artist B. These examples of stylistic inconsistency suggest that, although Gil’s B and C categories work generally for dividing the manuscript’s illuminations, other artists may have participated. Self-consciously Marmion-esque elements distributed throughout the miniature cycle provide visual unity; for example the hats worn by the right side figure on f. 109 (Fig. A.72), the left hand figure in gray-blue on f. 117v (Fig. A.74), both of of which resemble that on Marmion’s figure in a Book of Hours now in Amsterdam (Fig. A.29), and the top far-right figure on f. 67v (Fig. A.73) which is similar to a different hat in the same Book of Hours (Fig. A.14). These hats are also found in the frontispiece (Figs. A.28 and A.13).
Within the B and C artists’ work in Geneva, BnF, Ms. fr. 85 there are repeated compositions and settings. Artist B repeatedly portrays large architectural spaces at times divided by columns that separate different actions (ff. 12v, 87v, 109, 196, 217, Fig. A.75–A.79). Artist C portrays nearly the same battle (ff. 98v, 122, 146, 182v, 235v, Figs. A.80–A.84), with a repeated mounted knight in the left foreground. Also, this artist repeatedly portrays formulaic scenes of encampment outside of a town featuring a tent along the right foreground and soldiers surrounding the area (ff. 57, 58, 133, 224, 229, Figs. A.85–A.89). Artist C also repeats a similar narrative scenario that poses very small figures in the background behind ships, with landscape and, occasionally, figures in the foreground (ff. 229v, 236, 238v, Figs. A.90–A.92).
Appendix B Chronology

1396  Duke Philip the Good is born
1395–1400 Jean V of Créquy is born
1420  The Mansel Master begins professional activity
1427  Louis of Gruuthuse is born
1429  Duke Philip the Good marries Isabella of Portugal
1430  Duke Philip the Good founds the Order of the Golden Fleece
1430  Jean V of Créquy is inducted to the Order of the Golden Fleece
1430  Battle of Compiègne
1430  Wolfert VI of Borssele is born
1433  Duke Charles the Bold is born
1439  Duke Charles the Bold marries Catherine of France
1440s  Pope Eugenius IV funds military action in the Balkans
1440s  The Créquy Master’s professional activity
1440–45 Jean V of Créquy’s Eracles manuscript is created
1442  King Edward IV of England is born
1444–45 Duke Philip the Good sends ships against the Ottomans in the Black Sea
1446  Margaret of York is born
1447  Pope Eugenius IV dies
1447  Simon Marmion begins professional activity
1448–50 Jean V of Créquy travels to the Holy Land with knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece
1449  Louis of Gruuthuse becomes Philip the Good’s cupbearer
1450  Ghent rebels against the Duke of Burgundy
1451  Murad II dies
1451  Duke Philip the Good presents his crusade plan to the Order of the Golden Fleece
1452  Louis of Gruuthuse becomes governor of Bruges and Oudenaarde
1453  Ottomans take possession of Constantinople
1453  Pope Calixtus III authorizes crusade preaching and fundraising
1453  Alfonso V of Anjou and Emperor Frederick III take the cross
1454  Duke Charles the Bold marries Isabella of Bourbon
1454  The Feast of the Pheasant takes place at Lille
1454  Duke Philip the Good attends an imperial diet focused on crusade at Regensberg
1455  Louis of Gruuthuse acts as member of a noble council that collects crusading vows from the Flemish lords
1456  A logistical crusade plan is created for Duke Philip the Good 227
1456  Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece send their crusade plan to King Charles VII of France
1456–57  Pope Calixtus III recovers territories in the Aegean
1457  Duchess Mary of Burgundy is born
1458  Pope Calixtus III dies, Pope Pius II begins reign
1458  Simon Marmion moves to Valenciennes
1459  Pope Pius II holds a crusade congress at Mantua
1460s  Wolfert VI of Borssele’s Eracles is created
1460  Loyset Liédet is active in Hesdin
1460  The Mansel Master ends professional activity
1461  King Edward IV of England’s first reign begins
1461  Jean V of Créquy presents the collar of the Golden Fleece to King John II of Aragon
1461  Louis of Gruuthuse is inducted to the Order of the Golden Fleece
1462  Duke Philip the Good repeats his crusade vow
1463  Pope Pius II declares war on the Ottomans
1463  Louis of Gruuthuse becomes Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland
1464  Pope Pius II takes the cross
1464  Duke Philip the Good appoints his son, Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy, to take his place on Pope Pius’ crusade
1464  Pope Pius II dies in Ancona
1466  Wolfert VI of Borssele becomes Admiral General of Artois, Holland and Zeeland
1466  Siege of Dinant between the Burgundians and the French
1466  Louis of Gruuthuse is sent to England to negotiate the marriage between Charles the Bold and Margaret of York
1467  Duke Philip the Good dies
1467–68  The Ghent war
1468  Duke Charles the Bold marries Margaret of York
1468  King Edward IV of England is inducted to the Order of the Golden Fleece
1469  Jean V of Créquy presents the collar of the Golden Fleece to King Edward IV
1469  Loyset Liédet establishes his atelier in Bruges
1470s  Louis of Gruuthuse’s Eracles is created
1470–71  King Edward IV is in exile in Burgundy
1470  The siege of Amiens between Burgundians and French
1470  Battle at l’Écluse between Burgundy and Earl Richard of Warwick
1471  King Edward IV of England’s second reign begins
1471  Charles the Bold makes Louis of Gruuthuse a general in the war against Louis XI
1471  England awards the title Earl of Winchester to Louis of Gruuthuse
1472  Duke Charles the Bold signs a treaty with Venice, agrees to provide funds to be used in military action against the Turks
1472  Jean V of Créquy dies
1472 Loyset Liédet begins to work for clients other than the Duke of Burgundy
1473 Duke Charles the Bold confirms his intention to go on crusade once his territories are secure and there is peace among the Christian princes
1473 Louis of Gruuthuse becomes representative for the Hanseatic league to England
1474 Siege of Nuys between Burgundians and French
1475 Wolfert VI of Borssele becomes General Captain of the Sea
1475–80 King Edward IV’s *Eracles* is created
1477 Duke Charles the Bold dies
1477 Wolfert VI of Borssele becomes Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland
1477 Louis of Gruuthuse and Wolfert VI of Borssele are sent as envoys to the French King Louis XI to renew a peace treaty between Burgundy and France
1477 Louis of Gruuthuse is First Chamberlain for Mary of Burgundy
1477 Louis of Gruuthuse escorts the envoys of Maximilian of Austria to Mary of Burgundy
1478 Duke Philip the Handsome is born
1478 Louis of Gruuthuse is Chamberlain for Philip the Handsome
1478 Wolfert VI of Borssele is inducted to the Order of the Golden Fleece
1478 Loyset Liédet ends professional activity
1479–80s The Master of Edward IV is professionally active
1479 Battle of Guinegate between Burgundy and France
1480s The Master of the Flemish Boethius is professionally active
1480 The Ottomans besiege Rhodes
1480 Ottoman forces land in Otranto, Italy
1480 Wolfert VI of Borssele is removed from his post of Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland
1481 Mehmet II dies
1481 The Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece condemn Louis of Gruuthuse
1482 Duchess Mary of Burgundy dies
1483 King Edward IV of England dies
1483–85 Louis of Gruuthuse joins Philip the Handsome’s council of regents
1485–88 Louis of Gruuthuse is imprisoned
1485 Wolfert VI of Borssele is stripped of his inherited lordship
1486 Wolfert VI of Borssele dies
1489 Simon Marmion dies
1491 The Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece accuse Louis of Gruuthuse of treason
1492 Louis of Gruuthuse dies
1503 Margaret of York dies
1506 Duke Philip the Handsome dies
Bibliography

The bibliography is divided into two sections. The first is manuscript sources and the second is the general bibliography of non-manuscript primary and secondary sources. I include in the manuscript sources group the manuscripts I have personally consulted as well as manuscripts I have consulted through reproductions of diverse sorts.

Manuscript Sources:

Consulted in person:

Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F
Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045
Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85
Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 183
London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i
Los Angeles, JGPM, Ms. 30 (87.MN.141)
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Fig. 3.12, Loyset Liédet, “Gui of Dampierre Presents his Daughter to Philippe le Bel,” *Chroniques de France, Angleterre, et Flandre*, Paris, BA, Ms. 6328, f. 2, Flanders, 1459.
Fig. 3.13, Loyset Liédet, “Edward III and Robert Bruce,” Froissart’s *Chroniques*, Paris, BnF, Ms. 2643, f. 13v, Bruges, ca. 1470s

Fig. 3.14, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Lyderic I named Count of Flanders,” *Chronique de Flandres*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2799, f. 1, Flanders, ca. 1470–80
Fig. 3.15, Loyset Liédet, “Philippe le Bel,” *Chroniques de France, Angleterre, et Flandre*, Paris, BA, Ms. 6328, f. 2, Flanders, 1459

Fig. 3.16, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Heraclius,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 1, Bruges, ca. 1470
Fig. 3.17, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Citizens of Edessa Welcome Baldwin as Ruler,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 44, Bruges, ca. 1470

Fig. 3.18, Loyset Liédet atelier, Froissart, *Chroniques*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, f. 7v, Bruges, ca. 1470–75
Fig. 3.19, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Alexander,” Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Histoire d’Alexandre*, BnF, Ms. fr. 20311, f. 128, Flanders, ca. 1470

Fig. 3.20, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Alexander Arrives at Persepolis,” Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Histoire d’Alexandre*, BnF, Ms. fr. 20311, f. 131, Flanders, ca. 1470

Fig. 3.21, Loyset Liédet atelier, “The Surrender of Saubhûti,” Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Histoire d’Alexandre*, BnF, Ms. fr. 20311, f. 253, Flanders, ca. 1470
Fig. 3.22, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Emperor John II Comnenus at the Siege of Shayzar,” Eracles, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 214v, Bruges, Bruges, ca. 1470s
Fig. 3.23, Loyset Liédet atelier, Froissart, *Chroniques*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, f. 342, Bruges, ca. 1470–75

Fig. 3.24, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Battle of Maupertuis,” *Chronique de Flanders*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2799, f. 237v, Flanders, ca. 1470–80
Fig. 3.25, Loyset Liédet, “Coronation of Emperor Baldwin,” *Chronique dite de Baudouin d’Avesnes*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5090, f. 207, Flanders, 1462

Fig. 3.26, Loyset Liédet atelier, Froissart, *Chroniques*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, f. 85, Bruges, ca. 1470–75
Fig. 3.27, Loyset Liédet atelier, “The Humiliation, Dismemberment and Consumption of Andronicus,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 385, Bruges, ca. 1470s

Fig. 3.28, “Andronicus Eaten by the Women of Constantinople,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22497, f. 106, Paris, ca. 1350
Fig. 3.29, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Coloman the King of Hungary Receives Godefroy of Esch”  
Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 20v, Bruges, ca. 1470s

Fig. 3.30, Créquy Master, “Coloman the King of Hungary Meets Godefroy of Bouillon,”  
Éracles, Amiens, BM, Ms. 483 F, f. 12, N. France, ca. 1440-45
Fig. 3.31, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Godefroy of Bouillon at the Holy Sepulchre,” Eracles, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 112, Bruges, ca. 1470s

Fig. 3.32, “Godefroy of Bouillon at the Holy Sepulchre,” Eracles, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9492–93, f. 101, Hainaut, ca. 1292–95

Fig. 3.33, “Godefroy of Bouillon at the Holy Sepulchre,” Eracles, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2827, f. 63v, Artois, ca. 1265
Fig. 3.34, Loyset Liédet atelier, *Reynaud de Montauban*, Pommersfelden, Library of the count of Schönborn, Ms. 311, f. 190, Bruges, 1470
Fig. 3.35, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Saladin Attacks the Area around Tripoli,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 359, Bruges, ca. 1470s

Fig. 3.36, “Saladin Attacks the Area around Tripoli,” *Eracles*, London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 12, f. 161, N. France?/England?, ca. 1232–61
Fig. 3.37, Master of the *Livre d’Eracles*, “Saladin’s Troops Attack the Area around Tripoli,” *Eracles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 265v, Lille, ca. 1460–66
Fig. 3.38, Loyset Liédet atelier, “After the Battle of the Horns of Hattīn, Saladin Decapitates Reynauld of Châtillon while his Soldiers Capture King Guy of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” Eracles, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 399, Bruges, ca. 1470s

Fig. 3.39, “Saladin Receives Captured Crusaders; Saladin Decapitates Reynaud of Châtillon; The Countess of Tripoli Surrenders Tiberius to Saladin,” Eracles, Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W. 142, f. 247, Paris, ca. 1400–40
Fig. 3.40, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Saladin’s Siege of Jerusalem,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 404, Bruges, ca. 1470s
Fig. 3.41, Wavrin Master, “Saladin Sails to France,” *Roman de Saladin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12572, f. 203v, Lille?, ca. 1460–67

Fig. 3.42, Wavrin Master, “Saladin Battles Lambert of Berry in a Tournament,” *Roman de Saladin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12572, f. 207, Lille?, ca. 1460–67
Fig. 3.43, Loyset Liédet, “Baldwin Fighting Saladin,” *Chronique dite de Baudouin de Avesnes*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5090, f. 101v, Flanders, ca. 1462

Fig. 3.44, Loyset Liédet, “Saladin Capturing Guy of Lusignan,” *Chronique dite de Baudouin de Avesnes*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5090, f. 140, Flanders, ca. 1462
Fig. 3.45, Loyset Liédet, “The City of Jerusalem Surrenders to Saladin,” *Chronique dite de Baudouin de Avesnes*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5090, f. 144, Flanders, ca. 1462
Fig. 3.46, Loyset Liédet, “Gillion at the Sultan’s Court,” *Gillion de Trazegnies*, Los Angeles, JPGM, Ms. 111, f. 150v, Flanders, after 1464

Fig. 3.47, Loyset Liédet, “Gillion Kneels before the Sultan,” *Gillion de Trazegnies*, Los Angeles, JPGM, Ms. 111, f. 235, Flanders, after 1464
Fig. 3.48, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Richard I Arrives in Palermo,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 417, Bruges, ca. 1470s

Fig. 3.49, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Battle of Sluys,” Froissart, *Chronique*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, f. 59, Bruges, ca. 1470–75

Fig. 3.50, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Battle of Guernsey,” Froissart, *Chronique*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, f. 95v, Bruges, ca. 1470–75

Fig. 3.51, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Battle at La Rochelle,” Froissart, *Chronique*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5187, f. 327, Bruges, ca. 1470–75
Fig. 3.52, Loyset Liédet atelier, *Chronique de Flandre*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2799, f. 24, Bruges, ca. 1470-80

Fig. 3.53, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Alexander,” Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Histoire d’Alexandre*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20311, f. 128, Flanders, ca. 1470,

Fig. 3.54, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Alexander,” *Histoire d’Alexandre*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20311, f. 131, Flanders, ca. 1470
Fig. 4.1, Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, “Godefroy of Bouillon Enthroned,” *Histoire de Godefroy of Bouillon*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 17 F v, f. 3, Bruges, late 15th cen.
Fig. 4.2, Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, “Godefroy of Bouillon Enthroned,” *Histoire de Godefroy of Bouillon*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 17 F v, f. 3, Bruges, ca. late 15th cen.

Fig. 4.3, Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, “Coronation of Baldwin I,” *Histoire de Godefroy of Bouillon*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 17 F v, f. 118v, late 15th cen.
Fig. 4.4, Master of the Flemish Boethius, “Boethius; Boethius, Plato, and Philosophy; Boethius and Philosophy,” Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Paris, BnF, Ms. neerl. 1, f. 12v, Ghent, 1492
Fig. 4.5, Second Assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius, “The Seven Ages of Man,” Jean Corbechon, *Livre des propriétés des choses*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E ii, f. 139v, Bruges, 1482
Fig. 4.6, Master of the Getty Froissart, “Heraclius Returns the True Cross to Jerusalem,” *Eracles*, London, BL, Royal Ms 15 E i, f. 16, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.7, Master of the Getty Froissart, “Fortune Appears to Boccaccio,” Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 E v, f. 291, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.8, Master of Edward IV, “Dyers at Work,” Jean Corbechon, *Livre des propriétés des choses*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E iii, f. 269, Bruges, 1482
Fig. 4.9, Master of the Getty Froissart, “Heraclius Admonished by the Angel,” Eracles, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 16, Bruges, ca. 1480

Fig. 4.10, Master of the Getty Froissart, “Heraclius Humbly Carrying the True Cross into Jerusalem,” Eracles, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 16, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.11, “Heraclius Returns the True Cross to Jerusalem,” Eracles, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9082, f. 25, Rome, 1295.

Fig. 4.12, Chroniques II Workshop, “Heraclius Returns the True Cross to Jerusalem,” Jean de Vignay, trans. Legende dorée, New York, PML, Ms. M. 675, f. 77, Bruges, ca. 1445–65.
Fig. 4.13, Master of Edward IV, “Crucifixion,” Blackburn Hours, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart Ms. 20884, f. 33v, Bruges, ca. 1480s

Fig. 4.14, Master of Edward IV, “Heraclius Returns the True Cross to Jerusalem,” Blackburn Hours, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart Ms. 20884, f. 34, Bruges, ca. 1480s

Fig. 4.15, Agnolo Gaddi, Legend of the True Cross, Chancel Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence, ca. 1385, Image courtesy SCALA, Florence / Art Resource, NY / Artstor.org
Fig. 4.16, Agnolo Gaddi, *Discovery of the True Cross*, Choir, Santa Croce, Florence, ca. 1385

Fig. 4.17, Master of the White Inscriptions, “Augustus Octavius Sees a Vision of a Virgin and Child upon his Return to Rome,” Benvenuto da Imola, *Romuléon*, London, BL, Royal 19 E v, f. 336v, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.18, Master of Edward IV, “Murder of Caesar,” La Grande histoire César, London, BL, Royal Ms. 17 F ii, f. 344, Bruges, 1479
Fig. 4.19, Master of the Flemish Boethius, “John II Comnenus at the Siege of Shayzar,”
*Eracles*, London, BL, Royal 15 E i, f. 241, Bruges, ca. 1480

Fig. 4.20, First Assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius, “France, England and Germany Besiege Damascus,” *Eracles*, London, BL, Royal 15 E i, f. 280v, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.21, Second Assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius, “King Richard I of England Disembarks in Palermo,” Eracles, London, BL, Royal 15 E i, f. 450v, Bruges, ca. 1480


Fig. 4.24, Loyset Liédet atelier, “Richard I Disembarks in Palermo,” *Eracles*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68, f. 417, Bruges, ca. 1470s
Fig. 4.25, “Alexander the Great with Aristotle,” John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, New York, PML, Ms. M. 126, f. 158, London?, ca. 1470

Fig. 4.26, John Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, Ms. 439/16, f. 4, London?, ca. 1465–75
Fig. 4.27, “Heraclius Enters Jerusalem with the True Cross,” Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, f. CLXXXIX verso. Westminster: William Caxton, between 20 Nov. 1483 and March 1484
Fig. 4.28, “Appearance of St James to Charlemagne,” *Gilded Shrine of Charlemagne*, Cathedral Treasury, Palatine Chapel, Aachen, Germany, 1215, Image courtesy of Art Resource, ART 139128
Fig. 4.29, Mahiet, Master of the Cambrai Missal, “The Division of the Crown of Thorns for Charlemagne,” *Grandes Chroniques de France*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 16 G vi, f. 159, Paris, ca. 1332–40

Fig. 4.30, Mahiet, Master of the Cambrai Missal, “A Nail from the True Cross Healing the Sick” *Grandes Chroniques de France*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 16 G vi, f. 161, Paris, ca. 1332–40
Fig. 4.31, “St. Helena and Heraclius take Holy Cross to Jerusalem,” Retable of the Holy Cross of Blosa, Museo de Zaragoza (Saragossa)
Fig. 4.32, “Saints,” Jean de Vignay, *Légende dorée*, London, BL, Stowe Ms. 50, f. 1, Flanders, last quarter, 15th cen.
Fig. 4.33, “Laurent de Premierfait Presents his Translation to Jean, Duke of Berry,” Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 E v, f. 5, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.34, Second Assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius, “Humiliation of Andronicus,” Eracles, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 420v, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.35, “Humiliation of Andronicus,” Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 229, f. 372, Lyon, ca. 1435–40

Fig. 4.36, “Humiliation of Andronicus,” Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 236, f. 205, Paris, 1st half of the 15th cen.

Fig. 4.37, “Humiliation of Andronicus,” Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5193, f. 378, 15th cen.

Fig. 4.38, “Death of Andronicus,” Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 E v, f. 477v, Bruges, ca. 1479–80
Fig. 4.39, Second Master of the Flemish Boethius, “Saladin’s Troops Capture King of the Latin Kingdom, Guy of Lusignan, and the True Cross,” *Eracles*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 433v, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. 4.40, Rohan Master atelier, “Guy of Lusignan Flees from Saladin,” Laurent de Premierfait, Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 226, f. 260, Paris, ca. 1415–20

Fig. 4.41, “Guy of Lusignan Flees from Saladin,” Laurent de Premierfait, Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, Paris, BA, Ms. 5192, f. 324v, ca. 1460–70
Fig. 4.42, Master of the Getty Froissart, “Heraclius Humbly Carrying the True Cross into Jerusalem,” Eracles, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 16, Bruges, ca. 1480

Fig. 4.43, Second Assistant to the Master of the Flemish Boethius, “Saladin’s Troops Capture King of the Latin Kingdom, Guy of Lusignan, and the True Cross,” Eracles, London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E i, f. 433v, Bruges, ca. 1480
Fig. E.1, Signature of Germain Picavet, *Eracles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 1, Lille, ca. 1460–66
Fig. E.2, Signature of Germain Picavet, *Eracles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 1, Lille, ca. 1460–66
Fig. E.3, Master of the *Livre d’Eracles*, “A Saracen and a Western Noble,” Bertrand de la Brouière, *Avis directif pour faire la croisade* and Tozzelo, *Voyage*, Paris, BA, Ms. 4798, f. 153, Lille, ca. 1459–60

Fig. E.4, Master of the *Livre d’Eracles*, “The Crusaders Cross over the Walls of Jerusalem Using a Siege Castle,” *Eracles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 81, Lille, ca. 1460–66

Fig. E.7, “The Crusaders’ Siege Caste Before Jerusalem,” Eracles, Paris BnF, Ms. fr. 2824, f. 45, Flanders, 14th cen.

Fig. E.8, “The Crusaders’ Siege Caste Before Jerusalem,” Eracles, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9081, f. 77, Paris, ca. 1245–48
Fig. E.9, Master of the *Livre d’Eracles*, “The Dressing of a King,” *Eracles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 142v, Lille, ca. 1460–66
Fig. E.10, Master of the *Livre d’Eracles*, “Treaty Between the Caliph of Egypt and the Crusaders” *Eracles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 217v, Lille, ca. 1460–66
Fig. E.11, Master of the *Livre d’Eracles*, “Siege of Constantinople,” *Eracles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9045, f. 326v, Lille, ca. 1460
Fig. A.1, Artist A, Frontispiece, *Eracles*, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.2 Master of Rambures, Guillaume Vrelant, and assistants, Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits mémorables*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5196, f. 1, Bruges?, ca. 1470
Fig. A.3 a and b, Geneva, BdG, Ms. 85, f. 2 and Paris, BA, Ms. 5196, f. 1

Fig. A.4 a and b, Geneva, BdG, Ms. 85, f. 2 and Paris, BA, Ms. 5196, f. 1

Fig. A.5 a and b, Geneva, BdG, Ms. 85, f. 2 and Paris, BA, Ms. 5196, f. 1
Fig. A.6 a and b, Geneva, BdG, Ms. 85, f. 2 and Paris, BA, Ms. 5196, f. 1

Fig. A.7, Simon Marmion, *St. Bertin Altarpiece*, Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, 1459

Fig. A.8, Simon Marmion, *St. Bertin Altarpiece*, Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie
Fig. A.9, Simon Marmion, Left Wing, *St. Bertin Altarpiece*, London, National Gallery, NG 1302–1303, 1459

Fig. A.10, Simon Marmion, Right Wing, *St. Bertin Altarpiece*, London, National Gallery, NG 1302–1303, 1459
Fig. A.11, Artist A, Lower left group, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.12, Artist A, Lower right group, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.13, Artist A, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.14, Simon Marmion, Hours, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP–T–1970, f. 45, ca 1460–70

Fig. A.15, Simon Marmion, Lamentation, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.1.128, ca. 1467

Fig. A.16, Simon Marmion, Crucifixion, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, Cat. 318, ca. 1470s

Fig. A.17, Simon Marmion, Hours, San Marino, Huntington Library, HM. 1173, f. 24, Valenciennes, ca. 1470–80
Fig. A.18, Artist A, Geneva, BdG, Ms. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.19, Simon Marmion, *Turin Hours*, Turin, Museo Civico, Ms. 558, f. 73

Fig. A.20, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, San Marino, Huntington Library, HM. 1173, f. 50, Valenciennes, ca. 1470–80

Fig. A.21, Simon Marmion, fragments from *St. Bertin Altarpiece*, London, National Gallery, NG 1302–1303, 1459

Fig. A.22, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, London, BL, Additional Ms. 71117, f. F, 3rd quarter of the 15th cent.

Fig. A.23, Simon Marmion, Master of Mary of Burgundy (influence), other hand, *Hours*, New York, PML, Ms. 6, f. 6, Valenciennes, ca. 1480
Fig. A.24, Artist A, Geneva, BdG, Ms. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.25, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, San Marino, Huntington Library, HM. 1173, f. 24, Valenciennes, ca. 1470–80

Fig. A.26, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP–T–1970, f. 46, ca. 1460–70

Fig. A.27, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, London, BL, Additional Ms. 71117, f. F, 3rd quarter of the 15th cen.
Fig. A.28, Artist A, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.29, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP–T–1970, f. 46, ca. 1460–70

Fig. A.30, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, London, BL, Additional Ms. 71117, f. F, 3rd quarter of the 15th cen

Fig. A.31, Simon Marmion, *Turin Hours*, Turin, Museo Civico, Ms. 558, f. 73

Fig. A.32, Simon Marmion, *Hours*, San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 1173, f. 84, Valenciennes, ca. 1470–80
Fig. A.35, Artist A, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.36, Artist A, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.37, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 12v

Fig. A.38, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 12v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.39, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 12v, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.40, Loyset Liédet, *Histoire de Charles Martel*, Los Angeles, JPGM, Ludwig Ms. XIII 6, f. 7v, Flanders, ca. 1470–72

Fig. A.41, Loyset Liédet, *Histoire de Charles Martel*, Los Angeles, JPGM, Ludwig Ms. XIII 6, f. 14, Flanders, ca. 1470–72

Fig. A.42, Loyset Liédet, *L’Arbre des batailles*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9079, f. 10v, Hesdin, ca. 1461?
Fig. A.43, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 217v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.44, Loyset Liédet, *Chronique dite du Baudouin d’Avesnes*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5089, f. 62, Flanders, ca. 1462
Fig. A.45, Loyset Liédet, 
*Renaud de Montaubon*, 
Paris, BA, Ms. 5072, f. 76b, 
Bruges, ca. 1462–70

Fig. A.46, Loyset Liédet, 
*Renaud de Montaubon*, 
Paris, BA, Ms. 5072, f. 76b, Bruges, ca. 1462–70

Fig. A.47, Artist B, 
Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 139, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.48, Artist B, Geneva, 
BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 196, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.49, Artist B, Geneva, 
BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 196, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.50, Loyset Liédet, *Anciennes chroniques de Pise*, Brussels, BrB, Ms. 9029, f. 80v, Bruges, ca. 1470

Fig. A.51, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 146, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.52, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 182v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.53, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 235v, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.54, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 133, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.55, Loyset Liédet, *Renaud de Montaubon*, Paris, BA, Ms. 5075, f. 188, Bruges, ca. 1462–70
Fig. A.56, 2nd Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St Petersburg, *Grandes Chroniques* of St Petersburg, RNL, Erm. Ms. fr. 88, f. 223, Hainaut, ca. 1455

Fig. A.57, 2nd Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St Petersburg, *Grandes Chroniques*, St Petersburg, RNL, Erm. Ms. fr. 88, f. 247, Hainaut, ca. 1455

Fig. A.58, 2nd Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St Petersburg, *Grandes Chroniques*, St Petersburg, RNL, Erm. Ms. fr. 88, f. 324v, Hainaut, ca. 1455
Fig. A.59, Artist A, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 2, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.60, 2nd Master of the *Grandes Chroniques* of St Petersburg, *Grandes Chroniques*, St Petersburg, RNL, Erm Ms. fr. 88, f. 188v, Hainaut, ca. 1455
Fig. A.61, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 97, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.62, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 125v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.63, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 139, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.64, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 174, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.65, Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen *Golden Fleece, Anciennes chroniques d’Angleterre*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 E iv, f. 217v, N. France or Flanders, ca. 1470–80
Fig. A.66, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 109, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.67, Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen *Golden Fleece, Chroniques de Pise*, Darmstadt, ULB, Hs. 133, f. 5, Lille, ca. 1470–80
Fig. A.68, Munich, Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen *Golden Fleece, Doctrine du disciple de sapience*, BSB, Ms. Gall 28, f. 51, Valenciennes, ca. 1460
Fig. A.69, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 87v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.70, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 109, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.71, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 196, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.72, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 109, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.73, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 67v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.74, Artist C?, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 117v, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.75, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 12v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.76, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 87v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.77, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 109, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.78, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 196, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.79, Artist B, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 217, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.80, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 98v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.81, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 122, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.82, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 146, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.83, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 182v, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.84, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 235v, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.85, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 57, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.86, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 58, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.87, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 133, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.88, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 224, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.89, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 229, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.90, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 229v, Hesdin, ca. 1460
Fig. A.91, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 236, Hesdin, ca. 1460

Fig. A.92, Artist C, Geneva, BdG, Ms. fr. 85, f. 238v, Hesdin, ca. 1460