

**PL. 1.1** Victory over Roger of Antioch. William of Tyre, *Histoire d'Outremer*, Paris, Fauvel master, 1337. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: ms. fr. 22495, fol. 105



**PL. 1.2** Kublai Khan and his wives at table. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333-35. London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 86





**Pl. 1.3** Kublai Khan punishes the traitor Najan. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333–35. London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 85



**Pl. 1.4** Kublai Khan punishes Liitam's co-conspirators. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333–35. London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 107

**Pl. 1.5** Customs in distant India. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333–35. London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 118



**Pl. 1.6** The Mongols provide their idol Natigay with nourishment. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333–35. London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 78v







**Pl. 1.7** Cannibalism in Ciandu. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333–35. London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 81v



**Pl. 1.8** The Christians meet the Caliph of Baudac. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333–35. London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 65



aume que sans nulle assistance  
 de personne de quel condiaon  
 que elle fust il regardoit dilige  
 amment les causes . et a grant  
 delibération de conseil . et faisoit  
 iugement et iustice a chascun  
 selonc droit . et quant ses con  
 seillers . et les puillans de son  
 roy aume virent que il alloit  
 ainsi selonc droit et raison . ce  
 que la puilliance de dieu . si le  
 doubterent et amereut ensemble  
 de lonue auidoir . et pour ce que  
 il doubtoit que les iustes cause  
 venissent a prinne deuant li .  
 il aloit . ii . fois la sepmaine  
 au uiamz eu . i . lieu ou chascun  
 le pouoit veoir pour les com  
 plainctes . et moymant  
 droiture et misericorde du pue  
 ple . il finisoit les causes des pees  
 chier hastiuement . et quant  
 auant uogre de la foiz li estoit  
 aporte par les prelates . on par les  
 iugementz des loigars . toutes  
 choses amereutes il le finisoit  
 hastiuement estre despectie .  
 Il ne receuoit aus d'atantille des  
 greus . cest auidoir de deus lui  
 en contre laire en nulle manie  
 re . car ainsi ome se il eust orole  
 de prophete . ainsi les finisoit a  
 ler ausuz par autre voie iuste  
 nable acoiant adroit . ce pug  
 mait les messins necessament  
 des gantz . il estubli ensus tout  
 a offer et aubatre le deluge des  
 vsures . ce vult que nul des iust  
 aers de sa terre ne continust  
 les obliges par lies aus Juis .  
 ou vsurers communs . et par  
 ce que il iustentenoit pais et  
 droiture . dieu li donna en son  
 temps repos et paisiblete en son  
 royaume . et li auoir de dieu  
 grace especial a ce que les des  
 cordz et contrueneuz entrax

il iustentenoit communement  
 apais et a concord . *lvi . des mi  
 racles apou seigneur saint loys  
 roy de france qui amudrent a  
 prez sa mort . et premierement  
 de ceuz qui amudrent en se ale  
 ra on le cuer et la bueille furent  
 enterrés .*



**S**avoir le saint cuer  
 et les entrailles de  
 ceul saint roy furent  
 portees en sealle . en  
 ladeuant dite aillue  
 de mont royal . et ceulz qui les  
 conduisoient furent iusts de la  
 mer . et il orent commenee  
 leur voiage par terre . il vindrent  
 a . i . village long de toutes bon  
 nes villes ou il peuldrat estre  
 iustes . et soustenuement . et  
 il estoit en fosseil restoussit .  
 et quant il vindrent deuant  
 le iudoir a . i . chivalier . il av  
 uerent le seigneur seant sus  
 une aris en . i . quarefour de  
 nant sa porte . et leur deman  
 da quelz gens il estoient . et que  
 ce estoit que il menoiert . an  
 il congnoist bien les armes  
 de france . et auoit este en egyp  
 te auenques le roy saint loys  
 et quant il li orent dit toute  
 la chose comment il li este al  
 loit . il les pria . et vint cel  
 le nuit a hostel . et ceulz deuil





**D**onques apres le tel  
passement de la de bon  
nature et sainte recorda  
tion du roy loys. pise  
son filz ainste enfant  
de bon commencement succeda au  
pere et gouuernement du royaume  
et ala administration de lost. et  
toutes fois le couraige de celi enfant  
qui n'estoit pas encore et petit es choses  
de bataille. et la feiblesce du corps  
qui estoit affeblie par longue mala  
die. li faisoit doubter que il ne fust  
pas souffisant de estre prince en tel go  
uernement. et mesmelement en  
la garde de si grant necessite. et  
dont lost des lons avens fu. i.  
roy trouble. tant pour la mort  
du tres deloumable roy. comme  
pour le nuement de diuerses for  
tune. Et donques le roy de sealle  
oncle de celi enfant. le conte de  
poitiers son oncle aussi. le roy de  
navarre. et tous abien roy les au  
tres princes de lost alerent au no  
ble ioumentel pour li dire la mort  
de son deloumable pere. car il na  
uoit encore point oy que il fust  
trespasse. car il n'estoit nul qui li  
osast auoir dit la mort de son pere  
pour la cause de sa maladie. Et  
dont le noble roy de sealle le com  
menca moult a conforter. pre  
mierement. et en la parfin li dit

et descomer la mort de son pere  
et quant il loy. Si li dit que il estoit de  
loumable. et honnoirait son pere  
et auoit. si le esuanouy abien  
roy du tout. et demoura grant  
piece auant que il peust parler  
aus barons. Et il le blasmerent  
forment de ceste chose. et vindret  
tous ensemble d'un acort. deuant  
et enuiron li. et le conforterent  
et donnerent remede de confort  
le mieux que il porent. et li  
monstrerent moult de causes  
raisonnables que il estoit tenu  
a soy conforter. et pour plus re  
leuer et allegier sa dolour. les  
princes tous ensemble d'un ac  
cort tantierent de li faire hom  
mage. des quelz le premier fu  
qui li fist hommage le bonnoir  
ble alphonse son oncle conte de po  
itiers et de thoulouse. Le second fu  
le noble roy de sealle barles. mes  
non pas que il li fist hommage  
du royaume de sealle. orais des  
contes de prouence. et de auion  
et letiers fu le bonnoirble roy  
de navarre thylant. et non pas  
du royaume de navarre. orais  
de la conte de champraigne qui  
apartenoit aus fies roy au de sire  
et apres ce les autres contes. cest  
alfanour d'artois. de flandres de  
bretaigne. et tous les autres  
apres tant contes comme la  
rons lun apres lautre. se sont li  
obligiez bonnement. et loian  
ment. et d'un acort par li fier  
dommage. Et des adonques fu  
il cre communiement par un  
lost. et quant ce fu fait. et les  
rois. et les barons chassim reu  
na a sa rente. Et. i. roy auant  
dont ce fu dolent estoit mort le  
bonnoirble conte de la marche  
qui auoit souffert moult de mal



## The Metamorphic Other and the Discourse of Alterity in Parisian Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century

Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch

### Introduction: Alterity and Identity in the Texts

There is a long history of engagement with the Other, and nearly all scholarly disciplines view the confrontation between the Self and the Other as one of the central foundations for constructing self-identity, whether for a culture, a community or an individual.<sup>1</sup> The definition of the Other changes in accordance with what qualifies as 'other', depending on historical, sociological and personal contexts. The Other can be the Janus-faced double in the sense of an alter ego, thereby connected in a direct, existential way with the Self; it can also serve as a mirror of the Self, or it can be the absolute Other, the utter stranger. Alterity is therefore experienced and described in ways that range from a mirror image to something beyond all conceivable similarity, to the absolute Other. The definition of the Self vis-à-vis the Other is understood as fundamentally asymmetrical and differentiated in terms of value, yet the Self remains the crucial point of reference for this valuation: the Other, after all, is not the Self.<sup>2</sup>

Wlad Godzich interprets the fictional Other of medieval literature, particularly the Others presented in the Arthurian novels, as paradigmatic for Western discourses on identity. The knight leaves the Arthurian court to become acquainted with the distant Other. The adventure is deemed successful whenever the Other is incorporated into the Self.<sup>3</sup> The range of Otherness is instantiated here as the spaces that must be traversed in order to fully develop the Self; only through his confrontation with the Other can the hero be permitted to fully develop Selfhood. The Other therefore serves as a distorted image of the Self, against which the Self can be clearly recognised, even as the Other is defeated, conquered, and absorbed. The theme of experiencing the Other as an articulation of the Self also plays a determining role in other literary works: Alexander<sup>4</sup> conquers the far reaches of the known world, only to see wonders and miracles already described by Pliny,<sup>5</sup> just as Apollonius of Tyre did.<sup>6</sup> Often the Self becomes such a magnetic force that the Others join with it. The conversions of Feirefiz in *Parzival*,<sup>7</sup> of Gyburg in

*Willehalm*,<sup>8</sup> and of the Saracen queen and her husband in the *Heidin*<sup>9</sup> are predestined whether by their consanguinity or by their noble character. They are baptised into the Self and transformed from evil Saracens to Christian heroes, as in the case of Corboran.<sup>10</sup> Often, their conversion is accompanied with a change of skin colour, from black to white, or even the hybrid state of mottled skin.<sup>11</sup> The baptism does not just reconstitute personal identities; as in *Flore and Blanscheflur*, it also incorporates an entire empire into the Christian body.<sup>12</sup> Both Saracens and monsters can be domesticated and integrated into the Self, as the example of *Herzog Ernst* demonstrates.<sup>13</sup>

Fictional representations of the Other construct and consolidate collective and personal identities.<sup>14</sup> Gender discourses govern the imagination of 'feminised' Orientals who only discover their 'true' masculinity through conversion to the Christian faith.<sup>15</sup> Norman Daniel analyses this functionalisation of the Other as a mirror image of the Self, whether positive or negative, on the basis of a broad range of materials, not only in fictional literature but also in historiographical works and travel narratives that use the same topoi.<sup>16</sup> Daniel proceeds from a collectively imagined image of the hero, passed down from antiquity, that is positioned as equal to the image of the Saracen: "Saracen' relates to any nation that is not Christian..."<sup>17</sup> In the *chansons de geste*, Saracens, and then Muslims, are characterised as the enemy in radical ways. The evil, berserk, cunning opponent is juxtaposed with the virtuous warrior of Christendom.<sup>18</sup> Jeffrey Jerome Cohen focuses on the radicalisation of difference to describe the "absolute Other", a development that leads to early discourses on race in the early thirteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In the course of the increasingly ethnographic and cultural observations, and the growing interest in foreign objects, technology and so forth of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a more subtle image of the Other is being articulated and embedded in traditional knowledge about distant peoples.<sup>20</sup> Suzanne Conklin Akbari, working with a wide



array of materials including literary, historical and scholarly texts, as well as cartographic representations, paints a multi-layered picture of the Saracens as stereotypes for the Orient. Akbari uncovers an early modern Orientalism in which the differentiation of the Other is determined by religion and geography, two themes that are closely intertwined.<sup>21</sup>

## The Visual Image of the Other

### The Stereotypes of the Saracens

If the image of the Other is part of medieval discourses on identity, then we must ask how this discourse is represented in visual terms. By what means does a painter portray Otherness, if the image is meant to serve simultaneously as a mirror of the Self? How does the painter differentiate the Others, having only general knowledge of the distant places and people described in the text? Artists had to translate these textual referents into a visual language that would be comprehensible to their patrons or, in the case of mass productions, to an audience with which the painter could hardly be familiar.

The Saracen as a collective memorial figure of the Oriental Other has been a longstanding formula, not just in texts, but also in the more cipher-esque medium of images.<sup>22</sup> This figure is found in Central European images up to the sixteenth century, and it concentrates primarily on a remarkably similar type; the most important signs are hair and beard styles, as well as headgear and costumes. The turban, often combined with a scarf and a bearded face, are the minimum iconographic commonalities for characterising the Saracen.<sup>23</sup> Weapons and armour mark the image of the Saracen warrior. Coats of arms, banners and caparisons with fictive heraldic motifs often situate the figures in a heraldic space, which is one of the most important defining features of a medieval society dominated by signs and symbols.<sup>24</sup> Until well into the sixteenth century, a general coding framework of caricatures, including posture, gestures and peculiarities in physical appearance, continued to depict the Saracens as ugly,<sup>25</sup> frequently allowing visual representations of Saracens to merge with those of the Jews, or—as Robert Bartlett has shown—the Irish, the villains par excellence.<sup>26</sup> Less frequently, importance was given to skin colour, which was first associated with the Saracens only in the context of thirteenth-century missionary work.<sup>27</sup> Customs, rituals and especially idolatry are the areas that most clearly enable the observer

to identify Otherness.<sup>28</sup> In more complex representations, the description of spaces, architectures, objects, and not least clothing and fabrics, all play a significant role in visually defining both distant lands and the Other.<sup>29</sup>

### The Manuscripts and their Context

In the following, I assess a group of manuscripts that come from a milieu that is similar in terms of commissioning and production, namely the French court of the 1330s and 1340s. These manuscripts are analysed for the ways in which they deal with the representational methods described above, and how this creates a fungible image of the Saracen that oscillates multiple times within a circumscribed space. The primary questions here focus on the positions for which this volatile image of the Other was used, how this image was positioned vis-à-vis the Self, and in what context the texts and their possible intentions may be arranged. The manuscripts are selected from the works of the bookseller and publisher Richard de Montbaston and his wife Jeanne.<sup>30</sup> All of the works were commissioned in the then nascent Valois court of the 1330s and 1340s.<sup>31</sup> A direct connection to the Middle East<sup>32</sup> was created not just for a new crusade, an idea central to Philipp VI and his entourage, but also because of the entourage's familiarity with the lost Latin Kingdom; indeed, Philipp gathered former crusaders around him to prepare for a new crusade.<sup>33</sup> The publisher's workshop and the court were both familiar with objects from the Middle East, and the ateliers knew the multicultural iconography of the Middle East; indeed, painters with intimate knowledge of Arabic works had been trained in Byzantine art in Acre.<sup>34</sup> For a trans-cultural methodological approach, then, the question is whether and to what extent these knowledges flowed into the work of the book illustrators in order to describe the well-known Middle Eastern Other. I will also assess which elements and strategies the illustrators deploy to make this Otherness discernible.

The primary focus is on a volume of travel reports and romances in the British Library in London,<sup>35</sup> because these texts can be identified as a highly contemporary encounter with the Other. This manuscript contains eight French documents, almost exclusively contemporary translations of works, some of which were brand new at the time of translation. This is not an anthology in the conventional sense, but rather an assembled compendium of knowledge about the Middle and Far East.<sup>36</sup> The volume begins with the *vraie hystoire du bon roy Alixandre*, a French



prose translation of a history of Alexander from the thirteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Then follows a *chanson de geste* by Jehan le Nevelon, entitled *La vengeance d'Alexandre*, which tells of Antipater's revenge after Alexander's death.<sup>38</sup> The novelistic narrative of Alexander's life and death is followed by a French translation, *liures du grant Caam*, of Marco Polo's travel report.<sup>39</sup> Thibault de Cepoy and his son Jean de Cepoy identify themselves as the translators, and both of them were familiar with the circumstances and opportunities of reconquering the Holy Land, as well as the conditions of the Byzantine Empire. Thibault de Cepoy was an admiral of Charles le Bel, the father of the Regent, and served as a diplomat with the Byzantine Emperor and the Venetians; Jean de Cepoy served as an admiral under Philipp VI.<sup>40</sup> The next translation, of Odorico da Pordenone's *merveilles de la terre doustre mer*, was done from 1331 to 1333 by Jean de Vignay.<sup>41</sup> Then follows a translation of individual chapters from Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale* according to the narrative of Johannes de Piano Carpini, which was also completed on royal commission. Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philipp VI, probably entrusted Jean de Vignay with this assignment, which Richard and Mary Rouse suspect was commissioned for precisely this manuscript collection.<sup>42</sup> The report on how to reach the Holy Land, *le directoire pour faire le passage en terre sainte*, was also translated by Jean de Vignay. This deals with the *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, whose authorship remains contested to this day.<sup>43</sup> The text was composed upon commission by Philipp in 1332, and—as indicated by the copy in the London manuscript—was translated into French by Jean de Vignay in 1333. This is also a text that is only handed down in this manuscript. The next text, which is the oldest translation of the lost Latin chronicle of Primat, is much more valuable for the tradition of early vernacular literature.<sup>44</sup> Jeanne de Bourgogne most likely placed the commission for it with Jean de Vignay.<sup>45</sup> An explicit note, “pluseurs batailles des roys disrael encontre les philistiens et assyriens” (fol. 267vb), is then followed by individual chapters of the *Bible historiale*, which concludes the volume.<sup>46</sup>

From today's perspective, these works traverse very disparate genres: novels (the history of Alexander), travel reports (Marco Polo and Odorico da Pordenone) as directions for travel (directoire), historiographical works (the chronicle of Primat), and biblical stories (battles of Old Testament kings). The unifying theme in all of them, which is referenced at the end of the manuscript with

the battles against the Philistines and the Assyrians, is the confrontation between Christendom and the Middle and Far East and the unbelievers. There is no distinction drawn between historical and contemporary experience here; the battles are not considered to be different forms of confrontation with the Other than, for example, the encounters described in the travel reports of Marco Polo and Odorico da Pordenone. Overall, the compendium can be categorised as belonging to those realms of knowledge in which historical transmission can be viewed as closely related to eyewitness reports of the time.<sup>47</sup>

Two additional texts from the Montbaston circle are consulted for comparison with the London travel manuscript: a historiographical work of the chronicle of William of Tyre and his successors<sup>48</sup> and the *Legende dorée* in Jean de Vignay's translation.<sup>49</sup> All three manuscripts are closely affiliated with Philipp VI or his direct associates.<sup>50</sup> Not even the *Legende dorée*, a genre that falls into the category of the devotional book, permits the assumption that they were intended for private use. This manuscript probably came about through a commission by a member of the royalty, meaning in a milieu that engaged in private reading.<sup>51</sup> However, its contents can be understood as thoroughly related to the chronicle of William of Tyre as a historiographical work and scholarly literature: the Gallic and French saints of the past in the *Legende dorée* correspond to the warriors in the Holy Land as reported in the chronicle. The Old Testament heroes, warring against the heathens in the London travel manuscript, represent the typological predecessors of these two texts. All of these texts are meant to provide orientation and focus for their contemporary readers.<sup>52</sup> There is a great deal to suggest that these works were read aloud and discussed in a semi-public space.<sup>53</sup> Their images and programmes were—as we shall see—intended for a specific group, both in terms of reception and the symbolic coding referenced and conveyed in the images.

### The Variable Borders Between the Self and the Other

Many assume that illustrations offer a clear transmission of the description of the Other. How should the viewer of an image depicting a battle, for instance, be able to distinguish the enemy from the Self, if the warring parties are not visually differentiated? Our contemporary viewing conventions are shaped by expectations of ethnic difference that are also completely fulfilled in fourteenth-century manuscripts. In the *Histoire d'Outremer*,<sup>54</sup> written in



1337 and illuminated by Richard de Montbaston and the master of the *Roman de Fauvel*, the opponents are differentiated with the greatest clarity. In the Fauvel master's illumination of the Turkish victory over Prince Roger of Antioch<sup>55</sup> (Plate 1.1), the Turks,<sup>56</sup> shown on the left-hand side of the image charging furiously into the frame, are represented as Saracens. They wear turbans and scarves tied to the side. Their skin colour is grey-brown and seems to meld seamlessly into their grey unkempt beards. Their thin, pinched, bony faces produce a fierce impression for the contemporary viewer, who expects smooth features. In combination with the mud-like colour, viewers must have perceived them as ugly.<sup>57</sup> The Saracens wear bright red tunics over their chain mail, and the hindmost rider wields a mighty scimitar. The mount of the foremost rider—apparently the Emir, who plunges his sword into the back of the fallen Roger of Antioch—is protected by a red caparison covered with stars. This symbolic combination indicates the rider's Oriental origins, while the colour combination conveys a negative valuation.<sup>58</sup> The expressive power of the Emir's posture corresponds to his and his companions' grim faces; he rides with his legs drawn up high and, with the rage of a berserker, drives his sword into his opponent's body. This gesture not only produces an emotional effect; the painter also uses knowledge of Eastern horsemanship cultures to depict the attackers as Others. Arabian riders used similarly low, broadly curved saddles<sup>59</sup> and the short stirrups, which force the rider to draw up his legs, are known from the Ayyubid riding style of the thirteenth century.<sup>60</sup> The Christian warriors are contrasted in their colour, posture and symbols. Their visors remain closed; the armour and helmets, blackened today, must have shown brightly at one time, glistening in silver. The antagonists are clearly lined up against each other, the dark and powerful attacking Saracens in contrast to the gleaming armour of the Christian knights. This depiction is thoroughly intended as a moral valuation; the clear dichotomy is found in contradictory details in the equipment of the Christian military leader, Roger of Antioch. He collapses over the horse's black-covered forehead; the horse's head and the saddle girth, also in black, insinuate that this Christian military figure can sometimes be less than perfect. The text clearly states that the loss of this prince was not all too terrible, as he was a beastly character.<sup>61</sup>

Although the *Histoire d'Outremer* clearly renders friend and foe as distinct entities and presents the Saracens as Eastern riders, several contemporary illustrations

present dissimilar characterisations. Instead of the parties being differentiated, they are often lifted together out of historical and topographical context into the idealised imaginary space of the contemporary viewer. In the London travel manuscript, two consecutive illustrations of the same Other point to this problem. The great Mongol ruler Kublai Khan, at whose court the Polos spent the 16 years leading up to 1291, is portrayed in an unexpected way in the illustrations drafted between 1333 and 1335 in the collective London manuscript (Plate 1.2). The manuscript,<sup>62</sup> most of which was illustrated by Jeanne de Montbaston, relocates Kublai Khan and his wives<sup>63</sup> to a Western court. The Great Khan sits at the middle of a long covered table in Western dress, wearing a simple crown adorned with ornaments, surrounded by his four wives, who also are dressed in Western costume. The ceremonial qualities of the occasion refer to the conventions of a royal festival and banquet for guests. Two courtiers kneel before the table; one of them, the cupbearer, offers a chalice, while the other presents a bowl.<sup>64</sup> The exclusively female company enjoyed by the Great Khan in the illustration could be at best unfamiliar to Western viewers. Seated immediately next to him are two married women with pinned, yet not covered, hair, and flanking them—probably in an allusion to the prince's polygamy described in the text—are two virgins with their hair loose and free. The initially bewildering red hair of all of the women, which in medieval texts would have been viewed quite negatively,<sup>65</sup> is described during the course of the manuscript in positive terms, as the clergy, Mary and the infant Jesus (fol. 229v), as well as King Philipp IV and his future bride, all have the same hair colour (fol. 243).<sup>66</sup> Kublai Khan is shown with grey hair and beard to symbolise his dignity. Not a single detail makes this illustration different from any other that would depict a royal banquet as presented in chronicles or epic manuscripts.

Just one page before (Plate 1.3), however, the same Kublai Khan appears in a completely different guise: that of the absolute Other. In this scene, Kublai Khan condemns to death his traitorous uncle Najan, who has attempted to wrest power to himself by means of a military coup.<sup>67</sup> All of the figures in the image, with the exception of the kneeling and already injured traitor, are characterised as Others. Although all of them wear Western clothing, including the elegant, braided, long-toed poulaine shoes of the period, they are portrayed as black, with dark skin. Moreover, their heads—again, with the exception of the traitor—are swathed in white scarves, upon which



Kublai Khan wears his bejewelled crown. The Great Khan and his entourage are portrayed here in the stereotypical formula for describing the Saracens. In the royal context of the miniature that comes next in the manuscript (Plate 1.2), the Other becomes the Self; in this scene, however, Kublai Khan is an Other (Plate 1.3). All of the actors in this execution scene are Others, although their Otherness is subtly inflected with hierarchy: there are the simply Other, yet nevertheless familiar, foreigners, and clear foreigners. The two royal figures—the ruler and his accompanying courtier—have a lighter skin colour than the two executioners. The Great Khan's skin, tending towards a red-brown hue, and that of his courtier standing behind him, are distinguished from the dark brown of the two figures carrying out the death sentence. With an expansive gesture of reaching out, the executioner at right swings an axe to behead the traitor. The second henchman has already sunk the axe deep into Najan's body, so that Najan's shoulders are depicted covered with rivulets of blood.

Now the bloody punishment portrayed in this image diametrically contradicts the agony described in the text. Najan, according to the narrative, was wrapped in a rug and sliced to pieces so that the earth could not drink any of the traitor's blood, and so that the sun and moon could not bear witness to the disgrace. In this image, however, the punishment becomes public, and Najan, a kneeling white man gesturing with upraised hand as if to speak, is transformed from a traitor to an innocent victim. The image positions him in contrast to his executioners and his nephew, the Mongol ruler. Najan has been transfigured into a martyr, which means that he need not undergo the legal punishment doled out to traitors as reported in the text. The valences in the image are distributed accordingly: both of the executioners are depicted as larger than life, but—and this applies more clearly to the executioner who has already buried his axe in Najan, than to the one in mid-swing—they have become, in light caricature, negative figures with bulging lips set in round faces, eyes encircled in darkness, and vehement gestures. Kublai Khan, standing behind them with a modest gesture of command or demonstration, along with his accompanying courtier, is not just represented with lighter skin colour, but also in a posture of reserve, imparting the impression of superiority over the executioners.

The context, which has morphed from the just punishment of a traitor to a scene of martyrdom, also informs the composition.<sup>68</sup> Working in opposition to the text, the

image creates a juxtaposition between white and black that enacts an intentional valuation: the murdering blacks stand opposed to the praying, suffering white man. The black and white dichotomy is also loaded with moral connotations and notions of good and evil. At the same time, familiar iconographic stereotypes support the message: the black villains possess rough facial features and violent movements, or, in the other case in which the shameful deed has already been done, their characterological features bear inappropriate fierceness and malice. The determinative effect of this moral valuation in the visual interpretation can be seen in the unusual hierarchical arrangement of the figures. Typically, the size of the figures corresponds to their position in the social hierarchy; in this image, however, the two killers are portrayed as oversized, with Kublai Khan standing behind them, much smaller. His social ranking is expressed solely in his restrained bearing, his nobler facial features and, above all, his lighter skin colour.

The reason for such a radical intervention in the text can be seen more clearly in a similar example. The miniature of the imposition of the death penalty on Liitam's co-conspirators (Plate 1.4) represents Otherness in related ways: the Great Khan issues the command with his right hand, while his left hand rests upon his shouldered sword in an expression of his power to dispense justice. Two traitors, again presented as white, kneel before the executioners, one of them already severely wounded but nevertheless raising his hands in supplication. In this folio, the degree of Otherness remains the same; only the foremost of the two executioners bears a stronger resemblance to the typical Saracen, although he has a dark beard. The theme of this miniature, like that of Najan's punishment (Plate 1.3), refers to the rubrics written above the images, which serve as both chapter headings and as image titles. While the declaration of Najan's death sounds relatively indifferent: "...comment le Grant Caam fist ocirre Naian" ("The Great Khan lets Najan be executed"), the heading for the punishment of Liitam's co-conspirators is significantly more partisan: "...Ci dit ... de la cite de candifu et comment le grant caan prist veniance contre de ceulz qui estoient allez contre lui et contre sa volente" ("It is said in the city of Tandifu how the Great Khan takes his revenge on all who would oppose him and thwart his will"). In the heading for Liitam's co-conspirators, the just punishment of traitors is transformed into an unjust, arbitrary act of revenge borne of a dictatorial will.



### Variable Borders and Multiple Identities

These four seemingly simple visual examples lead to unexpected conclusions. First, the boundary between the Other and the Self is neither entrenched nor stationary; indeed, in the juxtaposition of black Others and white shining Selves, as in the *Histoire d'Outremer* (Plate 1.1), negative characteristics can be ascribed to the party of Selves. The boundaries between the Self and the Other, however, are much more fluid in the London manuscript. The exotic potentate is presented in the imaginary space of court ceremony and incorporated into a banquet scene familiar to contemporary viewers, thereby becoming a Self. Second, the figures do not have fixed identities: Kublai Khan, as a familiar representative of a royal order, is depicted, despite his cultured bearing, as a passive participant in the shameful slaughter of a white man at the hands of black henchmen. Yet following this image, after turning just one page, the reader sees Kublai Khan's identity transformed from this depicted Otherness to the Self. Third, this shift in identity is at the same time associated with a moral valuation; Kublai Khan becomes a hostile Other. Fourth, this moral valuation also includes a simultaneous step down in social terms; Kublai Khan becomes the cohort of the lowest of all human creatures, the executioners.

In the four illustrations under discussion, the historically, and above all geographically, foreign opponents are transferred along with their costumes and objects into the horizon of the contemporary viewer. The Others are therefore accepted more or less as equals in a virtual space of shared values; the degree of their Otherness is measured in accordance with their behavioural norms and their conformity to familiar forms of order. The extent to which these values correspond—not geographical distance or ethnic or racial affiliation—determines the degree of Otherness. Bodies, costumes, gestures and objects, as well as ceremonial procedures, create spaces of commonality in these images, images which expend little effort in terms of specific localisation. The actors are either incorporated into or excluded from these shared spaces, depending upon the situation being represented. The familiarity of the courtly ceremony, which can show up in a wide range of situations, such as a banquet,<sup>69</sup> a coronation,<sup>70</sup> a courtly conversation with ladies,<sup>71</sup> diplomatic contacts and, above all, the dictation of legal orders,<sup>72</sup> interposes the Other into the imaginary space of the Self, in this particular instance, the imaginary space of the court. The reinterpretation of a legal act—the punishment of traitors for an act of

caprice—lets the foreigner become a morally abject Other. As we shall see, nearly identical formulas can be used in positively connoted stories for the narrative marking of an equal yet different party, a narrative act that is not associated with degradation or reduction in prestige. In the *Histoire d'Outremer*, the miniature of the Fauvel master (Plate 1.1) exaggerates the typical Saracen figure, yet at the same time presents specific, knowledgeable details to emphasise the degree of foreignness.

### The Other Becomes the Absolute Other

The attribution of negative connotations to the Other reaches its zenith in the illustrations of distant India in the London manuscript (Plate 1.5). The miniature for Marco Polo's report on India<sup>73</sup> depicts a monstrous foreigner in contrast to a familiar city occupied by white people. The title announces at the beginning of the book that it will relate all of India's marvels, as well as the behaviour of its peoples: "...le commencement du livre d'ynde et devisera toutes les merveilles qui y sont et les manieres des gens." Despite Richard and Mary Rouse's suspicion<sup>74</sup> that the illustrator, Jeanne de Montbaston, did not read the text, this miniature is based on a deep familiarity with the topic. Surely she could have drawn from the generally circulating knowledge about the "marvels of the East" already found in the miniatures of Alexander's voyage to India.<sup>75</sup> In any case, two different narrative strands are woven together in the illustration: the report of the terrible gods with animal heads is intertwined with the last story, which deals with the unusual custom of cannibalism. The text reports that a foreigner is in the hands of the local citizenry and is asked to pay a ransom that he cannot afford; he is eaten at a feast. In the miniature, the foreigner is shown as a Self that has been captured by a local man who is not depicted as simply foreign; he wears the head of a cow like a mask. A member of the Self's community seems to have become a sacrifice to one of the animal idols described previously as having come to life. Whites look down from the city wall and are visibly horrified by the terrible fate of one of their own. In no other miniature in the manuscript is a scene invested with so much emotion as here. The figure of the tormentor is that of a monster whose existence is reported in the Far East, among the Tartars and the Saracens.<sup>76</sup> These are the animal-people who appear in apocalyptic visions<sup>77</sup> yet also belong to the body of knowledge about imagined India, which is further conveyed in Marco Polo's text as well.<sup>78</sup> While of course



the miniatures in the Alexander story allowed contemporary readers to confirm their expectations and their own knowledge about the distant regions in the image—a function similar to that of bestiaries, serving a neutral rationality<sup>79</sup>—this image thematises the daemonic. The viewer's counterpart in the image, the Self, is erased by the terrible, devilish and yet human form with the animal skull, which corresponds to the apocalyptic animal at the end of days. Moreover, the choreography leaves no doubt that this Self must leave the safe area of the constructed world of the Self as it is led away from the gates of this refuge to which it shall never return.

The *manieres des gens* from India, to which the title alludes, engages with the ideas of three particularly horrifying daemonic customs: idolatry and, much worse, the worship of animal gods and cannibalism. These are the markers that delineate the greatest possible distance on a virtual scale of proximity between the Self and the Other, allowing the Other to become a monster. Cannibalism in particular is understood as the unimaginable epitome of evil and belongs to those prejudices that make it inconceivable that the Self could somehow be affiliated with the Other. "...cannibalism is one of those instrumentally useful technologies of definition by which the malignant otherness of cultural enemies and outcasts can be established and periodically renewed."<sup>80</sup> Cannibalism certainly cannot be considered Christian, as it is inhuman, monstrous behaviour, but it is insinuated about others whose monstrosity is meant to be demonised.<sup>81</sup> It is a behaviour that is situated in the taboo zones of the Self's culture and has remained there ever since.<sup>82</sup>

Several images in this manuscript depict idolatry and cannibalism as being closely associated. Most of the miniatures report on such phenomena with just as little emotion as (elsewhere) they depict the monstrous animals and humans living on the outer edges of the world. The Great Khan issues his commands in the name of, and under the dictates of, an idol,<sup>83</sup> and the Tartars provide the idol, their god Natigay, with food;<sup>84</sup> the illustrations remain objective and correspond to a familiar iconography.<sup>85</sup> The idols stand as naked golden statues on a column (Plate 1.6). In such images of idolatry, however, the idolaters are consistently portrayed as 'Saracens' positioned at a low level in the social hierarchy. The three men who are feeding Natigay, the foremost of whom offers him nourishment<sup>86</sup> by rubbing it into the surface of the statue, have almost black skin. They wear the short robes of the lower classes and

appear barefooted. Their heads are wrapped in the typical Saracen turban. What is unusual in this image is the very flat chapel-de-fer helmet upon the idol's head. Comparable headpieces are familiar primarily in late manuscripts from Acre.<sup>87</sup> The architecture reproduces one of the few interior rooms and transports the viewer into foreign regions. A cupola viewed from the outside makes the building a ritual space that should obviously signal to the viewer that the event shown here—as the text says—is not taking place in a private space, but rather in an ennobled space that, with its foreign manner of construction, is clearly to be found in distant lands. As Michael Camille has emphasised, we have reinterpreted the domestic ritual described by Marco Polo as an official act.<sup>88</sup> Above all, however, the Other in this story is placed at the centre of the representation, and the prejudice of idol-worshipping customs is confirmed as one of the criteria for the absolute Other.

Another illustration also represents the close association of idolatry and cannibalism (Plate 1.7), yet without actually showing this connection visually.<sup>89</sup> The citizens of the city of Ciandiu are said to consume the flesh of rogues who have been punished by hanging. The image shows a Saracen standing on a ladder leaned against the city wall, carrying a statue-like golden item which correlates with the golden idols worshipped by the Mongols. Only the text makes it clear that the person depicted here is one of the men who has been hung to provide food for the gods; the title however does not mention this custom, speaking instead only of the city of *Ciandiu* and the *merveilles*.<sup>90</sup> The image itself remains similarly ambiguous. The Saracen who is carrying the figure is depicted in the bare feet, short robes and broad movements of the lower social classes. This also applies to the foremost person in the group of three on the left edge of the picture. However, the gestures of these three Saracens, as well as of the one looking down from the city wall, are so nobly restrained that they cannot be simple infantry soldiers or executioners.<sup>91</sup> A discussion about the event appears to have evolved here in which the hindmost of the three standing figures seeks to escape with a gesture of dismay; he is also the only one who wears the elegant braided shoes of the upper class.

Idolatry and cannibalism—frequent prejudices—are closely intertwined<sup>92</sup> and flow subliminally into the images as well. They are treated as customs that—and this is particularly striking because of the standard visual language—are unusually specific in location, both in terms of geographic and social space. The images create a



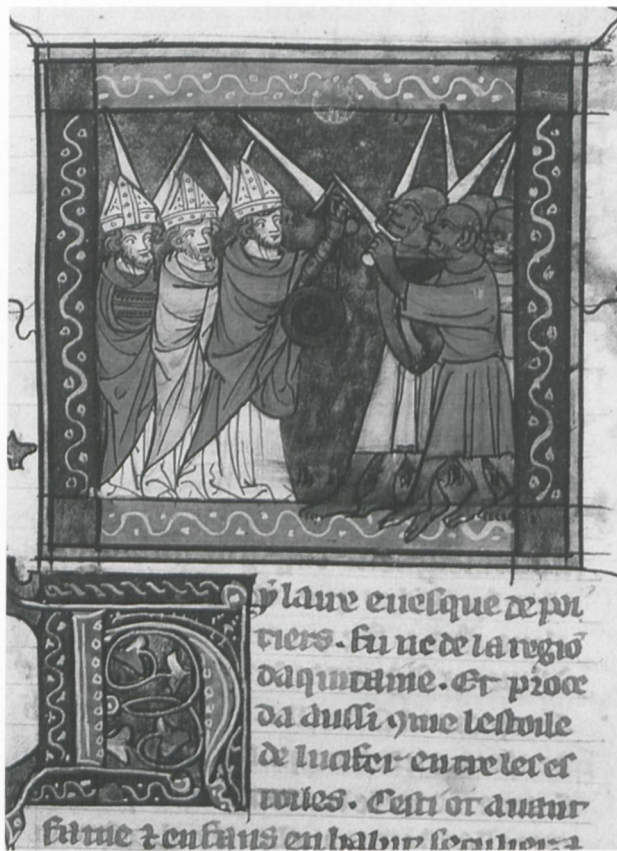


FIG. 1.1 Saint Hilary fights the heretics. *Legende dorée*, Paris, Richard de Montbaston, 1348. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: ms. fr. 241, fol. 38v

connection between these customs and distant regions. To do this, the miniature does not just refer to the formula for simple Saracens, but rather localises the feeding of the god Natigay in an Orientalised dome and alienates the image of the idol with a helmet that would have been unfamiliar to Western viewers. Against the background of these representations of idolatry, the illustration of the *merveilles* in India (Plate 1.5) is even more threatening. The white man, led away by an apocalyptic hybrid creature, is pulled into an act of perdition that will forever exclude him from his own social context, the safe and secure territory of his own people. His daemonic tormentor, however, is not comparable to the images of Saracens typically presented in illustrations. Although he serves the general idea of the Saracen villain—above all from the perspective of apocalyptic fears<sup>93</sup>—it goes far beyond the simple task of confirming the imagined image of India, which had been presented in the most scholarly way possible in the depictions of Alexander's experiences in India, in its offer of identification to the viewer and the emotionalisation of the scene.<sup>94</sup>

### Ambivalent Equality and Subtle Subjugation

In the London collected manuscript, strangers are received primarily as equals—as in the entire Alexander story and also large parts of Marco Polo's narrative—or they are depicted as Saracens, using the well-known vocabulary assigned to foreigners. This formula, which was used for Mongols, Muslims in the Holy Land, and East Asian peoples, is emblematic in its simplicity. The most striking features of this set of visual characterisations are dark skin colour and the ubiquitous turbans with the scarf tied on the side. A particularly important sign typically used to characterise foreigners is hair and beard colour and style;<sup>95</sup> in these miniatures, this feature is only rarely used because the turbans fully cover the foreigners' heads and they are beardless. Minimal variations in the facial features, such as broader lips and differently shaped eyes—as we have seen in the scene depicting the murder of Najan (Plate 1.3)—create differentiated hierarchies within a group of Others. These foreigners can belong to the same ethnic group, up to and including those who wear hideous animal masks: body types are oriented not toward demographic groups, but rather to the scale of Otherness, which includes both the monstrous and the animalistic. If the viewer had had experience with the same manuscript, he would have seen how Alexander's father, Nectanebus, transforms into a dragon.<sup>96</sup>

This manuscript makes it clear that the search for ethnic characterisation in the images is a fully modern approach. But the same can be demonstrated in other examples. Thus the proximity of monstrous and animalistic aspects becomes apparent in the heretics depicted by Richard de Montbaston in the only manuscript directly attributable to him, the *Legende dorée* (1348) in the translation of Jean de Vignay (Figure 1.1).<sup>97</sup> The same type of the black man with a bulbous nose and powerful jaw, although bald here, appears as a heretic in a fight against Bishop Hilary of Poitiers. The bald-headed villains, which serve not just as representations of the Aryans in the text but also heretics in general (particularly contemporary heretics of the period), tread bare-footed beyond the frame of the picture. Their enormous feet are neither human nor animal, but the association with claws is hinted at in the figure behind the swordsmen. The contrast between the monstrous figures and the hostile bishops, with their white mitres and brightly glowing serene visages and the chasubles over their albs, differs from the known examples of the battles between Christians and Saracens. The



equal ranking has given way to a depiction of the heretics as caricatured monsters, who are even being forced to the edge of the picture in a state of chaos and are set in contrast to the disciplined combat strength on the Christian side. Skin colour alone—in comparison to the black men from the London manuscript (Plate 1.3) and the *Histoire d'Outremer* (Plate 1.1)—defines neither race nor ethnicity. Black skin, however, can serve as a sign of false faith.<sup>98</sup> Exclusion and rejection are expressed by means of ugliness, of deviancy.

Clothing and costume offer additional options for differentiation that—according to the Western order—determine social rank, not Otherness. Bare feet, posture that is considered inappropriate from the perspective of the courtly code, and undisciplined movements are additional signs that the Other is to be excluded from courtly space and ranked correspondingly lower.

As we have seen from the beginning, however, Otherness alone does not necessarily entail the imputation of inferiority. Foreigners can be located in the same space



FIG. 1.2 Peace treaty between the Crusaders and the Caliph of Egypt. William of Tyre, *Histoire d'Outremer*, Richard de Montbaston, before 1353. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: ms. fr. 24209, fol. 205v



as non-foreigners, represent the same values and thereby become equals from another group. This visual strategy is applied primarily in battles and encounters. In some meetings (Plate 1.8), the images are arranged in such a way that two equal groups stand in symmetrical opposition. White Christians stand across from a similar host of black courtiers from the Caliphate of Baudac. According to the text, the Caliph was gripped by a powerful urge to proselytise, demanding that the Christians produce proof of the parable of Jesus from Matthew 17:20, and of their ability to move mountains with their faith.<sup>99</sup> If they do not do this, he threatens to execute them. The title alludes to the Christians' fear: "comment li crestien orent grant paour de ce que le caliphe leur avoit dist." The frightening dialogue, however, is transformed into a diplomatic meeting that uses the same iconographic formulas as are used for the peace treaty between the Caliph of Egypt and the crusaders in the *Chronicle of William of Tyre* (Figure 1.2). This manuscript was also illustrated by Jeanne and Richard de Montbaston, approximately 20 years later.<sup>100</sup> In both images, two groups of white and black men,

juxtaposed mirror-like, approach each other. Aside from the skin colour and headpieces, the two parties in the London manuscript (Plate 1.8) are only differentiated by their footwear or lack of it, as the Caliph's courtiers appear barefoot. Contrast is the decisive element in these illustrations—that means first of all the contrast in the skin colour of the white and black groups.<sup>101</sup> The illustration must be read in a heraldic mode. In the *Marco Polo* manuscript, the ostensibly victorious host of the Caliph enters the image from the heraldic right side of the image, while in the *Chronicle of William of Tyre* the Crusaders stand on this side. Across from them are the armoured Saracens, the foremost of which, the young Caliph, at the behest of the Prince of Caesarea, makes his oath of peace with a bare hand.<sup>102</sup> If we incorporate this heraldic alignment, and simultaneously observe details such as the unduly expansive gestures of the Muslims in *Marco Polo's* narrative and the Saracen appearing improperly armed before the royal Lord of Caesarea, it becomes clear how intensely these images affect the valuation of the parties. The threatening scene of *Marco Polo's* narrative becomes a diplomatic meeting, and in the other case the peace treaty is presented in a manner favourable to the Christians, by means of the heraldic arrangement of the narrative and the superior position of the Prince of Caesarea vis-à-vis the Muslims with their inferior customs.

In the images of combat, the equal ranking of the opponents plays an even more important role, the deeper significance of which becomes obvious in the ennoblement of Kublai Khan in the battle with Najan (Figure 1.3). The cavalry of the Mongol prince is—as usual—represented as victorious on the heraldic right side of the picture, dashing from left to right in the reading direction. Najan's troops ride against Kublai Khan on the heraldic left side of the right edge of the picture. Both military leaders meet in direct combat at the vanguard of their troops. As is customary for this manuscript, the victorious party is fully equipped and fights with closed visors, while Najan's followers, transformed into Saracens, ride into battle with unprotected black faces and turbans on their heads. The same formula is also used for the battle between the Christians and Saracens.<sup>103</sup> Both leaders wear a crown over red headgear, and their tunics are the same salmon-pink colour. Weapons, horses and caparisons are identical for both parties, while the Saracens fight with scimitars in a few scenes.<sup>104</sup> Instead of bodies and weapons, the shields of the leaders and their caparisons situate the parties in



FIG. 1.3 Kublai Khan fights his uncle Najan. Marco Polo, *Livres du grant Caan*, Paris, Jeanne de Montbaston, 1333–35. London, The British Library, Ms. Royal 19 D I, fol. 83b



an imaginary space. The traitor Najan—as the uncle of Kublai Khan, a Mongol like him—has become a Saracen with his heraldic sign. The red field with golden crescent, which decorates both his shield and his caparison, supports the dark skin colour in a heraldic fashion and fashions his camp into a group of exemplary Orientals.<sup>105</sup> Kublai Khan, in contrast, wears an azure field with golden fleurs-de-lys, which in this manuscript appears most prominently in the parts about the French kings, especially Saint Louis.<sup>106</sup> With his golden helmet, crown, and the azure field with the golden fleurs-de-lys on his shield and caparison, Kublai Khan is marked as a holy king fighting on behalf of God. This situates him as a predecessor of the French kings in this mythological genealogy.<sup>107</sup>

Despite the stereotypical manner of representation, the miniature creates a tension that assigns the opponents to two different camps by means of their heraldic symbolism. The combination of colours—blue and gold, and red and gold—above all in the juxtaposition of the fleur-de-lys and the crescent moon, creates an antagonistic rivalry in which one party is a priori the subject of discrimination.<sup>108</sup> The battle images thereby unite both parties in the space of honourable combat, a space that creates genuine identity within knightly self-understanding. Both parties belong to this space equally, as the symmetry suggests. The heraldry, of course, speaks another language, presenting the ‘false’ symbols that turn the ‘Saracens’ into immoral opponents. The Saracens who fight against the Byzantine emperor are most strongly discriminated against.<sup>109</sup> While the Byzantine leader carries an azure field charged with golden stars,<sup>110</sup> the Muslim leader is identified by his yellow (golden) field with black crescent moon. The colour black in the coat of arms gives a negative connotation to the initially neutral skin colour,<sup>111</sup> in the sense of turning the enemy into the devil.<sup>112</sup> The combination of eye sockets outlined in black, with brightly shining white eyes, contributes particularly to this effect for the Muslims in the battle scenes, who stand unyielding before the faceless, well-equipped ‘good’ opponents. The knight’s body is presented as a fully armoured one, whereas the Oriental body is only partially so; indeed, the will to fight, glowing in the Muslims’ eyes, is what makes them an opponent to be reckoned with. The use of coats-of-arms, armour and weapons to depict the Muslim foe as inferior is therefore marked with ambivalence: when the Muslims become devils, they pose a challenge that allows the struggle of the ‘right’ side to appear even more glorious.

### Spaces of Distinction

The illustrations only address the theme of space in a very peripheral way. Almost all of the images take place either on a gold background, or on one with diamond shapes or other geometric forms, in which heraldic signs create a hierarchy for the parties in individually selected miniatures. The most striking backgrounds are those with the royal design: the azure field and golden fleur-de-lys. This royal space is opulently unfurled in the illustrations for the chronicle of the monk Primat in Jean de Vignay’s translation. The text itself is the only complete version of the lost Latin chronicle of Primat, an account which provides a great amount of detail on the reign of Louis IX, the saint. It is possible that Jean de Vignay translated the chronicle on a commission from Jeanne de Bourgogne, the wife of Philipp VI and the queen of France.<sup>113</sup> In eleven illustrations, an azure field with golden fleur-de-lys appears on shields, caparisons and ailettes in four miniatures.<sup>114</sup> In the illustration of the transportation of Louis IX’s remains—the future relics of Saint Louis (Plate 1.9)—these symbols create an overarching royal space. The text and title describe the transport of the heart and entrails of *saint roy* to the *Abaie mount royal* in Sicily; they also relate the miracles that had already occurred in Sicily.<sup>115</sup> The next chapter portrays the transfer of his bones from Sicily to the abbey of Saint Denis and the many wonders that occurred.<sup>116</sup> The miniature radiates a royal aura that conveys a claim to universality, although it follows the text to the specific location of Monreale. The procession of knights enters before a blue background whose diamonds are ornamented with golden fleurs-de-lys, carrying the royal reliquary on a bier. A shroud, decorated in blue with golden fleurs-de-lys, and a crown lying on the chest, fittingly mark the reliquary. Directly behind them rides an armoured knight with a closed golden visor, his crown, shield, ailettes and caparison covered with the royal insignia and colours. He is presenting the sword of the deceased with the tip pointed down, thereby illustrating the body politic of the deceased. The sword-bearer will be the already accredited new king, Philipp III, who is travelling to Saint Denis with the mortal remains of his father. The archbishop stands before the abbey of Monreale and receives the relics of the posthumously canonised saint with full honours. The festive ringing of the bells is rendered visible above the entrance. The archbishop’s significance is represented by his mitre, crosier<sup>117</sup> and pallium over the chasuble. The illustrated space is rendered particularly



impressive by the royal horseman, who wears a golden closed helmet, crown and presented sword, the insignia of power; he disappears behind the shield raised high, and seems to dissolve into the fleur-de-lys pattern on the caparison. He is riding from outside of the frame into the picture, thereby dominating the space between the columns. The presentation of the rider as the bearer of insignia is situated in such a way that the heraldic signs become a determinative element of the image, creating an overlap between the fore- and background; the viewer only gradually realises that the horse's head has been forgotten.<sup>118</sup> In the marginal drawings, in which Jeanne de Montbaston retains a sort of draft sketch of the choreography of the miniatures,<sup>119</sup> the expansion of the miniature beyond the aesthetic border of the frame is planned, and the position of the sword, the catafalque with its fleurs-de-lys, and the abbey with the bell swinging back and forth, are all sketched. The unusual precision of this drawing—generally, sketches do not include any details beyond the outlines of the heads and horses—can be related to the meaning of this miniature.<sup>120</sup> This is supported by the iconographic associations. For the transportation of the relics, Jeanne de Montbaston used a typology that had also been developed at the same time for the translation of the most noble of reliquaries: the crown of thorns. Here, Louis himself strides to the head of the bier-bearers, and the crown is transported on a chest wrapped in a shroud.<sup>121</sup> In our miniature, this well-known iconography is combined with the ceremony of the arrival of the dead king, who is received by the archbishop and whose holy remains together with his crown are borne by barons, while the successor, with the smaller crown, presents his sword.<sup>122</sup>

No other miniature in the volume is marked in a comparable way. As the narrative progresses, however, this heraldic, royal space develops with increasing density, presenting the motifs in clear gradations. Only the Great Khan (Figure 1.3),<sup>123</sup> as we have seen, will have the honour of being incorporated directly into the royal mythological genealogy with the royal symbols. The French kings appear with this marking for the first time in the *Primat* chronicle, which—as mentioned earlier—expressly identifies the images. The filling of the space beyond the background pattern is prepared in a gradated way for the climax of the transport of the royal reliquary (Plate 1.9). Individual figures stand out, located before related backgrounds that do not really bear the 'correct' royal signs; instead, they foreshadow these signs in unusual colour

combinations. Darius, for example, gives the order to create an image of Alexander against a red background organised in diamond shapes filled with white (silver) and red fleur-de-lys.<sup>124</sup> Alexander climbs up into the heavens in a variant that clearly approaches the royal aura, and now the blue background is patterned with silver and red fleur-de-lys.<sup>125</sup>

A second heraldic symbol also seems to have been intentionally placed: the Jerusalem cross. Here also, an auratic space is created which has its first climax in Jean de Vignay's delivery of the *Directoire* translation to Philipp VI.<sup>126</sup> Dressed in the habit of the Hospitaller, decorated with the sign of Tau on a black coat, Jean de Vignay kneels before the enthroned king and offers him a bound codex.<sup>127</sup> The background is patterned with boxes, containing silver and gold crosses of Jerusalem, and produces a three-dimensional effect. Most of these backgrounds are found in the story of Alexander and in contexts in which the Macedonian king proves his virtuous power<sup>128</sup> by doing good deeds<sup>129</sup> or by signing and sending letters as a regent.<sup>130</sup> The most prominent background is the opening miniature in the history of Alexander with the Jerusalem crosses. The miniature presenting the city of Cairo—a city associated with the name of Babylon—as the site of the reign of Nectanebus, Alexander's father, also serves as an embodiment of an Eastern city.<sup>131</sup> In the further illustrations, these backgrounds mark the scenes in which the councillors of Kublai Khan receive advice,<sup>132</sup> and Philipp III, son of Louis IX, is acknowledged by his barons (Plate 1.10). The immediate succession of both miniatures—the recognition of the new king and the transportation of his father's reliquary to Saint Denis (Plate 1.9)—are visualised in a manner that, not least because of these backgrounds, belong together, precisely in this sense of a *translatio* of aura, genealogy and duty.

### The Other as Part of a Royal Topography of Prestige

The travel reports of the London collected manuscript create a strict planning design, despite its simple images. Michael Camille's fascinating proposition—that, in the very simplicity of the illustrations and the ostensibly random method of work, we can find subliminal prejudices toward Muslims—turns out to be correct only in a limited sense.<sup>133</sup> Maureen Quigley<sup>134</sup> has interpreted the images of this travel anthology as a "...romantic geography of the Orient", identifying—in opposition to Richard and Mary Rouse,<sup>135</sup> and above all David J. A. Ross<sup>136</sup>—a very specific



connection to Philipp VI's crusader project, but not in the sense of a direct call to arms. Quigley understands the programme as the imagination of a journey in the sense of a mnemonic invocation of a nevertheless known cultural geography. The spatial aspect of travel along paths that are to a certain degree known is certainly correct. Yet this seems to me to lead to yet another destination. In the images, the historiographical perspective is interlaced with the geographical perspective. These two spaces overlap in the royal space of France. The historical and geographical Other is subsumed in the same space of values: Alexander, the Great Khan, and the Old Testament kings at the end of the volume—they are all inserted into the mythology of the royal genealogy. For the young Valois ruler Philipp VI, this provides sweeping historical and geographical legitimation.<sup>137</sup> An auratic space is created around the French kingdom that radiates out from the centre of France to the edges of the world, and—with Alexander—leads to the discovery of the sky and the oceans. In this royal and at the same time knightly space, the Others are either Selves or are emblematic opponents that, ranked equally, contribute to the virtue of the Self; the opponents are fashioned into a mirror of the Self. The few clearly exclusive images address the prejudicial themes of cannibalism and idolatry, which—comparable to the knowledge of the *merveilles*—lie outside of 'royal' civilisation. This aura is certified by images that confirm the validity of these values in several historically and geographically distant knowledges. The multiple testimonials to letters and books play a central role; all of the potentates who participate in this aura react in the same ways to the written word and the recipient. Yet good customs, in the sense of courtly modes of behaviour—which also typically includes knightly combat—create commonalities.

The images are designed as a report on knowledge about the historical and spatial dimensions of the figures surrounding the contemporary kingdom. The lack of emotionalisation, which is so striking in comparison with other manuscripts, such as the *Histoire d'Outremer* (Plate 1.1), is programmatic. The rationale of the last images, which lead through the past deeds of the Carolingian kings into the time of the first Valois king and probable commissioner Philipp VI, is supplied in three

previous miniatures: first, Philipp III's succession (Plate 1.10) after Saint Louis, and the substantiation of his holiness by means of the relics of Saint Louis (Plate 1.9), and finally by the miracle of Mary in Saint Michel in Bayeux (fol. 229vb), attested by the translator Jean de Vignay with his own eyes and inserted by him into the chronicle of Primat.<sup>138</sup> This eyewitness testimony is also emphasised at another point, as evidenced by the heading for the report on the two towers in Nien (fol. 105), which were said to be made of gold and silver: "...si comme vous le poez veoir en figure. et aussi si comme vous le porrez entendre et lire ci aprez" ("...so that you may see in the image, and also hear and read"). This knowledge, confirmed through viewing the images, hearing and reading, imparts a sense of superiority over those who do not know, signifying an underlying defamation of the foreigners. It is precisely this emblematic equivalence, which initially does not seem to suggest disparagement at all, that gives rise to one of the strategies that exclude the Others. As we have seen, there are still other forms of subconscious degradation, and these appear primarily in the incorporation or exclusion from heraldic space. The broad perspectives created by the compilation of these texts can also be included in this regard. The volume begins with a representation of Cairo as a place where Alexander's father, Nectanebus, lived, and ends with the battles of David: "Ci finent plusieurs batailles des roys disrael en contre les philistiens et assyriens" (fol. 267vb). This is the East that is associated with the obligation of bringing the East back under Christian reign. The collected manuscript is therefore a manuscript that belongs within the context of Philipp VI's efforts to plan a new crusade.<sup>139</sup> It cannot, however, be understood as a call to battle against the Saracens. Maureen Quigley's ascertainment of the double function of the images—the identification with the future crusade and the simultaneously romanticising encounter with the Other, the Muslim—does in fact play a role. However, the image of the Other is understood as extremely malleable, not as eternally fixed; it serves first and foremost to mirror, strengthen or exclude the Self. The images open up a discourse that, with the aid of foreigners, serves to create an auratic identity for the king, and thus for the king's body politic as well.



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## Notes

1 Tuomas Huttunen et al., eds., *Seeking the Self—Encountering the Other: Diasporic Narrative and the Ethics of Representation* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), especially XI–XXIII.

2 Monika Schausten, *Suche nach Identität: Das ‘Eigene’ und das ‘Andere’ in Romanen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, *Kölner Germanistische Studien* 7 (Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2006), 1–26, has an introduction that offers a good overview of the scholarly debates, particularly with regard to the medieval novel.

3 Wlad Godzich, “The Further Possibility of Knowledge,” foreword to Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi, *Theory and history of literature* 17 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), xiii.

4 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, “Alexander in the Orient: Bodies and Boundaries in the ‘Roman de toute chevalerie,’” in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, *Cambridge studies in medieval literature* 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105–26.

5 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no. 1 (2001): 117.

6 Schausten, *Suche nach Identität*, 87–109.

7 Siobhain Bly Calkin, “Marking Religion on the Body: Saracens, Categorization, and the King of Tars,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 104 (2005): 225ff., provides additional examples and literature.

8 Albrecht Classen, “Confrontation with the Foreign World of the East: Saracen Princesses in Medieval German Narratives,” *Orbis literarum* 53 (1998).

9 Albrecht Classen, “Die Heidin: A Late Medieval Experiment in Cultural Rapprochement Between Christians and Saracens,” *Medieval Encounters* 11 (2005): 67ff.

10 Armelle Leclercq, “La destinée d’un émir turc: Corbaran, personnage historique, personnage épique,” in *Façonner son personnage au Moyen Âge*, Actes du 31<sup>e</sup> colloque du CUER MA, 9–11 mars 2006, ed. Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, *Senefiance*

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## Illustration Credits

Bibliothèque nationale de France: Plate 1.1; Figures 1.1 and 1.2  
British Library Board: Plates 1.2 to 1.10; Figure 1.3

53 (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2007), especially 206–09; see also John Victor Tolan, “Le baptême du roi ‘païen’ dans les épopées de la croisade,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 217, no. 4 (2000).

11 Calkin, “Marking Religion,” especially 226f.; see also Geraldine Heng, “The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages, I: Race Studies, Modernity and the Middle Ages, II: Locations of Medieval Race,” *Literature Compass* 8, no. 5 (2011): especially 317 and 341–43.

12 Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the ‘Chansons de Geste’* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 179–212 on different forms of conversion.

13 Debra Higgs Strickland, “The Sartorial Monsters of Herzog Ernst,” *Different Visions* 2 (2010), <http://differentvisions.org/Issue2PDFs/Strickland.pdf> (accessed on 31 July 2011).

14 See Damien de Carné, “Construction concurrentielle du personnage romanesque: Trois exemples tirés du roman médiéval,” in *Façonner son personnage au Moyen Âge*, Actes du 31<sup>e</sup> colloque du CUER MA, 9–11 mars 2006, ed. Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, *Senefiance* 53 (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2007), especially 87–89, which relates to heroes in novels who work as antithetical mirror images.

15 Cohen, “On Saracen Enjoyment,” 114.

16 Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, especially 257ff.

17 *Ibid.*, 264.

18 *Ibid.*, especially 94ff.; Friedrich Wolfzettel, “Die Entdeckung des ‘Anderen’ aus dem Geist der Kreuzzüge,” in *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten*, Kongressakten des 4. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln aus Anlass des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu, ed. Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner, Veröffentlichungen des Mediävistenverbandes 4 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), particularly 275; Lucy-Anne Hunt, “‘Excommunicata Generatione’: Christian Imagery of Mission and Conversion of the Muslim Other Between the First Crusade and the Early Fourteenth Century,” in *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Lucy-Anne Hunt, vol. 2 (London: Pindar, 2000), especially 302.



- 19 Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment," 116f.; Heng, "The Invention of Race," especially 336–38.
- 20 Wolfzettel, "Entdeckung des 'Anderen,'" especially 282ff., emphasises the importance of the Franciscans for this process in which *curiositas* (the desire for knowledge) and proofs of truth play a major role; Hunt, "Excommunicata Generatione," especially 323ff., in the context of Franciscan missionary activities.
- 21 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 280.
- 22 Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, "Saracens: Opponents to the Body of Christianity," *The Medieval History Journal* 13, no. 1 (2010), provides older literature.
- 23 *Ibid.*, especially 58–60.
- 24 Fanny Caroff, "Différencier, caractériser, avertir: Les armoiries imaginaires attribuées au monde musulman," *Médiévales* 38 (2000).
- 25 Saurma-Jeltsch, "Saracens," especially 83ff.
- 26 Robert Bartlett, "Illustrating Ethnicity in the Middle Ages," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially 133–36.
- 27 *Ibid.*, especially 137; Calkin, "Marking Religion," 225f.
- 28 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *The New Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 201ff.; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), especially 166ff.
- 29 Strickland, "Sartorial Monsters," see also the essay by Joyce Kubiski in this volume, p. 73–87.
- 30 Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers—Illiterati et uxorati: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500*, *Studies in medieval and early renaissance art history* 25 (London: Harvey Miller, 2000), vol. 1, 235–60, vol. 2, 202–06 (Appendix 1A).
- 31 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 244f.
- 32 On the preparations for Philipp VI's crusade, see Maureen Quigley, "Romantic Geography and the Crusades: British Library Royal ms. 19 D I," *Peregrinations* 2, no. 3 (2009) 55ff., [http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol2\\_3/current/fa3.pdf](http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol2_3/current/fa3.pdf) (accessed on 31 July 2011).
- 33 *Ibid.*, 56f. and n. 14 for additional literature.
- 34 Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 163ff. on the close relationship between Paris and Acre in the latter city's last years and the effect of the works created there on Parisian illumination.
- 35 London, The British Library: Ms. Royal 19 D I (hereafter: Royal 19 D I). See George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London: British Museum, 1921), vol. 2, 339–41; David J. A. Ross, "Methods of Book Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany (London, B.M., MS. Royal 19.D.I.)," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952); Consuelo Wager Dutschke, "Francesco Pipino and the Manuscripts of Marco Polo's 'Travels'" (PhD diss., University of California, 1993), 338–46; Dutschke, "The Truth in the Book: The Marco Polo Texts in Royal 19.D.I and Bodley 264," *Scriptorium* 52 (1998); Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 244–47 and vol. 2, 204; Quigley, "Romantic Geography," 57–76.
- 36 Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 339.
- 37 Royal 19 D I, fol. 1, fol. 1a–46b; Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 339; Christine Ferlampin-Acher, ed., *Le Roman d'Alexandre en prose du manuscrit Royal 15 E VI de la British Library*, with the collaboration of Yoriko Otaka (Osaka: C. Rech. Intercult. Univ. Otemae, 2003).
- 38 Royal 19 D I, fol. 47a–57b; Jehan le Nevelon, *La Venjance Alixandre*, ed. Edward Billings Ham, *Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures* 27 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1931, repr., New York: Kraus Reprints, 1965), now also available online, [http://www.arlima.net/il/jean\\_le\\_nevelon.html](http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_le_nevelon.html) (accessed on 1 May 2011).
- 39 Royal 19 D I, fol. 58b–135b.
- 40 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 245f.; Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), XVII.
- 41 Royal 19 D I, fol. 136a–148va. This translation of Odorico da Pordenone's *Itinerarum* represents one of two versions handed down over time, both of which may have been commissioned by Philipp VI. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 211; Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 339.
- 42 Royal 19 D I, fol. 148v–165v; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 247.
- 43 Royal 19 D I, fol. 165vb–192vb; "Directorium ad passagium faciendum," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens II: Documents latins et français relatifs à d'Arménie* (Paris: Impr. Royale, 1906), 368–517. On the debates about the author, see Felicitas Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden: Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters* 16 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 117 and n. 211. Quigley, "Romantic Geography," 58f., provides a completely different argument that tends toward William Adam as the author. See also Schmieder's contribution in this volume, p. 151–56.
- 44 Royal 19 D I, fol. 192vb–251vb.
- 45 Natalis de Wailly, "Chronique de Primat traduite par Jean de Vignay," in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Dom Bouquet (Paris: Libraires Associés, 1876), vol. 23, 5.
- 46 Royal 19 D I, fol. 252a–267vb; see Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, 340.
- 47 Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 178ff.; Spiegel, "The Textualization of the Past in Thirteenth-Century French Historical Writing," in *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500*, eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010).
- 48 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter: BnF): ms. fr. 22495; Jaroslav Folda, "The Illustrations in Manuscripts of



- the 'History of Outremer' by William of Tyre" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1968), vol. 2, 176–200; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 216, 253 and vol. 2, 199, 205f.; Svetlana Luchitskaya, "Muslims in Christian Imagery of the Thirteenth Century: The Visual Code of Otherness," in *Al-Masaq* 12 (2000): 39ff., Figures I–II, V, VI, VII, VIII; Caroff, "Différencier," 139 passim.
- 49 Paris, BnF: ms. fr. 241; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 236 passim.
- 50 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 243ff.
- 51 Paul Henry Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 265f.; Joyce Coleman, "Reading the Evidence in Text and Image: How Joyce Was Read in Late Medieval France," in *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500*, eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 53–55.
- 52 Spiegel, *Past as Text*, 180ff.
- 53 For the literary circles at the French court, see Anne D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's 'De casibus'* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 5f.; Keith Busby, "Vernacular Literature and the Writing of History in Medieval Francophonia," in *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500*, eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 35f.; Coleman, "Reading the Evidence."
- 54 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 2, 199 note two scribes, Richard de Montbaston and the Fauvel master working quire by quire.
- 55 Livre 12, chap. 10; Paulin Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: Texte français du 13e siècle*, Histoire général des Croisades par les auteurs contemporains, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1879–80), vol. 1, 447f.
- 56 In the rubric fol. 105a, the opponents are identified as "turquemain."
- 57 Fanny Caroff, "Laideur, monstruosité et altérité physique dans les chroniques illustrées des croisades," in *Monstre et imaginaire social: Approches historiques*, ed. Anna Caiozzo and Anne-Emmanuelle Demartini (Paris: Créaphis, 2008), 39.
- 58 Caroff, "Différencier," 140.
- 59 David Nicolle and Christa Hook, *Saracen Faris, AD 1050–1250*, Warrior 10 (Colchester: Osprey Publishing, 1994), plates 6 and 9.
- 60 For reproductions, see *L'Orient de Saladin: L'art des Ayyoubides*, exh. cat. Paris 2001/02, ed. Sophie Makariou and Eric Delpont (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 69; H. Russell Robinson, *Oriental Armour* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002), 11.
- 61 In the following images (fol. 106v, 109v) depicting Christian victorious battles, there are no longer any ambivalent allusions to the Christian side.
- 62 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 244; Dutschke, "Francesco Pipino," no. 51, 338–46.
- 63 Chap. 81; Marco Polo, *Le devisement du monde*, ed. Philippe Ménard (Geneva: Droz, 2001–2009), vol. 3, 68f.
- 64 See also Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Remède de Fortune*, Paris, BnF: ms. fr. 1586, fol. 55; for a reproduction, see Marie-Thérèse Gousset, *Enluminures médiévales: Mémoires et merveilles de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2005), 144.
- 65 *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 11, s.v. "Rothaarig" (by Rolf Wilhelm Brednich), 850–54.
- 66 There may be an equivalency between blonde and golden in the many golden helmets, above all those of the contemporary nobility; see fol. 202, 213, 216; fol. 227 also has the same colour for the crown and the golden fleur-de-lys.
- 67 Chap. 79; Marco Polo, *Devisement du monde*, vol. 3, 64f.
- 68 The stoning of Saint Stephen (Paris, BnF: ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251, fol. 76) embodies a similarly antagonistic concept; see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, California Studies in the history of art 32 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), vol. 2, fig. 1.12.
- 69 Royal 19 D I, fol. 4v, 13v, 41v, 86, 88.
- 70 Royal 19 D I, fol. 7, 40v, 97.
- 71 Royal 19 D I, fol. 3, 14, 25, 34.
- 72 Royal 19 D I, fol. 1v, 7v, 16v, 18, 18v etc.
- 73 Chap. 157; Marco Polo, *Devisement du monde*, vol. 6, 1–3.
- 74 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 250 rightly emphasise here that Jeanne typically produced her illustrations based on brief sketches in the margins.
- 75 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 26, 27v, 28, 29, 31 etc.; on general knowledge about the marvels of the East, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 25.
- 76 Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 157ff.
- 77 *Ibid.*, fig. 118.
- 78 Antonio Garcia Espada, "Marco Polo, Odorico of Pordenone, the Crusades, and the Role of the Vernacular in the First Descriptions of the Indies," *Viator* 40, no. 1 (2009): 203; the cynocephali in the Berlin Alexander manuscript are similarly depicted as naked animal-men; see *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500*, exh. cat. J. Paul Getty Museum 2010/11, eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), cat. no. 8b, fig. on p. 116.
- 79 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 26a: Alexander and the dragon are portrayed as unemotional, similar to the animals in the *Bestiaire d'amour*, which Richard de Montbaston illuminated; Paris, BnF: ms. fr. 15213, fol. 60: the attacking wolf; for a reproduction, see Mandragore, <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html> (accessed on 1 May 2011).
- 80 Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 28f.
- 81 Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 193f., see also for accusations of cannibalism lodged by Muslims against the Tartars; see Benjamin Isaac, "Racism: A Rationalization of Prejudice in Greece and Rome," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 47 on accusations of cannibalism levied at Jews in Alexandrian sources.
- 82 On cannibalism as a strategy of exclusion, see Louis-Vincent Thomas, "Cannibalisme sauvage et cannibalisme occidental," in



- En marge: L'Occident et ses 'autres'*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1978), 70f.
- 83 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 76; see Saurma-Jeltsch, "Saracens," fig. 10 and pp. 84–86.
- 84 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 78v; see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge new art history and criticism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, reprint), fig. 82.
- 85 Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 152–56.
- 86 Chap. 69; Marco Polo, *Devisement du monde*, vol. 2, 32–36.
- 87 Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, fig. 217; see also David Nicolle and Christa Hook, *Knight of Outremer, 1187–1344 AD* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1996), plate E.
- 88 Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 153.
- 89 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 81v.
- 90 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 81: "Ci dit le lxxiiiij chapitre de la cite de ciandu et des merveilles."
- 91 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 85 (Plate 1.3), fol. 65 (Plate 1.8).
- 92 Both of these prejudices have a long and connected tradition; see Debra Higgs Strickland, "Artists, Audience and Ambivalence in Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde*," *Viator* 36 (2005): 508.
- 93 Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 138–40.
- 94 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 27v–31.
- 95 On the different options for differentiation, see Bartlett, "Illustrating Ethnicity," 137, especially on the use of hairstyle as a marker of difference.
- 96 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 4v.
- 97 Paris, BnF: ms. fr. 241: *Legende dorée* in the translation by Jean de Vignay; Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Context and Reception: A Crusading Collection of Charles IV of France," in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness*, selected papers from the eleventh triennial congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July–4 August 2004, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Cambridge, MA: Brewer, 2006); Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 236 and vol. 2, 188f. and 205.
- 98 Caroff, "Laideur," 36f.; Heng, "Invention of Race," 341ff.
- 99 Chap. 26; Marco Polo, *Devisement du monde*, vol. 1, 145f.
- 100 Folda, "Illustrations," vol. 1, 261 dates the manuscript to 1364–70; because Richard de Montbaston may very well have been responsible for this representation and died in 1353, the mainwork must have been done in the 1350s; see Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 236, vol. 2, 206. Caroff, "Laideur," 35f. dates to 1350–75. Fanny Caroff's conclusion that the different illustrations of Saracens on fol. 57 (Jeanne) and fol. 62v (Richard de Montbaston) are linked exclusively to the temperaments of both artists is not quite right. In fact, Richard de Montbaston tended toward stronger caricatures in his works, while Jeanne knew how to use other methods to represent differences in the valences of the figures.
- 101 On the use of contrast as a heraldic design element, see Caroff, "Différencier," 145f.
- 102 Livre 19, chap. 18; Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr*, vol. 2, 278–80.
- 103 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 189v.
- 104 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 103, 189v.
- 105 Luchitskaya, "Muslims in Christian Imagery," 48; Caroff, "Différencier," 141.
- 106 Royal 19 D 1, fol. 227.
- 107 On azure ground with golden fleur-de-lys as a royal coat-of-arms, see Michel Pastoureau, *Les emblèmes de la France* (Paris: Bonneton, 1998), 124–31; see also Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Age occidental* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 2004), 100–104. On the crescent and on Western hegemony in heraldry, see Pastoureau, *Histoire symbolique*, 260 and n. 26.
- 108 Caroff, "Différencier," 141f.
- 109 Saurma-Jeltsch, "Saracens," fig. 2.
- 110 There is a precise differentiation between the crusaders and the Byzantines; only the deputy of the Great Khan wears the blue ground with a golden star, fol. 84. On the star as a general symbol for the Orient, see Caroff, "Différencier," 141f.
- 111 Michel Pastoureau, *Noir: Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 2008), 39–54.
- 112 Luchitskaya, "Muslims in Christian Imagery," 46f.
- 113 Wailly, "Chronique de Primat," 5.
- 114 Royal 19 D I, fol. 202, 216, 233, 227.
- 115 The text reports the transportation of the heart and entrails to the court of Charles of Anjou in Sicily. Wailly, "Chronique de Primat," chap. 46, 68f.
- 116 *Ibid.*, chap. 47, 69–72.
- 117 Unusually, the archbishop is only holding a short staff in his hand; the rest was probably painted over.
- 118 Because this heightens the effect of the puppet-like figure, this raises the question of whether this figure wearing the insignia is meant to point to the use of effigies. Adolf Reinle, *Das stellvertretende Bildnis* (Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1984), 190–203.
- 119 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 250 cite 124 preliminary sketches for 164 miniatures and another eight possible erasure marks. This very summary information, as the Rouses believe, is only meant to be comprehensible to someone familiar with this code. Nevertheless, there is nothing to say that the sketches for particular parts of the text, which are not immediately adjacent to the rubric or are not connected to it, are not notes recommended by an advisor or commissioner; see also Ross, "Methods of Book Production," 66f.
- 120 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 2, figs. 149–51.
- 121 Anja Rathmann-Lutz, *Images Ludwigs des Heiligen im Kontext dynastischer Konflikte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Orbis mediaevalis* 12 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2010), figs. 6g and 28e.
- 122 I would like to thank Dr. Gerald Schwedler, Zurich, for his suggestions—helpful as always—on interpreting this image. A similar reception of Saint Denis by the Bishop of Paris was presented to Henry VI in 1431. The sword and parts of the regalia are presented by his followers; see Bernard Guenée, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, *Sources d'histoire médiévale* 5 (Paris: Édition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968), 62–70, especially 63. It is unclear whether the image depends so much on *adventus* images that the Archbishop of Monreale is not presented with a croisier; instead—and the gesture seems to indicate this—he is holding an aspergillum, and the obligatory deacon, who holds the stoup of holy water, was left out; see Guenée, *Entrées royales*, 85.



- 123 Royal 19 D I, fol. 83b, 103b.
- 124 Royal 19 D I, fol. 12a.
- 125 Royal 19 D I, fol. 37; also fol. 40vb; fol. 16va already provides this background for Darius and fol. 58 for the Pope.
- 126 Royal 19 D I, fol. 165vb.
- 127 Jean de Vignay also appears as author and dedicatior in the opening image to his translation of Oderico da Pordenone's text at fol. 136.
- 128 Royal 19 D I, fol. 6b: taming of Bucephalus; fol. 31a: Alexander meets the beast in fire in a representation conceived of as the entrance to hell; fol. 38va: Alexander fights Cyclops; fol. 39vb: Alexander fights dragons.
- 129 Royal 19 D I, fol. 10v: the construction of Alexandria; fol. 18a: Alexander encounters his mother; fol. 20va: Alexander buries Darius; fol. 33a: Alexander promises to help Candace.
- 130 Royal 19 D I, fol. 18a, 22va.
- 131 Quigley, "Romantic Geography," 65f. and fig. 1.
- 132 Royal 19 D I, fol. 193b.
- 133 Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 152.
- 134 Quigley, "Romantic Geography," 74.
- 135 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 245f.
- 136 Ross, "Methods of Book Production," 64; see also Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 152.
- 137 Concerning the need for the first Valois, especially Philipp VI, to legitimate their rule and the importance of Saint Louis' sainthood in this context, see Rathmann-Lutz, *Images Ludwigs des Heiligen*, 168ff.
- 138 *Ibid.*, 181.
- 139 *Ibid.*, 170.