

# **Fifteenth-Century Burgundy and the Islamic East**

**Darren M. Smith**

**2016**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Diploma of Arts (Hons) in History, University of Sydney**



## Acknowledgements

I was fortunate to have had two supervisors across my project, albeit each for half a year. First was Dr John Gagné, for whose enthusiasm, ever-inspiring lectures, creativity, and encouragement to look deeper I am most grateful. Second was Dr H el ene Sirantoine, whose classes on medieval Iberia and Mediterranean first introduced me to the possibilities of cross-cultural perspectives on the Middle Ages. Her guidance in navigating Christian–Muslim relations in the Middle Ages was valuable, as was her enthusiasm for the topic.

I acknowledge the assistance of Associate Professor David J. Wisley (American University of Beirut) for his advice on accessing a dissertation by Yvon Lacaze relating to one of my sources, as well as his own contributions to the field this thesis covers. I also acknowledge Dr Andrew Brown (Massey University, New Zealand) for forwarding his article on Castilians in Bruges, as well as Noel Geirhardt (Head Archivist, City of Bruges and curator of the Adorno Family Estate in Bruges) for his assistance accessing a source. Many thanks too to Dr Julie Smith (University of Sydney) for her valuable feedback on my thesis prospectus.

One of the challenges of working in a non-anglophone historical context, and dealing with non-anglophone sources and scholarship, is accessing primary and secondary material, much of which is located in the northern hemisphere. I want to give special mention to Aleksandra Nikolic, Tam Dao, and others in Fisher Library team who helped track down materials outside the library’s own collection and overseas.

My Latin translations in this thesis would not be possible without six years of friendship and regular fortnightly Latin reading with John Dryden (not the seventeenth-century poet, but another Dryden gifted with words): *gratias tibi ago*.

To friends and associates who have been there along the way: Sally Walker, Stella Wynn, Louise Smith, Athena Pythagoras (for her wisdom, encouragement, and cats), Luca Torelli, Youakim Moubarak, Julie Nyland, Jane Bradfield, Ehab el-Fazei, Quentin Jones, and James Houseton. Also, gratitude to Hawa Arya-Armstrong and Betty Kotevski — my fellow Macquarie University alumni/comrades — for those conversations that helped sow the seeds of dreams that materialise today.

Most of all, to my parents, Alfred and Elaine. Without their support, encouragement, and nurturing of my interest in history none of this would be possible.

# Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	4
<b>Chapter 1: From crusade to curiosity: Burgundian travellers in the Islamic East</b>	13
<b>Chapter 2: Interfaith polemic amidst shifting frontiers: Jean Germain and Islam</b>	38
<b>Chapter 3: Worldly goods and ambiguous identities: commerce, art, and courtly love</b>	59
<b>Conclusion</b>	81
<b>Appendix: Illustrations</b>	87
<b>Sources &amp; Bibliography</b>	134

**Note: All translations from French, Latin, and Middle French contained in this thesis are my own.**

## Introduction

A manuscript commissioned by duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (1396–1467) and prepared by his secretary, Jean Miélot, in 1456, features a miniature that depicts a figure kneeling before the duke and presenting him with a book amidst a town siege (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Book presentation scenes like these are ubiquitous in the iconographical program of medieval manuscripts, especially in a gift-oriented court such as fifteenth-century Burgundy.<sup>2</sup> This particular scene is curious because the figure kneeling before the duke is dressed in Ottoman attire and bears a scimitar. The figure is Bertrandon de la Broquière and he has just returned from a journey to the Holy Land, travelling back to Burgundy through Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans. This illumination appears on a full folio just before the copy of Bertrandon's travel account. The identity of the book he is presenting is not entirely clear. Consistent with illumination *topoi*, the book is the text that is to follow (in this case, the travel account). Yet, in Bertrandon's account of this scene, the book presented is altogether different. He wrote that he entrusted to the duke all his Ottoman clothing, 'together with the Qur'an and the deeds of Muhammad'.<sup>3</sup> If we consider this image through Bertrandon's account, the book presented to the duke was the Qur'an.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Advis directif pour faire le passage d'outre mer* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 9087), fol. 152v. A full presentation and further analysis of this manuscript will be developed in Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994), p. 102. For the Burgundian context, see: Andreea Mocan, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), pp. 3 and 71.

<sup>3</sup> '... je alay devers mondit seigneur le duc, lequel je treuvay en l'abbaye de Potieres et ses gens estoient au siege, et de sa grace me fist tresbonne chiere et vins devant luy en tout tel estat que j'estoye party de Damas et lui menay mon cheval que j'avoye acheté et lui baillay tous mes habillemens, ensamble l'Alkoran et les fais de Mahomet que le chappellain du consul des Venissiens à Damas m'avoit baillés par excript en latin ... lequel mondit seigneur bailla à maistre Jean Germain, docteur en theologie': Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de La Broquière, premier écuyer tranchant et conseiller de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne*, ed., Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), pp. 260–61. [All translations of this Middle French text are my own.]

This moment of exchange, captured in illumination, is the starting point of this investigation. It represents a key point of contact between two worlds — one of the fifteenth century's most powerful states in the Latin West, the duchy of Burgundy, and the Islamic East, specifically the Ottomans. This identity of the book is perhaps less important than the questions it prompts. What was the nature and scope of Burgundian contact with the Islamic world? How did Burgundians conceptualise the Islamic East? What were their frames of reference and how were they shaped by contemporaneous events, including further Ottoman penetration into eastern Europe and the fall of Constantinople? There exists an extensive corpus of scholarship regarding medieval Christian views of Islam since Richard Southern's *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (1962), yet a fifteenth-century Burgundian perspective has remained largely absent.<sup>4</sup> This present study addresses this by embedding an analysis of that Burgundian experience within this academic field.

We shall focus specifically on the period 1420 to 1480, a Burgundy ruled by Philip the Good and his son, Charles the Bold (1433–1477). Jacques Paviot has made a valuable contribution to these questions, laying the foundation with his recent work on Burgundy's relationship with the Orient under these two dukes.<sup>5</sup> This present work extends Paviot's study by looking beyond the dukes to examine Burgundian travellers to the Islamic world and polemic writing on Islam by leading figure Jean Germain, as well as Burgundy's commercial, visual, and book cultures. Scholarship on Christian views of Islam in the Middle Ages tends to focus on these fields in isolation, whether religious polemics, art history, travel accounts, or manuscript studies. The historical reality was less clearly defined, with multiple threads

---

<sup>4</sup> Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962). Other key works in the field include: Norman Daniel, *Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London: Longman, 1979); Norman Daniel, *Islam in the West: The Making of an Image* (Oxford: OneWorld, 1993); John V. Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2000); John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); David Thomas, ed., *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Jacques Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la Croisade et l'Orient (fin XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle – XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 2003).

often coming together in particular people or works. Anselm Adorno, who we shall discuss, was traveller to the Islamic east, art patron, mercantilist, civic office-holder, and ducal envoy to Persia. My goal is to present a multi-faceted, more complete examination so we might understand how these threads intersect in Burgundy's view of the Islamic world.

This approach is reflected in the sources considered. While these will be formally presented within relevant chapters, a preliminary summary is useful. For eyewitness accounts of the Islamic world, we will look at the travel accounts of Guillebert de Lannoy, Bertrandon de Broquière, and Anselm Adorno, as well as Jean de Wavrin's chronicle account of a campaign against the Ottomans. We will examine Jean Germain's polemical writing on Islam: *Discours du voyage d'outremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII* (1452), his *Mappemonde Spirituelle* (1449), and the *Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin* (1451). The third chapter draws on paintings by Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling, as well as a 1464 manuscript copy of the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*.

It might be asked why the relationship of this duchy in particular, a vassal of the French Crown, to the Islamic world might be relevant. Burgundy was considered among the most eminent and powerful courts of the fifteenth-century West in political, economic, and cultural terms.<sup>6</sup> Burgundy's role in responding to the Ottoman advance into eastern Europe and the fall of Constantinople, a period often classified as the 'last crusades' or 'the late crusades', directed its gaze eastward. Nineteenth-century orientalist and historian of France and the Orient, Charles Schefer, wrote of Philip that 'no other Christian prince ... played a more active and preponderant role in the Orient'.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Bertrand Schnerb, 'Burgundy' in Christopher Allmand, *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 436–37 and 444. Bertrand Schnerb is a leading Francophone historian of the duchy of Burgundy: see also Bertrand Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon, 1363–1477* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> 'Aucun prince chrétien n'a, plus que le duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon, joué en Orient un rôle actif et prépondérant': Charles Schaffer in his introduction to his publication of Jean Germain's 1452 speech to Charles VII of France: see Jean Germain (Charles Schefer, ed.), 'Le discours du voyage d'outremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII, prononcé en 1452 par Jean Germain', *Revue d'Orient Latin* III (1895), p. 303. [Translation from

### **Fifteenth-century Burgundy: expansion and crusade**

To understand how Burgundy became one of the key promoters of crusade, we need to explore the duchy's evolution in the fifteenth-century Latin world. Valois Burgundy had its origins in the 1360s, when John II of France (1319–1364) created ducal apanages for his three younger sons, granting Burgundy to Philip the Bold (1342–1404). By the early 1400s, France seemed to be 'on the brink of disintegration', with the three dukes trumping the French Crown through their own determined efforts at asserting ducal power.<sup>8</sup> Richard Vaughan notes that Philip the Bold 'was pre-eminent among those who busied themselves with the dismantling of the French state' through both obtaining real power and the resources to achieve his political vision.<sup>9</sup> The duchy emerged as a powerful, quasi-independent state on the European scene.<sup>10</sup> Such power and wealth was augmented through Philip's marriage in 1369 to the countess of Flanders, Margaret Dampierre, and the incorporation of Flanders, with its successful mercantile cities, into Burgundy. When John the Fearless (1371–1419) inherited his father's duchy in 1404, he also inherited Flanders. Burgundian expansion north into the Low Countries continued under Philip the Good, who Vaughan titles 'the apogee of Burgundy'.<sup>11</sup> Succeeding in 1467, Charles the Bold would continue Burgundian expansion, including Alsace and Guelders, and even aspired to revive the old Burgundian kingdom. His ambitions brought him inglorious death at the Battle of Nancy (1477). It signalled both an end and a beginning, as his daughter, Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482) married Maximilian of Austria, laying the foundations for Habsburg supremacy.

---

French is my own.] Apart from works on Franco-Ottoman relations in the early modern era and French oriental studies, Schefer reproduced several texts from the Burgundian court in print.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London: The Boydell Press, 2002), p. 58. This text was first published in 1962, and Vaughan's biographies of the Burgundian dukes remain the authoritative anglophone texts.

<sup>9</sup> Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>10</sup> Bertrand Schnerb, 'Burgundy', pp. 436–37.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1970).



Much of Burgundy's ability to assert and develop its independence was due to the weakness of the French Crown in the face of its ongoing war with England, namely, the Hundred Years War, as well as a civil war between factions at the French court. It was in the course of this factional conflict between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians that John the Fearless was assassinated in 1419. The Burgundians had also been involved in the Anglo-French war, initially in aid of the French Crown, before entering into negotiations with Henry V of England in 1419–20. By the 1440s the Burgundians had pulled away from the Anglo-French conflict to focus on other projects.<sup>12</sup> One such project was the pursuit of a crusade against the Ottomans.

As Paviot notes, the key role played by the Burgundian dukes in the late crusades has been well established.<sup>13</sup> The Battle of Nicopolis (1396), an unsuccessful Franco–Burgundian-led campaign to regain Nicopolis from the Ottomans and that saw John the Fearless taken captive by the sultan's forces, marks an important starting point for Burgundian interests in crusades, and the Islamic East generally.<sup>14</sup> Crusading did not form a key pursuit prior to Nicopolis, under either Philip the Bold or John the Fearless (excepting Nicopolis itself).<sup>15</sup> It was under Philip the Good that crusade became a core Burgundian project. Philip's active interest in crusade put him on the European stage, yet the project would never come to fruition. When Philip inherited the duchy in 1419, the Ottomans had renewed their advance into the Balkans.<sup>16</sup> Paviot divides Burgundy's crusade involvement into two periods. The first (1420–49) he characterises as 'a private affair anchored in reality'.<sup>17</sup> During this period, Philip supported efforts against the heretic Hussites, financed numerous expeditions to the

---

<sup>12</sup> Schnerb, 'Burgundy', p. 439.

<sup>13</sup> Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Hilmi Kaçar and Jan Dumolyn, 'The Battle of Nicopolis (1396), Burgundian Catastrophe and Ottoman Fait Divers', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 91, no. 4 (2013), p. 915.

<sup>15</sup> Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>16</sup> Colin Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–45* (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 4–5; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580 — From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 83.

<sup>17</sup> 'une première période dans laquelle la croisade apparaît une affaire privée et ancrée dans la réalité': Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 63.

Levant (two of which we shall discuss later), funded fortifications at the crusader stronghold, Rhodes, and began construction of a Burgundian naval fleet for the Mediterranean.<sup>18</sup> This culminated in Battle of Varna (1444), which delivered victory to the Ottomans and paved the way for further Balkan expansion.

During the second period (1451–65), Philip assumed centre stage in Europe as the chief secular proponent of crusade. Here, writes Paviot, ‘crusade appeared as a public affair and anchored in the imaginary’.<sup>19</sup> Crucial in this period is the fall of Constantinople to sultan Mehmed II in 1453. The following year Philip held the famous Feast of the Pheasant, a banquet designed to enlist support for crusade from Burgundian nobles in the form of an official vow. Court musician, Guillaume Dufay (1397–1474), wrote his *Lamentatio sacrae matris ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Lamentation of the Holy Mother Church of Constantinople) for the event.<sup>20</sup> Festivities included performance of a mock scene of Constantinople’s fate, with a woman personifying the Church of Constantinople and assailed by a giant Saracen riding an elephant calling upon the knights of the Golden Fleece to come to her assistance.<sup>21</sup> It is this kind of public display of crusade intentions that Paviot suggests was ‘anchored in the imaginary’. Also in this period, Philip sent envoys to other leading European courts enlisting their military, political, and economic commitment to crusade.<sup>22</sup> Charles did not share his father’s enthusiasm for crusade, being more concerned with extending his power within Europe. Despite the fall of Trebizond (1461) and Kaffa (1475) to

---

<sup>18</sup> Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, pp. 65–66. For Philip’s naval ambitions, see Jacques Paviot, *La politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne : 1384-1482* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> ‘une seconde période dans laquelle la croisade apparaît une affaire publique et ancrée dans l’imaginaire’: Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of Dufay’s *Lamentatio* in the context of other Burgundian cultural productions responding to the fall of the city, see: Rima Devereaux, ‘Reconstructing Byzantine Constantinople: Intercession and Illumination at the Court of Philippe le Bon’, *French Studies* 59, no. 3, pp. 297–310.

<sup>21</sup> The events are recorded by chronicler Olivier de la Marche (including each knight’s vow): see Olivier de la Marche, *Les Memoires de Messire Olivier de la Marche* (Lovain: Everaerd De Witte, 1645), pp. 411–48.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, a letter from Milanese ambassador in Burgundy, Raimondi de Marliano, to the duke of Milan on 18 February 1455 discussing Burgundian overtures to Milan, Aragon, and Savoy: published in Paul M. Kendall and Vincent Hardi, trans., *Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450–1482* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1970), pp. 155–58.

the Ottomans, both important Christian strongholds on the Black Sea, Charles's crusade policy is best described as inaction.<sup>23</sup> Charles did send envoys to the Persian court to negotiate a possible alliance against the Turks, but the duke's death at Nancy dashed this possibility.<sup>24</sup>

### **Burgundy's historiographical context**

As an important protagonist in fifteenth-century Europe, Burgundy has attracted significant scholarly attention. Cultural historian Johan Huizinga's study of late medieval cultural life, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919), has long shaped the writing of Burgundy's history. Indeed, the work began under the title *The Century of Burgundy*, until Huizinga expanded its geographic focus.<sup>25</sup> As a result, Burgundy has been framed within Huizinga's narrative of medieval decline, as much as Italy of the same period was framed as the birth of a new society by cultural historian Jakob Burckhardt. As Peter Arnaud writes, Huizinga's Burgundy 'glittered with a gilded nothingness, trapped in a web of atrophied ideas and symbols of a bygone medieval era'.<sup>26</sup> Certainly, events like the Feast of the Pheasant and Philip's unrealised crusade exemplified such a 'dream', the former of which Huizinga described as 'the last manifestation of a dying usage, which has become a fantastic ornament, after having been a very serious element of earlier civilization'.<sup>27</sup> Yet, subsequent work by historians in subjects from chivalry to musicology, devotion to visual arts, have modified Huizinga's assessment, including two recent historians who have sought to reposition fifteenth-century Burgundy in a broader international context.

---

<sup>23</sup> Richard J. Walsh, 'Charles the Bold and the Crusade: Politics and Propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), pp. 53–54. Walsh remains the authority on Burgundian crusade under Charles.

<sup>24</sup> This embassy is discussed in Yvon Lacaze, *Perse et Bourgogne dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions A. Pedone, 1972).

<sup>25</sup> Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, 'The New Huizinga and the Old Middle Ages', *Speculum* 74, no. 3 (July 1999), p. 605.

<sup>26</sup> Peter J. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans., F. Hopman (London: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 89.

Perhaps more than any other historian, Jacques Paviot has comprehensively built a corpus of work to position Burgundy within a broader geography. Most relevant to our present concerns is *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient* (2003), in which Paviot provides a comprehensive account of the Burgundian crusade project. Other works include *La Politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne* (1995), *Portugal et Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1995), and *Bruges, 1300-1500* (2002).<sup>28</sup> Paviot's writing on Burgundy reflects a distinct focus on the duchy's connections to the Mediterranean world.

In her seminal work, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (2002), Marina Belozerskaya seeks both to establish Burgundy's central place within the Renaissance and to position the dukes in a larger international arena.<sup>29</sup> Belozerskaya criticises the tendency to see fifteenth-century art and culture largely through the Italian experience.<sup>30</sup> She argues that the fifteenth-century Burgundian court 'played a vital role in pan-European affairs and exercised a formative influence on the elites and their art patronage'.<sup>31</sup> Belozerskaya then proceeds with an extensive examination of Burgundy's material and artistic culture, and its influence across Europe.

Burgundy's place in historiography is shifting from its Huizinga moorings to a broader historiographical landscape. This present study builds on the work of Paviot and Belozerskaya by similarly positioning Burgundy in a broader geography, specifically

---

<sup>28</sup> Jacques Paviot, *Portugal et Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1384-1482: recueil de documents extraits des archives bourguignonnes* (Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995); Jacques Paviot, *Bruges, 1300-1500* (Paris: Autrement, 2002). Jacques Paviot, *Les projets de croisade : géostratégie et diplomatie européenne du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2014). Jacques Paviot, 'Angleterre et Bourgogne: deux voies pour la croisade aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles?', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes* 35, no. 1 (1995), pp. 27-35; Jacques Paviot, 'La vie de Jan van Eyck selon les documents écrits', *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain*, no. 23 (1990), pp. 83-93; Jacques Paviot, *The Sitter for Jan van Eyck's 'Leal sovvenir'* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). We shall return to this argument in Chapter 3.

<sup>30</sup> Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, p. 45. There is recent scholarship on the cultural exchange between Burgundy and Italy: Alexander-Skipnes, Ingrid, ed., *Cultural Exchange Between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

exploring its relationship with the Islamic East. While this too is considered by Paviot, his assessment is restricted to his terms of reference — crusade. This will continue to form an important context for this present study, but we will also consider Burgundian engagement from additional contexts such as ethnography, religious polemic, commerce, painting, and *romance*.

## Structure

Chapter 1 examines the experiences and accounts of four Burgundian travellers to the Islamic world. We consider how these travellers perceived, and wrote about, the Islamic East, and what this might say about a Burgundian view of this world. To-date, this cluster of Burgundian travellers has received marginal attention.

Another Burgundian to write extensively about Islam was bishop, chancellor, and theologian, Jean Germain, the focus of Chapter 2. As well as representing Philip the Good at key church councils where the prospects of crusade and approach to Islam topped the agenda, Germain wrote several works on the topic, including a fictional debate between a Christian and a Muslim. While Germain's associates Juan de Segovia, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and Nicholas de Cusa receive extensive scholarly attention, Germain's works have remained unattended.

Finally, in Chapter 3, we turn to consider what are among the most important features of Valois Burgundy — its commercial life, artistic culture, and manuscript production. The chapter begins by tracing Burgundy's commercial connection to Islamic trade centres via its northern cities such as Bruges. We will see how one luxury import from the Islamic world began to appear in paintings by Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling. Then we shall look at the illumination program and narrative of the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, where Christian-Muslim identities become ambiguous and ambivalent.

## Chapter 1

### From crusade to curiosity: Burgundian travellers in the Islamic East

One way we can approach the Burgundian attitude toward the Islamic East is through the experiences of Burgundians who journeyed there. Burgundy's interest in crusade, together with the growing Ottoman menace, prompted a Burgundian presence in the region. John the Fearless himself spent time at the Ottoman court, albeit as a prisoner. Accounts were produced by several important Burgundians who not only travelled to the Islamic East, but did so under the auspices of either Philip the Good or Charles the Bold. These travellers reflect the myriad contact points Burgundy had with this world. In this chapter, we examine four such accounts, each reflecting a different category of person: the diplomat, Guillebert de Lannoy (1386–1462); the pilgrim and spy, Bertrandon de la Broquière (1400–1459); the knight, Waleran de Wavrin; and Brugeois burgher and merchant, Anselm Adorno (1424–1483). These accounts reflect the varied avenues for Burgundian presence in the East: diplomatic, pilgrimage, military, and commercial. Through an examination and comparison of these accounts, we shall understand how Burgundians who visited the Islamic world experienced and represented that world.

We could also consider the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, a fictional prose *romance* produced at the Burgundian court about a knight who travels to Egypt.<sup>32</sup> In the medieval context, the line between a text's identity as 'travel writing' versus fictional genres such as the chivalric quest or tales of *mirabilia* are not as fine as we might imagine.<sup>33</sup> Some

---

<sup>32</sup> A full presentation of this work is set out in Chapter 3.

<sup>33</sup> Anthony Bale, 'European Travel Writing in the Middle Ages' in Carl Thompson, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 152; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 39; J. K. Hyde, 'Real and Imaginary Journeys in the Later Middle Ages', *Bulletin of the*

of the accounts we are about to discuss certainly have elements of chivalric quest. Still, what unites these travellers (and is of interest to our present purpose) is their *eyewitness* experience of the Islamic world. We shall return to *Gillion* in Chapter 3.

To-date, these four accounts have received limited scholarly attention. The recent *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550* (2004), for example, makes no reference to these travel accounts.<sup>34</sup> Yet, this is despite the fifteenth century representing a shift in the way Christian travellers accounted for the non-Christian (especially Islamic) world.<sup>35</sup> This present study addresses this absence. We commence this chapter with an individual analysis of each account, unpacking their representations of the Islamic East, before examining their insights into Burgundian attitudes more broadly.

### **Guillebert de Lannoy: diplomat**

In 1421, Guillebert de Lannoy arrived at the Polish court requesting letters of introduction to the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed I, for safe passage through Ottoman territories.<sup>36</sup> Guillebert, who enjoyed an illustrious career under Philip the Good, had undertaken previous diplomatic missions to England and Russia, as well as military campaigns against Islamic Granada.<sup>37</sup> This time, Guillebert had been sent on a diplomatic mission to the Ottoman court

---

*John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester* 55 (1982), p. 125. This is not to say that the fact–fiction distinction is clear in modern texts, see the discussion in Daniel Cary, ‘Truth, Lies and Travel Writing’ in Thompson, *Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 3–14.

<sup>34</sup> Rosamund Allen, ed., *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘The Emergence of a Naturalistic and Ethnographic Paradigm in Late Medieval Travel Writing’ in Joan-Pau Rubiés, ed., *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (London: Ashgate, 2009), p. 45.

<sup>36</sup> A biography of Guillebert is available in Charles Potvin, ed., *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy: voyageur, diplomate et moraliste* (Louvain: Imprimerie de P. et J. Lefever, 1878). See also: Rachel Arié, ‘Un seigneur bourguignon en terre musulmane au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Ghillebert de Lannoy’, *Le Moyen Âge: Revue d’histoire et de philologie* 95 (1989), pp. 293–309; A. J. Vanderjagt, ‘Lannoy, Ghillebert de (1386–1462)’ in John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg, eds., *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 200), pp. 331–32; and Jaroslav Svátek, ‘Guillebert de Lannoy, un seigneur bourguignon espion en Terre Sainte’, in Martin Nejedly and Jaroslav Svátek, eds., *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge (France, Bourgogne, Bohême)* (Toulouse: Collections Méridiennes, Série Croisades Tardives, 2009), pp. 85–94.

<sup>37</sup> Svátek, ‘Guillebert de Lannoy’, p. 85; Arié, ‘Un seigneur bourguignon’, p. 284.

and Near East ‘at the request of the king of England [Henry V] and king of France [Charles VII] and of my lord duke Philip [of Burgundy]’. Philip, he explained, was ‘the principal instigator’ of the mission.<sup>38</sup> Guillebert set out from Sluis on 4 May 1421, making the journey overland via Prussia. He would never reach the Ottoman court since internecine conflict in the wake of Mehmed’s death had rendered the journey too dangerous. Nonetheless, he did travel to the Near East, visiting Alexandria, Cairo, Rosetta, Damietta, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Acre, Beirut, and Damascus. After his return, Guillebert recorded his *Rapports* on the journey, which was incorporated into his *Voyages et Ambassades*, the original of which included sketches of certain cities.<sup>39</sup>

Guillebert’s account is overwhelmingly concerned with gathering information about key sites in the Islamic East. Aiming for technical precision, he focused on topography, fortifications, the size of harbours, resource supplies, and distances between locations. His account of places like Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus read like textual maps or city plans. For example, he described Alexandria as:

... a very large and great city on flat land, with two ports sitting along the sea. It is very well fortified, very well enclosed all around with high walls, and there is a great number of towers ... some square, some round, all raised high.<sup>40</sup>

Elsewhere, he described how the city was supplied with potable water from outside its perimeters (without which, he added, its inhabitants would die from famine), as well as the

---

<sup>38</sup> ‘... à la requeste du roy d’Angleterre et du roy de France et de monseigneur le duc Philippe, principal esmouueur’: Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy, 1399–1450* (Mons: Typographie d’Em. Hoyois, Libraire, 1849), p. 33. [All translations from this Middle French text are mine.]

<sup>39</sup> The *Rapports*, a volume bound in red leather, appears in a 1467 inventory of the Burgundian library in Bruges, and is believed to be Philip the Good’s copy: see Potvin, *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 3. This copy is not extant. Charles Potvin and Jaroslav Svátek note the original copy of the *Voyages et Ambassades* contained visual sketches of certain cities, but these do not survive: Svátek, ‘Guillebert de Lannoy’, p. 87; Potvin, *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Item, est Alexandria très-grosse et grant ville en pais plain, assise d’un costé sur les deux ports dessus dis sur la mer, et très-bien emparée, très-bien fermée tout autour de hault murs, et y a grant fusion de tours espesement assises, que quarrés, que rondes, toutes à terrasse’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 73.



cannons and ‘large number of archers’ inside the city, even counting the number of towers and plotting their location.<sup>41</sup> Regarding Acre, ‘once a city of great and notable buildings, churches and very grand palaces’, Guillebert wrote ‘ships larger than five hundred feet cannot enter inside [the port], but there is a place before the entrance where fish gather and is a very good place for all big ships’.<sup>42</sup> As these examples suggest, the kind of knowledge about the Near East with which Guillebert was concerned served to create a detailed map of the region with a view to assisting military strategy. Guillebert’s experience of the Islamic East was certainly underpinned by the Burgundian crusade project.

His account also provides a detailed summary of the political structure of the Mamluk sultanate and elaborates on distinctions between cultural groups within the region. According to Guillebert, ‘in all the countries of Egypt, Syria, and Sayette together there is only one lord ... one sultan of Babylon who dominates all’.<sup>43</sup> The sultan, he continued, was not of these lands because its people were ‘too wicked’ and ‘of too feeble a condition’ to protect their countries. Instead, a slave emir, referring to the Mamluks’ slave origins, had acquired support from the sultan’s friends, other emirs, and foreign slaves, such that he succeeded to power. Commenting on the political climate, Guillebert noted that there was always the looming peril of overthrow and murder by strangulation or poison. ‘While I was in Syria,’ noted Guillebert, ‘there were five sultans’.<sup>44</sup> Guillebert was likely referring to the crisis around the

---

<sup>41</sup> For example, on the cannons and archers: ‘*Item*, ay sceu par informacion, qu’il y a assez foison d’archbalestriers de Rommaigne et assez de petis canons dedans la ville, mais non mie nulz gros, mais u a grant nombre d’archbalestriers’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 76.

<sup>42</sup> ‘*Item*, naves plus grosses que cinq cens bottes, ne entrent point dedens, anchois sourgent droit devant ladicté entrée, ouquel lieu il y a très-bon fons pour gros navire’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 105.

<sup>43</sup> ‘... en tout le país d’Egipte, de Surie et de Sayette communément il n’y a que ung seigneur ... ung soudan de Babilonne qui domine sur tout’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 83. The titles ‘sultan of Babylon’ was something also adopted by Christians to refer to the Islamic caliphs. However, it was also used to refer to the Egyptian sultans (including in this instance), with ‘Babylon’ referencing a fortress near Cairo that was the Fatimid capital: see Svetlana Luchitskaya, ‘The Muslim Political World as Mirrored in the First Crusade Chronicles’ in Adrian Boas, ed., *The Crusader World* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 347–48.

<sup>44</sup> ‘*Item*, et autant de temps que je fuse n Surie il y eut cinq soudans’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 84.

deposition and murder of sultan Nasir-ad-Din Faraj (r. 1399–1411).<sup>45</sup> He described the Mamluk slaves as ‘from foreign nations like Tartary, Turkey, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slavonia, Wallachia, Russia, and Greece’.<sup>46</sup> He also mentioned the emirs of Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo. This detailed account of Mamluk political culture complemented his report on military capabilities, and thus certainly fits within the task of creating a ‘map’ of the Islamic world that could inform a crusade strategy.

Curiously, Guillebert’s account also specifies precision around Muslim identities. He distinguished between Saracens of Egypt, Arabs, and Turkomens. ‘There is another manner of people named Arabs,’ wrote Guillebert, ‘a great number of whom live in the desert and many other places in Egypt, [and] have horses and camels and are very valiant people compared to the Saracens [of Egypt]’.<sup>47</sup> He also distinguished the Saracens of Syria as ‘better warriors, more valiant and better prepared for war and the defence of their country than those of Egypt’, equipped with swords, bows, arrows, and war drums.<sup>48</sup> Finally, there are ‘the people named Turkomen, natives of Turkey’ who are ‘without comparison the best and most valiant in the field than the Arabs, the Saracens and, still more, the slaves’ and serve the Grand Turk.<sup>49</sup> Much of what Guillebert said about these groups relates to military prowess rather than cultural mores, for example, and thus is consistent with assessing military capability. Once again, Guillebert is populating his map of the Islamic East with data relevant

---

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of these events, see Ulrich Haarmann, ‘The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travellers’, *Mamluk Studies Review* 5 (2001), pp. 16–19.

<sup>46</sup> ‘... iceulz escalves sont d’etrangers nacions comme de Tartarie, de Turquie, de Bourguerie, de Honguerie, d’Esclavonnie, de Wallasquie, de Russie et de Grèce, tant des païs Cristiens comme d’autres’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 84.

<sup>47</sup> ‘il y a une autre manière de gens nommez Arrabes, qui grant partie habitant es désers et en plusieurs autres lieux en Egipte, lesquelz ont chevaulz et cameulz et sont très-vaillans gens au regard desdis Sarrasins’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 85.

<sup>48</sup> ‘et sont communement les Sarrasins de Surie ... meilleurs gens d’armes, plus vaillans et plus habilles en fait de guerre et pour la deffense du païs que ne sont ceulz d’Egipte’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 86.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Item, autour de Damascq et de Halep [Aleppo], en ladictie Surie, y a encore une autre manière de gens nommez Turquemans, natifz de Turquie ... Et sont iceulz Turquemans sans comparoison meilleurs et plus vaillans aux champs que les Arabes, ne que les Sarrasins du païs, ne encores que les esclaves’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, p. 87.

to crusade. Still, the presentation of a heterogeneous Islamic world is worth noting. Jaroslav Svátek certainly situates Guillebert within a broader trend from the 1330s of growing discernment in ‘the perception of the Other’.<sup>50</sup> While Guillebert’s account sits narrowly within the rubric of military reconnaissance, it reflects the Islamic East as socially complex.

Despite providing such a functional report, Guillebert does stray from talking purely military and geopolitical terms. The region’s commercial life was a frequent touchstone. In Alexandria, Guillebert observed ‘many Christian merchants inside the city who had moved there, especially Venetians, Genoans, and Catalans, who had fonduks, built like large and beautiful houses ... and there are other lodgers from Ancona, Naples, Marseilles, Constantinople’.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, in the old city of Acre, he noted many houses and warehouses where Venetian merchants kept their cotton. We get an insight into Guillebert’s thinking here because, after describing Acre’s markets, he suggested the city ‘would be good to repopulate’. His observations about the commercial vitality of these cities serves to recommend the lucrative advantage of the Islamic Mediterranean to a prospective crusade leader such as Philip.

Guillebert’s experience and account of the Islamic East, then, was firmly framed within a reconnaissance mission. Whether detailing city defensive structures, outlining political cultures, distinguishing between the peoples of the region, or highlighting lucrative commercial potential, Guillebert was constructing a textual map of this world that could inform a broader crusade objective.

---

<sup>50</sup> Jaroslav Svátek, ‘Les catégories des “nacions, langues et créances” chez les voyageurs des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles’ in *Nation et nations au Moyen Âge: Actes du XLIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la SHMESP* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2014), p. 124.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Item, y a plusieurs marchans Cristiens dedens la ville qui là demeurent, en especial Venissiens, Gênois et Catelans, qui y ont leurs fontèques, comme maisons grandes et belles ... et y a autres couchiers d’Ancône, de Naples, de Marseille, de pélerins et de Constantinoble’: Guillebert, *Voyages et Ambassades*, pp. 76–77.

## Bertrandon de la Broquière: spy and pilgrim

Bertrandon de la Broquière is perhaps the most well-known Burgundian in the East, with his return after a two-year journey depicted in the illumination discussed in the introduction (Fig. 1). Bertrandon was Lord of Viel-Chastel and, in his own words, ‘advisor and first carving squire of my lord’, duke Philip.<sup>52</sup> He departed Ghent in February 1432 and travelled through Mamluk and Ottoman territories, returning to the duke in 1433, dressed in Turkish attire and bearing a copy of the Qur’an. It is commonly understood that Bertrandon was both making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and acting as ‘spy’ for the Burgundian duke in what seems to be an information-gathering mission.<sup>53</sup> Unlike most travellers from the Latin West, however, Bertrandon made the precarious overland journey through Ottoman Anatolia and the war-ravaged Balkans. As Cypriots he encountered at Karaman warned, it was a dangerous route for a Christian and ‘even if he had a thousand lives, he would lose them all’.<sup>54</sup> Yet, taking this route meant he met sultan Murad II, providing one of the few extant sources on the Ottoman court at Edirne (Adrianople).<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Bertrandon described himself as ‘conseillier et premier escuyer trenchant de mondit tresredoubté seigneur’: Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 1. For Bertrandon, see: Mehmed Izeddin, ‘Deux voyageurs du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle en Turquie: Bertrandon de la Broquière et Pero Tafur’, *Journal Asiatique* 239 (1951), pp. 159–74; A. J. Vanderjagt, ‘Bertrandon de la Broquière (1400–1459) in Friedman and Mossler Figg, *Trade, Travel, and Exploration*, pp. 325–26; Jaroslav Svátek, ‘La vision de la croisade dans le récit de Bertrandon de la Broquière’ in Martin Nejedly et Jaroslav Svátek, *Histoires et mémoires des croisades à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Toulouse: Collection Méridiennes Série Croisades Tardives, 2012), pp. 143–59; Jacques Paviot, ‘Introduction’ in Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d’Orient: Espion en Turquie*, trans., Hélène Basso (Toulouse: Anacharsis éditions, 2010), pp. 5–28; John Tolan, ‘Bertrandon de la Broquière’ in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, Volume 5 (1350–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 443–46. Silvia Cappellini has written the only full work on Bertrandon, but is a thesis dissertation: *The Voyage d’outre mer by Bertrandon de la Broquière (1432–1433): an enlightened journey in the world of the Levant* (1999).

<sup>53</sup> Vanderjagt, ‘Bertrandon de la Broquière’, p. 325; Tolan, ‘Bertrandon de la Broquière’, p. 444; Svátek, ‘La vision de la croisade’, p. 143.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Je leur dy que je m’en venoye en France devers mondit seigneur, par terre. Ilz me dirent que ce seroit chose impossible et que se je avoye mille vies, je les perdoye aincois’: Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 167. Svátek refers to it as an ‘extraordinary journey for his time’: Svátek, ‘La vision de la croisade’, p. 143. [All translations from Middle French in Bertrandon’s account to English are my own.]

<sup>55</sup> Amy Singer, interview by Chris Gratien, ‘Edirne Across Time’, *Ottoman History Podcast* (episode 213), 25 November 2015, <http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2015/11/edirne.html>. From 1453, the Ottoman court would shift to Constantinople under Mehmet II.

Upon his return, Bertrandon wrote a report of his travels, the *Voyage d'Oulremer*, which was subsequently incorporated into the *Advis directif pour faire le passage d'oultremer*, produced by Jean Miélot in 1456 on the duke's commission.<sup>56</sup> John Tolan calls his *Voyage* 'one of the most vivid and candid texts among the many travel and pilgrimage narratives of the late Middle Ages'.<sup>57</sup> The Miélot copy also included Burchard of Mt Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, a thirteenth-century account of Palestine.<sup>58</sup> Miélot's manuscript was meant as a guide for making the passage to the Holy Land, and included large illustrations of Jerusalem and the recent siege of Constantinople (Figs. 2 and 3).<sup>59</sup> A copy of the *Voyage* was also produced for Jean de Wavrin, who we shall discuss below.<sup>60</sup>

As this pairing suggests, Bertrandon's journey, and subsequent account, were framed within a broader Burgundian interest in the east and crusade. Paviot argues that Philip the Good intended Bertrandon to complete the information-gathering that Guillebert was unable to accomplish.<sup>61</sup> This is confirmed early in Bertrandon's account, where he explained his intention to provide a geographic account of the territories 'should any Christian prince or

---

<sup>56</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS Français 9087: parchment, 252 leaves; 390 x 260mm, in leather bounding that bears the gold stamp of Napoleon I. The work includes seven illustrations and six miniatures, produced by court miniaturist Jean le Tavernier (d. 1462). Bertrandon's account appears on ff. 153r–252v. The work has been digitised and is available here: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449038d>. A print of the Middle French version is available (and used in this present study with my own translation into English): Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'oultremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed., Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1892). An English edition has been published: Galen R. Kline, trans., *The Voyage d'Oulremer by Bertrandon de la Broquière* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988). A recent edition in modern French is also available: Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Orient: Espion en Turquie*, trans., Hélène Basso (Toulouse: Anarcharsis éditions, 2010). Due to translation inaccuracies in the English edition, I have used the print edition in the original Middle French (with my own translations).

<sup>57</sup> Tolan, 'Bertrandon de la Broquière', p. 445.

<sup>58</sup> For an English translation of Burchard's account see: Burchard of Mount Sion, 'A Description of the Holy Land' in C. R. Conder, trans., *The City of Jerusalem* (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896), pp. 1–111.

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of these illuminations, see: Camille Serchuk, 'Cartes et Chroniques: Mapping and History in Late Medieval France' in Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger, eds., *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 257–77; David J. Wrisley, 'The Loss of Constantinople and Imagining Crusade at the Fifteenth-Century Court of Burgundy', *al-Abhath* 55 (2007–08), pp. 81–116.

<sup>60</sup> Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 4798, ff. 153–257. Contained within a manuscript entitled, *Recueil concernant l'histoire d'Orient*: 272 leaves; dimensions of 271 x 193mm; red leather binding; two illustrations, two drawings. This work is also accompanied with the Burchard text.

<sup>61</sup> Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 75.

king wish to undertake the conquest of Jerusalem by leading a large army overland'.<sup>62</sup> Such a geographic account accords with the 'mapping' undertaken by Guillebert. Yet, he also addressed the more general audience of any nobleman who might want 'to go or come back by land ... along the route from Jerusalem to the duchy of Burgundy'.<sup>63</sup> He expressed the hope 'to inspire and entice the hearts of [these] noblemen who desire to see the world'.<sup>64</sup> These goals seem less restricted to those suggested by Paviot. A deeper examination of Bertrandon's account reveals a more complex interest in the Islamic East. While the 'reconnaissance', geopolitical observations, and pilgrimage aspects of his account point to crusade as a frame, other features of his account indicate an interest that tends towards curiosity, adventure, and ethnography.

Consistent with Paviot's assessment, Bertrandon's account reads like an exercise in information-gathering, with a focus on military and defensive features. He plotted his account city-by-city, noting the depths of harbours (presumably for a fleet), the quality of defensive structures, and available provisions. He described Homs as:

... a good enough town, well defended by walls and cleared moats. There is a fine castle at one end of the city, on a rather high mound. Everything is cleared up to the foot of the wall, which is not too high.

This town is on a little river, on a large plain ... which ... goes as far as Persia.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of the logistics of the overland route planned by the duke, see Franck Viltart, 'Itinéraires, transport et logement des armées dans les projets de croisade de Philippe le Bon (1454–1464)' in Daniel Baloup and Manunel Sánchez Martínez, eds., *Partir en croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge: Financement et logistique* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi Collection Méridiennes, 2015), pp. 331–49.

<sup>63</sup> '[S]i aucun roy ou prince crestien vouloit entreprendre la conqueste de Jherusalem et y mener grosse armée par terre, ou aulcun noble homme y vouldist aller our revenir ... depuis Iherusalem jusques à la duchié de Bourgoigne': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> 'Pour induyre et attraire les cueurs des nobles hommes qui desirent veoir du monde, par commandement et ordonnance de treshault, trespuissant et mon redoubt seigneur, Philippe ... duc de Bourgoigne': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup> 'Item, nous venismes à Hamos qui est assez bonne ville et est moult bien fermée de murailles et les fossez sont tous glacisiez. Il y a unq beau chastel à unq bout de la ville qui est assis sur une mote assez haulte et est toute glacisiez jusques au pié du mur qui n'est guyeres hault. Et est ceste ville sur une petite rivyere et siet en une grande plaine et vient ferir là le plain de Noe et dure, ce dist on, jusques en Perse': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 75.

For Belgrade, he details the Hungarian city's safe harbour ('big enough for fifteen or twenty galleys') and fortifications ('a fine double wall with towers all along the land-side') before describing the Ottoman defences:

... the Grand Turk has the castle of Columbach ... it is a strong place, but can be besieged and destroyed with bombards and other war machines. It can be relieved only with great difficulty.<sup>66</sup>

Bertrandon also added a lengthy assessment of Ottoman military capacity so that he might 'discuss the means and men necessary to break their power, defeat them in battle, and gain their territory'.<sup>67</sup> He detailed their frugal diet, clothing, horses, armour, weaponry, discipline, and tactics. In this sense, Bertrandon's account bears striking similarity to Guillebert's, providing a contemporary textual map of Mamluk and Ottoman territories that could inform a crusade.

Similar again to Guillebert, his account includes details about recent geopolitical events. Timur's campaigns in the Levant and Armenia during the early 1400s feature throughout the account, as they also did for Guillebert. One key report is on the political conflict between the Ramadanid beylik, the Karamanid beylik of Karaman, the Mamluks, and the Ottomans. These buffer beyliks between Mamluk and Ottoman territories were a focus for Ottoman expansion prior to Constantinople's fall and potential allies for Christian rulers. For example, the Karamanid Ibrahim Bey at one point made an alliance with the king of Hungary. Later, the Burgundian dukes themselves would make overtures to territories neighbouring the Ottomans.<sup>68</sup> This geopolitical intelligence would certainly be relevant to plans for Burgundian crusade.

---

<sup>66</sup> 'Le Turc tient sur la Dunoe ledit chastel de Coulumbach ... et m'a l'en dit qu'il est forte place, mais il se peut tresbien assieger et battre de bombardes et d'autres engins et garder qu'il ne porroit avoir secours que à tresgrant desavantage': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 215.

<sup>67</sup> 'Et principalement pour ce qu'ilz ont eu autrefois de grans victoires sur les Crestiens, les manieres qu'il faudroit tenir pour les romper et deffaire en bataille, et aveque quelles gens, et gaignier leurs seigneuries': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, pp. 216–17

<sup>68</sup> Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 117.

Bertrandon was also consciously travelling in the shadow of crusades past, especially the ‘golden age’ of crusade under Godfrey of Bouillon (1060–1100). The ghost of crusade past looms large, constituting an obvious appeal to the glory of crusade and the former Latin East. His first description of the Levant is the city of Jaffa, ‘where there was once a Christian town which seems to have been very strong’ but ‘everything is ruined’.<sup>69</sup> En route from Gaza to Acre, he passed ‘many places that used to belong to the Christians’.<sup>70</sup> Near Antioch, he observed:

... land that used to belong to the Christians. The greatest pleasure they could give me was to tell me that it used to belong to the Franks and show me the destroyed churches.<sup>71</sup>

At Tarsus, he referred to the siege conducted by Godfrey’s brother, Baldwin, and near Izmit, he passed through a forest he believed to be the same that Godfrey found so difficult to get through.<sup>72</sup> At Askehir, he saw houses that once belonged to the Hospitallers. Bertandon reports that Antoine Passerot, a Cypriot who converted to Islam, told him that ‘just as we say our prayers on Sunday in the parish church for our Christian princes, [the Saracens] pray in their mosques that God will keep them from a man such as Godfrey of Bouillon’.<sup>73</sup> Just as Bertrandon witnessed a biblical past in the Levant, he also witnessed and evoked these traces of a crusader past.

<sup>69</sup> ‘Jaffe est une montaignete où jadiz fut une ville des Crestiens, par samblant moult forte; et est toute destruite sans y avoir habitation nulle’: Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 9.

<sup>70</sup> According to Schefer, this was the castle built by king Fulk of Jerusalem in 1134: Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 24 (note 3).

<sup>71</sup> ‘Et souloit ester ce pays aux Chrestiens, et la plus grant feste qu’ilz me faisoient, c’estoit qu’ilz me disorient que cela avoit esté au Francz et me monstroient les eglises qui y esetoient abatues’: Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 83.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Et croy que c’est celle Tarse où Bauduin, frere de Godefroy de Buillon, mist jadis le siege’ and ‘Et croy que c’est la cofest que on treuve au livre de Goddefroy de Buillon’: Bertrandon, *Voyage*, pp. 99–100 and 138. It is unclear which ‘book of Godfrey of Bouillon’ Bertrandon means. Philip the Good’s own library contained several copies of Godfrey’s story: see Elizabeth J. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 83–84. Svátek suggests that it was William of Tyre’s *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (1170–84): Svátek, ‘Le récit de Bertrandon de la Broquière’, p. 149.

<sup>73</sup> ‘Et me dist que ainsy que nous faisons les prieres aux dimenches és eglises parrochiales pour les princes crestiens, ilz prient par de là en leurs musquées que Dieu les garde d’un tel homme comme fu Godeffroy de Buillon’: Bertrandon, *Voyages*, p. 119.



Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was another important aspect of Bertrandon's journey. His account sets out the visited pilgrimage sites and, while illness prevented his pilgrimage to St Catherine's monastery in the Sinai, he went against the best advice to travel to Nazareth, a dangerous journey that required him to dress as a 'Saracen'.<sup>74</sup> Yet, his was not the only pilgrimage Bertrandon described. In September 1432, a day after arriving in Damascus, Bertrandon witnessed a caravan of 'more than three thousand camels' that 'took almost two days and two nights ... to come into the city'.<sup>75</sup> The caravan had come from Mecca, with 'Moors, Turks, Berbers, Tartars, and Persians' returning from the *Hajj*, and a Qur'an, 'carried on a camel covered with a silk cloth, with the Qur'an sitting above and wrapped in another silk cloth decorated with painted Moorish'.<sup>76</sup>

Among this caravan was Abdullah, a 'renegade slave' belonging to a relative of the Ottoman sultan and one of several encounters Bertrandon had with Muslims that stand out in his account for the special attention he devoted to them. He spent several days with Abdullah, asking him on several occasions about Muhammed, Mecca, and Medina. Bertrandon provided a description of the *Hajj*, describing, for example, the way Muslim pilgrims walked around the Ka'aba: 'they go around this house, which is a kind of cloister'.<sup>77</sup> There 'had been so much discussion about Muhammed' that Bertrandon later sought confession. Then there is Hoyarbarach, leader of the caravan he joined from Damascus to Bursa. Before they set out, Bertrandon offered him 'a pot of green ginger which [Hoyarbarach] accepted only after much

---

<sup>74</sup> '... lequel me fist habillier ainsy que les Sarazins sont habilliez ...': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 41. This was a requirement for Latin travellers in the region.

<sup>75</sup> 'Item, lendemain que je fus venu à Damas, je y veis entrer la carvane qui venoit de la Mecque et disoit on qu'ilz estoient trois mil camelz et mirent près de deux jours et de deux nuitz à entrer à Damas': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 55.

<sup>76</sup> '[L]e seigneur et tous les plus notables de la ville alerent au devant pour cause de leur Alkoran qu'ilz portoient. C'est la loy que Machomet leur a laissié et le portoyent sur un camel vestu d'ung drap de soye et le dit Alkoran estoit dessus et estoit couvert d'un aultre drap de soye paint et escript de lettres morisques': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>77</sup> '... vont autour de ladite maison qui est en maniere d'un cloistre': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 57.

pleading'.<sup>78</sup> Bertrandon described him as 'very frank and honest, more so, it seems, than many Christians'.<sup>79</sup> Elsewhere he remarked on the beauty of Hoyarbarach's wife when she removed her veil for the first time upon hearing of her father's death. For much of his journey through Anatolia, he was accompanied by Muhammad, 'a Circassian Mamluk of the sultan', who camped with him, drank wine with him, taught him how to shoot from his saddle, and protected him from kidnap. After bidding him farewell at Konya, Bertrandon made a very solemn tribute:

[Muhammad] had been so good to me. And he had done it for charity's sake. If he hadn't been there, I would have made my way only with great difficulty ... I would have been very hungry and cold, as would my horse. Muhammad had done for me what he did for himself ... I am writing this so that people will not forget that a man, not of our faith, for the honour of God, did many good things for me.<sup>80</sup>

In Hama, Bertrandon joined five Turk acquaintances for wine drinking rounds at a Greek's house. Unable to keep up, Bertrandon started to feel ill and one of the Turks offered to drink for him as well so the rest of the group would be satisfied. He explained that this Turk 'called me *kardays*, that is, brother'.<sup>81</sup> These cross-cultural encounters within Bertrandon's account seem to depart from his mission's imperative around reconnaissance. They are moments of cultural contact and insight.

As Tolan notes, while many similar texts of the period are 'derivative and offer polemical portraits of Muslims', Bertrandon 'shows fascination and affection for the Turks

---

<sup>78</sup> 'Je donnay audit Hoyarbarach un pot de gingembre vert lequel il ne voulait prendre que à grant priere': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 63.

<sup>79</sup> '... je y trouvay grant franchise et leaulté, plus par adventure, que je n'eusse fait en beaucoup de Chrestiens': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 63.

<sup>80</sup> 'Et là, je prins congîé de mondit mamelu qui avoit nom Mahomet, lequel m'avoit fait moult de biens. Et ce faisoit il par grant charité; et s'il n'eust esté, je n'eusse peu faire mon chemin que à grant peine, car on ne trouvoit riens senon ès bonnes villes et eusse eu grant faim et grant friod et mon cheval encores plus, car il faisoit pour moy ainsy que pour lui, et pour mon cheval ainsy que pour le sien. Je escrips cecy affin que il me souviengne que ung homme hors de nostre foy, pour l'onneur de Dieu, m'a faict tant de beins': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, pp. 120–21.

<sup>81</sup> 'Adont l'un d'eulx de qui j'estoye le plus acointé lequel me appelloit *kardays*, c'est à dire frere': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 80. In modern Turkish, this would be *kardeş*.

around him'.<sup>82</sup> He presented a seemingly more open, good-humoured account of his encounters with Muslims more broadly. In Adana, he witnessed a *zīkr*, the sufi dance, and spoke of Turks as 'happy and joyful, freely singing songs about their heroes'.<sup>83</sup> He commended their charity and trustworthiness, while elsewhere noting their piety. The Turks who break into laughter after seeing his Turkish–Italian phrase notes, were 'as astonished by our writing as we are by theirs'.<sup>84</sup> This contrasts to the rigid, functional tropes in Guillebert's account. There appears to be a level of cross-cultural identification and the realisation that he appeared to them as strange and different, as they did to him.

Bertrandon's account is also frequently punctuated with observations about material and commercial culture. There is a sense in which Bertrandon was in a world of consumption. He judged Damascene swords 'the most beautiful and best in Syria', before detailing the specific method of burnishing and tempering them. He remarked, 'They cut better than any other swords I have ever seen.'<sup>85</sup> He observed cotton being made and the production of oriental rugs in Bursa (a key Ottoman mercantile city), no doubt both important commodities for someone coming from a court where textiles were so important.<sup>86</sup>

Bertrandon sampled new foods, describing the taste of yoghurt, buffalo cream, and caviar, and detailed the process of making their flat bread. He also met Italian, French, and Catalan merchants, many of whom provided him with lodging and local knowledge. Where Guillebert's account was circumspect in his account of commercial life, Bertrandon's was vivid and rich in detail, bustling with goods, merchants, and fellow travellers.

---

<sup>82</sup> Tolan, 'Bertrandon de la Broquière', p. 445.

<sup>83</sup> 'Les Turcz sont liés et joyeux et chantent volentiers chansons de geste': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 97.

<sup>84</sup> 'Dix ou douze Turcs s'assemblerent autour de moy et se prendrent à rire quant ilz virent ma letter et en furent aussy merveilliez que nous sommes de la leur': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, p. 63.

<sup>85</sup> 'On dit que les espées de Damas sont les plus belles et les milleures de Surye ...les font tranchier mieulx que nulls aultres espées qu j'aye vues': Bertrandon, *Voyage*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>86</sup> On Bursa, see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'The Story of Bursa' in H. Altenmüller, B. Hrouda, et al., eds, *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section I, The Near and Middle East: The City in the Islamic World Vol. 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 357–82.

Thus, Bertrandon presents us with a more complex account of the Islamic East. Paviot's assessment of the account as an extension of Guillebert's survey certainly has force. The account reflects continuity with Guillebert's and shares a crusade frame. Yet, it also opens a window to a different view of the Islamic East. His seems to have been a deeper cross-cultural encounter, and he was certainly concerned to make this point through his stories about Muslim acquaintances. Added to this are his observations on Islamic quotidian and commercial life.

### **Waleran de Wavrin: Burgundian knight**

While holding court at Chalon-sur-Saône in 1442, Philip the Good received an ambassador and twelve companions from the Byzantine emperor.<sup>87</sup> The ambassador presented the emperor's requests for aid against Ottoman forces. Philip promised to send a fleet and placed at its command Waleran de Wavrin, with a second fleet under the command of Geoffroy de Thoisy. The efforts of Waleran and Geoffroy in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Black Sea are detailed in the last volume of the *Croniques d'Engleterre*, a work prepared by Waleran's uncle and counselor to Philip the Good, Jean de Wavrin (c. 1398–1474).<sup>88</sup> Historian Robert Schwoebel described Jean's account as 'one of the longest, most interesting and best informed reports on any Turkish-related topic to be found in any western

---

<sup>87</sup> Henri Taparel, 'Un épisode de la politique orientale de Philippe le Bon: les bourguignons en Mer Noire (1444–1446)', *Annales de Bourgogne* 55 (1983), p. 6. See also: Jacques Paviot, "'Criosade" bourguignonne et intérêts génois en mer Noire au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Studi di Storia Medioevale e di Diplomatica*, nos. 12–13 (1992), pp. 135–62.

<sup>88</sup> The *Croniques* cover the history of England from the birth of Albion (688) to 1471, with the earlier periods borrowing from Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet. The only full copy of the works is that which belonged to Louis of Bruges: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 74–85. Partial copies of the work are also available in other collections. For example: Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS Walters 201; The British Library, MS Royal 15 E IV; the Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 653. For Jean de Wavrin, see: Charity Cannon Willard, 'Jean de Wavrin' in William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn, eds., *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), p. 1841; Alain Marchandisse, 'Jean de Wavrin, un chroniqueur entre Bourgogne et Angleterre, et ses homologues bourguignons face à la guerre des Deux Roses', *Le Moyen Age* 62, no. 3 (2006), pp. 207–67; Antoinette Naber, 'Les manuscrits d'un bibliophile bourguignon du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Jean de Wavrin', *Revue du Nord* 72, no. 284 (January–March 1990), pp. 23–48.

chronicle of the fifteenth century'.<sup>89</sup> The account sits within a broader chronicle work on England, Jean de Wavrin being part of the pro-English faction at the Burgundian court. While many parts of the chronicle borrow from other sources, the account of Waleran's expedition was based on Waleran's testimony.<sup>90</sup>

The account chiefly narrates events surrounding the Battle of Varna and the Ottoman crossing of the Dardanelles. The fleet under Waleran's command was stationed in the straits, near Gallipoli, while Geoffroy had stopped off in Rhodes to help defend the Hospitaller-controlled island from a Mamluk attack. Following the Christian defeat at Varna, Waleran and Geoffroy led a search along the the Black Sea coast for the Hungarian king, amid mixed reports that the king had either been killed in battle or fled. Waleran took the north route towards Kaffa, while Geoffroy was to survey the southern coast. Instead, however, Geoffroy and his ships undertook piracy, pillaging not only the Turkish coast but also Trebizond and Georgia, where he ended up imprisoned.

As a chronicle account of Burgundian involvement in efforts against the Turks, it certainly reinforces a vision of the Ottomans consistent with crusade rhetoric. The sultan is presented as 'le Grand Turcq ennemy de la foi crestienne'. As Tolga Gumus notes, Jean de Wavrin also depicted the Ottomans as 'felons', 'committees of false enterprises', cruel, and, at times, cowards.<sup>91</sup> However, Gumus admits that Jean depicted the Turks foremost as 'simple enemies to fight' and then as enemies of the Christian faith, arguing that most battle scenes are described as if between two Christian forces.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1967), p. 110.

<sup>90</sup> Georges le Brusque, 'Des chevaliers bourguignons dans les pays du Levant: l'expédition de Walleran de Wavrin contre les Turcs ottomans (1444–1446) dans les *Anchiennes Croniques d'Engleterre* de Jean de Wavrin', *Moyen âge: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 106, no. 2 (2000), p. 258.

<sup>91</sup> T. Tolga Gumus, 'Medieval Perspectives: Jean de Waurin and his perception of the Turks in Anatolia in the Late Middle Ages', *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 4, no. 16 (December 2013), p. 165.

<sup>92</sup> Gumus, 'Jean de Waurin and his perception of the Turks', p. 170.

The visual display of the Ottoman court and military command also attracted Jean's attention. When the Wallachian prince, Vlad III Dracul, was summoned to the Ottoman court, the account presents a court rich in textiles and colour:

The next day, the lord of the Wallachians came to the said Great Turk who made him a great banquet and feasted ... Inside a pavilion all doubled in crimson velour, the Great Turk sat at a long table with embroidered edges, decorated and dressed with sumptuous cushions and ears of cloth-of-gold and silk. ... and outside the said pavilion, sitting on the ground on cushions and carpets of cloth-of-gold was the lord of Wallachia.<sup>93</sup>

Later, he described Ottoman forces on the banks of the Dardenelles, three or four thousand men, a great vermillion tent, and six or seven hundred camels all covered in red fabric.<sup>94</sup> He described the attire of an Ottoman commander, 'dressed in a robe of blue-and-gold cloth, sitting on a throne with a white Turkish hat and a crown of gold on his head'.<sup>95</sup> In one final example, Jean described an Ottoman governor 'wearing a robe of vermillion *damas*, a fustian collar'. The attention to dress and textiles — the silks, cloth-of-gold, and colours — is reserved only for descriptions of the Ottomans. Jean reflected Ottoman alterity in terms of material culture, specifically, textiles. He explained that the object of Geoffroy's piracy along the Black Sea coast were the 'many Tartars who were bringing silks there from Shamakhi'. Located in Shirvan, on the Caspian Sea, Shamakhi was a major silk-producing city on the Silk Road.<sup>96</sup> In the Burgundian context, textiles were particularly important vehicles for

---

<sup>93</sup> 'Et lendemain que le seigneur des Valaques fut arrive ledit Grant Turcq luy fist ung grant disner et convive auquel il manda tous ses soubachins et capitaines pour festoyer ycellui seigneur de la Valaquerie, et estoit ycellui Grant Turcq dedans ung pavillon tout double dun veloux cramoisy, assis comme sur lestable dun parmentier, aourne et pare de riches coussins et oreilles de drapz dor et de soye ... Et audehors dudit pavillon estoit assis a terre sur coussins et tapis de drap dor le dit seigneur de la Valaquerie': Jean de Wavrin, *Croniques*, p. 6. [All translations from Middle French to English in this chronicle are my own.]

<sup>94</sup> Jean de Wavrin, *Croniques*, p. 49.

<sup>95</sup> '[L]edit Saoussy vesty une robe de drap dor bleu, si monta hault sur le bancq atout ung chapel de Turcq blancq et ung cercle dor sur sa teste': Jean de Wavrin, *Croniques*, p. 76.

<sup>96</sup> The fifteenth-century Venetian diplomat, Giosafat Barbaro, had this to say about the city: 'Questa è buona città: fa fuochi da quarto in cinquemila, lauora laiori di seta & cottoni, & altri mestieri secondo i loro costume, et è nella Armenia grande, e buona parte de habitatori sone Armeni'. See Giosafat Barbaro, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Costantinopoli*, (Venice: Aldine Press, 1543), p. 55

expressing political status, power, and wealth. As Margaret Goehring writes, ‘historians have long remarked on the central semiotic importance of textiles within the language of Valois-Burgundian politics’.<sup>97</sup> Cloth-of-gold, silk, and velvet were the highest expression of sartorial splendour at the Burgundian court.<sup>98</sup> These textiles find such an expression, too, in Jean’s account of the Ottomans.

### **Anselm and Jan Adorno: merchants**

Anselm Adorno was born into a long line of prominent Genoese merchants who had become well-established in the bustling Flemish mercantile centre, Bruges.<sup>99</sup> By virtue of holding several positions on the Bruges civic council, Anselm also undertook duties for Charles the Bold. Among other assignments, Anselm was sent as Burgundian ambassador to Persia in 1475.<sup>100</sup> Anselm never made it to Persia. Instead, he was delayed at the Polish court in Gdansk.

It is Anselm’s journey to north Africa and the Near East that interests us. Travelling with his son, Jan, he journeyed from Tunis across to Alexandria and Cairo, before heading to St Catherine’s monastery and the Levant for pilgrimage. The Brugeois Adornos had a long affinity with the Holy Land. On his own return from the Levant, Anselm’s father began construction of the Jeruzalemkerk in Bruges, a chapel modelled on the Holy Sepulchre. While Jan Adorno’s *Itinerarium* of their journey was chiefly directed to James II of Scotland, Anselm was steeped in the Burgundian world and thus his journey still offers valuable

---

<sup>97</sup> Margaret Goehring, ‘Taking Borders Seriously: the significance of cloth-of-gold textile borders in Burgundian and post-Burgundian manuscript illumination in the Low Countries’, *Oud Holland* 119, no. 1 (2006), p. 23.

<sup>98</sup> Goehring, ‘Taking Borders Seriously’, p. 26.

<sup>99</sup> Jacques Heers, ‘Introduction’ in Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 7. For Anselm Adorno, see also: Alan Macquarrie, ‘Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James II’, *The Innes Review* 33, no. 33 (August 2010), pp. 15–22. The Adorno family (now Adornes) continues to maintain the estate, and their website and archives are available online here: <http://www.adornes.org/>.

<sup>100</sup> Lacaze, *Perse et Bourgogne*, p. 82.

insights into the Burgundian experience of the Islamic world.<sup>101</sup> Yvon Lacaze has suggested that, as with Guillebert and Bertrandon, Anselm's journey was also a reconnaissance mission, but this time at the behest of Charles the Bold.<sup>102</sup> However, as noted by Heers in his introduction to the work, the Adorno text is 'neither a treatise preparing for crusade, or even a merchant's manual in the form of narration'.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, the account reflects a broader vision.

As with Guillebert and Bertrandon, Jan Adorno made detailed notes about the key ports of call on their journey, including Tunis, Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus. Tunis, he noted, was 'very strongly fortified' with 'six gates and innumerable towers along the ramparts'.<sup>104</sup> Similarly, he noted the large, high walls at Alexandria, as well as the great quantity of towers and double gates. 'We have not seen a city better fortified than Alexandria,' he added.<sup>105</sup> Yet, unlike Guillebert, it was magnificence and beauty which attracted Jan's attention. Looking upon the city from their ship, he commended the view of the exterior as 'magnificent because one discovers the beauty of its walls and of its ports, the multiple towers of its churches [mosques] are very high'.<sup>106</sup> His account of these cities often focuses on their oriental splendour. Consider his description of Cairo:

Cairo is considered to be the largest, the most populated and the richest of cities ... There is also in this city magnificent buildings which, in the oriental style, are more beautiful and more precious inside than

---

<sup>101</sup> Macquarrie dates composition of the *Itinerarium* to April–October 1471: Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes', p. 19. The only surviving manuscript copy of the account is at the Bibliothèque municipale de Lille, MS 330.

<sup>102</sup> Lacaze, *Perse et Bourgogne*, p. 80.

<sup>103</sup> 'Leur livre n'est ni un traité préparant à la Croisade, ni un manuel de marchand en forme même de narration': Heers in the introduction to Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 12. [All translations from French and Latin into English in this text are my own.]

<sup>104</sup> 'Est fortissimo murata, habens portas sex et innumerabiles turres bene contiguas in predictis muris': Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 100. [All translations from Latin into English for this account are my own.]

<sup>105</sup> 'Muros habet latissimos, altos et amplos, multis latis sed non altis turribus munitos. Porte vero civitatis duplices sunt ... Non vidimus civitatem pulchrius muratam quam sit Alexandria': Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 162.

<sup>106</sup> 'Ideo ab extra de navi aspectu magnifica est, quia conspiciuntur muri et porte pulchri; item multe turres ecclesiarum altissime sunt': Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 162.



outside. One finds, on entering, walls of marble, as well as marble mosaic floors, of the most admirable work.<sup>107</sup>

Jan was particularly taken in by the gardens in Tunis — over four thousand, filled with fragrant plants and fruits. It was the garden of the Tunis bey's eldest son, with its stucco, fountains, and tile-work, that defied description for Jan:

I cannot recall having ever seen a garden as beautiful and as sumptuous. The reality is so remarkable that no description could surpass it. ... It is not large, but it is marvellously beautiful and rich.<sup>108</sup>

Meanwhile, Damascus 'abounds in all kinds of merchandise and foods', and Jan goes on to list spices from India, precious gems, silk, and innumerable aromatics from Baghdad, India, Persia, Armenia, and other parts of the Orient.<sup>109</sup> Jan's descriptions of these cities are rich, vivid, and noted for their visual splendour.

Another striking feature of the *Itinerarium* is its detailed account of Muslims and their customs. Jan dedicated significant time to describing 'the faith of the pagans and their customs'.<sup>110</sup> He explained that the people of this 'perfidious doctrine', observers of 'this Mohammedan sect or superstition', are designated by many names and proceeded to explain the applications of each: Moors, Saracens, *Agareni*, Arabs, and pagans. We can recall Guillebert's own account of different Muslim peoples, yet Adorno is less restricted to just an appraisal of military prowess. He also qualified these designations: 'they call themselves "Muslims" ... the name given to them by Muhammad, that is, blessed and fortunate'.<sup>111</sup> The

---

<sup>107</sup> 'Chayra itaque major, populosior et urbis dicior fertur ... Sunt etiam in urbe pulcherrima edificia, que non tantum ab extra quantum ab intra sunt more orientalium edificiorum, preciosa atque pulchra videntur. Sunt intrinsecus marmorei parietes et pavimenta etiam marmorea opera moysaica': Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 184.

<sup>108</sup> 'Nunquam memini ortum admodum et pulchrum et sumptuosum vidisse. Res tanta est quod scripto non possit major fieri quam sit aspectus sive presencia rei. Hic ortus vulgariter ibi Alaschapie vocatur. Non enim magne est quantitates, sed mire pulchritudinis et sumptuositatis': Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 116.

<sup>109</sup> 'Est enim Damascus omnibus mercationibus et victualibus perhabundans. Species namque Indice, gemme preciose, sericum plurimum, aromata infinita illic a Baldacho et ceteris partibus Orientis, India, Persia, Armenia in camelis et aliis soumeris adducuntur': Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 326.

<sup>110</sup> The section is headed 'De fide paganorum ac moribus ipsorum'.

<sup>111</sup> 'Ipsi enim seipsos nomine a Machometo eis datos mosselemyos vocant, id est beatos ac felices seu salvandos': Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 68.

recognition of Muslims in their own terms, and as ‘blessed and fortunate’, stands in contrast to the other accounts. After distinguishing Islamic doctrine from Christianity, but also drawing attention to their reverence for Jesus, Jan detailed their pilgrimage to Mecca, a city ‘grand and opulent’.<sup>112</sup> He then proceeded to describe Muslim practices, constantly through non-pejorative similarities and differences to those of Latin Christians: ablutions were similar to confession; they had no Sabbath, but have special worship on Fridays; a call to prayer is heard throughout their cities instead of church bells; their churches have porticos and courtyards instead; and they only have one religious order, which they call *morabiti* (the *murābitūn*). He then described more quotidian customs: marriage, food and eating practices, funeral ceremonies, attitudes to despair and exaltation, and education.

Anselm’s Genoese connection gave them access to aspects of this world. He enjoyed access to information, people, and festivities that would not have been available to other Burgundians. While in Tunis, for example, they attended the Eid al-Adha (‘festum Abrahe et castroni’), one of the key festivals in the Islamic tradition. Anselm was also granted audience before the Hafsīd caliph, Uthman, and was presented with a ‘royal letter of recommendation, signed by [Uthman’s] hand and written in moresque’ that assured safe conduct.<sup>113</sup> Jan described Uthman as ‘noble, wise, brown of colour, and well-bearded’ as well as ‘the most powerful and richest of all the Moor princes’.<sup>114</sup> The other two figures he describes at length are Uzun Hassan, the Persian ruler who would be the object of Anselm’s 1475 embassy, and the sultan of Egypt. Regarding the latter, the account goes into detail about the succession process for the Mamluk sultans. The sultan, who ‘receives confirmation and investiture from the pope of the Moors [the caliph]’, was, according to Jan, ‘a svelte man, tall and as

---

<sup>112</sup> ‘Mecha civitas est magna et opulenta, ut audivi ab ibi existentibus’: Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 68.

<sup>113</sup> ‘Verum cum omni honore amore mercatorum nos suscepit et ducere fecit dominum coram rege et filiis suis ... Ymmo pro nobis litteram regiam recommendatoriam procuravit, manu propria regis signatam, in papiro ganeo polito ... scriptam in morisco’: Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 138.

<sup>114</sup> ‘Hic Ottominus rex vi rest nobilis, sapiens, bruni coloris, bene barbatus ... Est quidem rex iste Meley Ottominus inter omnes Mauros principes rex major, potentior et ditior’: Adorno, *Itinéraire*, pp. 126–28.

audacious as a lion’, there being ‘no other man of his age more valorous in combat among the Mamluks’.<sup>115</sup> Enjoying greater access to the political and cultural life of these Muslim territories, Anselm and Jan present a more noble image of the Muslim rulers.

The Adorno account represents a rich and immersive engagement with the Islamic East. The frame of vision for these two Burgundian travellers was evidently much broader than what we see in Guillebert and Bertrandon. Yet, it shares qualities with with Bertrandon’s account in providing a vista to an exotic and noble oriental world.

### **The Islamic East through Burgundian eyes**

The preceding analysis highlights that crusade constituted an important frame for Burgundian perceptions of the Islamic East. At least three of the expeditions (those of Guillebert, Bertrandon, and Waleran) were undertaken on the direct instruction of Philip the Good and contributed to crusade activity. Guillebert and Bertrandon both provided a textual map of the Islamic East that plots cities within the rubric of military information. Moreover, these textual accounts even become realised visually — for Guillebert, as sketches (no longer extant), and for Bertrandon in the impressive, luxurious illustration of Constantinople (Fig. 3). In the latter case, the scene post-dates Bertrandon’s journey (it depicts the 1453 siege of Constantinople) but it continues his rubric of identifying military structures, with caption labels identifying bridges, buildings, and gates.<sup>116</sup> It is both a miniature of a city as well as a map, and it represents the very kind of image of the Islamic East that Guillebert and Bertrandon delivered textually.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> ‘Soldanus electus vel factus rex patrie per papam Maurorum confirmatur et investitur. ... Vir longus, procerum corpus habens, audacissimus ut leo, canus et macer, inter mamalucos non est in armis pro sua etate valentior’: Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 196.

<sup>116</sup> Elizabeth J. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good*, p. 153.

<sup>117</sup> For a discussion of the miniature as map and cityscape, see Serchuk, ‘*Cartes et Chroniques*’, pp. 271–72.

Another important aspect of crusade that resonates in the accounts of Bertrandon and Jean de Wavrin is their association with chivalry. As Timothy Guard notes, by the late Middle Ages, crusade was both a military and cultural exercise.<sup>118</sup> We saw the recurrent reference to Godfrey of Bouillon and crusades past in Bertrandon's account, and hints that he read 'the book of Godfrey', likely one of the many crusade *histoires* circulating in Burgundy. Godfrey stood as one of the Nine Worthies, a chivalrous cult that came to prominence in the fifteenth-century, especially within the Burgundian context.<sup>119</sup> Marian Coman argues Bertrandon's text is also a 'knightly autobiography', situating it not within pilgrimage narratives but in a tradition of chivalric writing.<sup>120</sup> He notes that Bertrandon's adoption of Muslim attire in two circumstances to avoid peril hints at stories from chivalric literature set in the Islamic world: *Huon of Bordeaux* and *La Prise d'Orange*.<sup>121</sup> In some ways, in following the steps of those first crusaders, Bertrandon was attaching his own journey to that chivalric legacy. In the case of Jean de Wavrin, we have a chronicle account of two knights engaged in chivalric adventure as well. For these Burgundians, the Islamic East represented a stage upon which to enact this chivalric tradition.

We have also observed in these accounts how commercial contact not only brought greater knowledge about the East to Burgundy, but goods as well. From the Indian spices and Persian aromatics described by Jan Adorno or the Damascene swords and new oriental foods purchased by Bertrandon, these Burgundian travellers saw Islamic cities as commercial hubs filled with exotics goods. Textiles and craftwork also feature throughout the accounts,

---

<sup>118</sup> Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (London: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Simon John, 'Godfrey of Bouillon and the Swan Knight' in Simon John and Nicholas Morton, eds., *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 141. For the Nine Worthies, see: Huizinga, *Autumn of the Middle Ages*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>120</sup> Marian Coman, 'Experiencing Otherness. Bertrandon de la Broquière's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1432)', *New Europe College Yearbook* (2007–08), p. 101.

<sup>121</sup> Coman, 'Experiencing Otherness', p. 104.

notably in Jean's depiction of the Ottoman court. This is a world of silk, cloth-of-gold, cotton, embroidery, marble floors, mosaic tilework, oriental rugs, and vermillion cushions. As we shall see in a later chapter, many of these were exactly the kinds of products that were coming into the Bruges market and, even, the Burgundian court, with its reputation for textile consumption and display. The image of an exotic east appears strongest in the Adorno account, where Islamic cities become splendid visions of gardens, fountains, minarets, and grand palaces.

The most remarkable aspect of these accounts — particularly for Guillebert, Bertrandon, and the Adornos — is their ethnographic gaze. There are two dimensions to the ethnography that emerges from these accounts: the level of detail or knowledge about the Islamic East and its relationship to their own Christian world. As Rubiés notes, the late Middle Ages saw a shift towards a more empirical approach in travel writing characterised by attention to 'observed experience', a shift he traces to the thirteenth-century reports about the Mongols from William of Rubruck and John of Piano de Carpini.<sup>122</sup> We get a direct sense of this in Bertrandon's prologue, where he addressed noblemen 'who desire to *see* the world' (my emphasis). Evident in the accounts of Guillebert, Bertrandon, and Adorno is an evolving description of the Islamic world and its peoples — from the heterogeneity of Egypt and Syria in Guillebert (albeit restricted to military terms) to the extensive attention to customs and mores given by Adorno. Bertrandon weaved his ethnography into his narrative, in his encounters with Muslims throughout his journey. We also see this in their account of Mamluk and Ottoman political culture. Ulrich Haarman notes a shift in accounts of Egypt in the fifteenth century that begin to 'deal extensively not only with the Mamluk system of ruling and recruiting, but also with the relationship between Mamluks and their sons ... and

---

<sup>122</sup> Rubiés, 'Emergence of a Naturalistic and Ethnographic Paradigm in Late Medieval Travel Writing', p. 45.

even their relations with native Egyptian (and Syrian) population'.<sup>123</sup> As seen, the accounts of Guillebert, Bertrandon, and Adorno each provide quite detailed information about Mamluk political culture (each account remains absent from Haarman's analysis). Another aspect of this ethnography is this comparability with, or even 'sympathetic' quality toward, the Islamic world. We see this in Bertrandon's affection for the Muslims he encountered, and in the way Bertrandon and Adorno presented Islamic/Ottoman customs (food, piety, dress, and so on) as having comparability or likeness (rather than inferiority) to Christian practice. This is a characteristic of late medieval ethnography Shirin Khanmohamadi describes as 'a profound openness to alternative perspectives and voices'.<sup>124</sup>

How do we reconcile two Burgundian visions of the Islamic East that seem distinct — on the one hand, the pursuit of a hostile crusade agenda and, on the other, a detailed, sometimes sympathetic, ethnography? The answer is that the detailed ethnography that emerges out of the works of these Burgundian travellers is not necessarily antithetical to crusade ambitions, but actually coterminous with those ambitions. As Rubiés observes, calls for crusade in the thirteenth-century in response to the Mongol advance was the context for the kind of rich ethnographic accounts of William of Rubruck and John of Piano de Carpini.<sup>125</sup> Similarly, Burgundian interest in crusade had a by-product of producing a more informed, detailed, and accurate account of the Islamic East.

---

<sup>123</sup> Haarman, 'The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travellers', p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> Shirin Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's World: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 2.

<sup>125</sup> Rubiés, 'Emergence of a Naturalistic and Ethnographic Paradigm in Late Medieval Travel Writing', p. 46.

## Chapter 2

### Interfaith polemic amidst shifting frontiers: Jean Germain and Islam

A chief proponent of crusade in Burgundy, and the Latin West of the fifteenth-century, was cleric and ducal counsellor, Jean Germain (c. 1400–1461). Indeed, as nineteenth-century historian of Burgundy, Otto Cartellieri, wrote, Germain ‘strove indefatigably with speech and pen for the cause’.<sup>126</sup> Germain achieved a key position at Philip the Good’s court — first appointed bishop of Nevers in 1430, then bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône in 1439, and later serving as chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>127</sup> His highest duty was representing Philip at both the Council of Basel (1433) and Council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–45), where he delivered speeches imploring Christian unity and crusade. At Basel, he became acquainted with theologians Juan de Segovia (d. 1458), Nicolas de Cusa (1401–1464), and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405–1464; later Pope Pius II), with whom he entered into correspondence on matters that included methods for dealing with Islam. Further, and crucial to our present purposes, Germain produced some important works on Islam. These works have received attention from Yvon Lacaze, Jacques Paviot, François Berriot, and David Wrisley, but remain extremely marginal in broader scholarship concerning Christian–Muslim relations compared to Germain’s contemporaries such as Juan de Segovia.<sup>128</sup> The recent *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, which purports to survey all primary sources from the period, contains no discussion of these works and just a short biography on

---

<sup>126</sup> Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, trans., Malcolm Letts (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 136.

<sup>127</sup> Jacques Paviot, ‘Jean Germain, évêque de Nevers et de Chalon-sur-Saône, chancelier de l’ordre de la Toison d’Or’, *Publications du Centre Européen Bourguignonnes* 50 (2010), pp. 110–11; John Tolan, ‘Jean Germain’ in David Thomas, ed., *Christian–Muslim Relations 600–1500*, consulted online on 29 August 2016, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054\\_CMCR\\_COM\\_25925](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_CMCR_COM_25925)>.

<sup>128</sup> This scholarship on Germain is set out in more detail below.

Germain in the online version.<sup>129</sup> This present analysis of Germain's works thus constitutes a vital and necessary contribution to the field.

In May 1451, Germain presented Philip the Good with two manuscripts he had compiled. The first was a spiritual 'map' of the Christian world, the *Mappemonde Spirituelle* (1449), a geographic work that plotted a history of Christian martyrs across Africa, Asia, and Europe.<sup>130</sup> The other work was the *Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin*, a refutation of Islam in the form of a debate between a Christian and a Muslim at the court of a sultan.<sup>131</sup> Both works form part of manuscript collections at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and while edited versions are yet to be published, historians Yvon Lacaze, François Berriot, and David Wrisley have reproduced segments to varying extents.<sup>132</sup> These texts form part of a collection of writings by Germain that concern the Islamic world (or what Wrisley refers to as 'Islamdom', as a complement to 'Christendom').<sup>133</sup> The other works on Islam are the *Discours du voyage d'outremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII* (1452), and

---

<sup>129</sup> See David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 5 (1350–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). For the biography, see Tolán, 'Jean Germain'.

<sup>130</sup> Although a 'mappemonde', the work contains no actual maps apart from a miniature of Germain presenting a map to duke Philip at the beginning of the manuscript (Fig. 4). There are two extant manuscripts. Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, MS Palais des Arts 32: parchment, 71 folios in two columns, one miniature at the beginning represented the author in episcopal attire presenting his book to Philip the Good; 226 x 167 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France: MS Français 13235: parchment, 77 folios in two columns; no illuminations; 240 x 165 mm. A print version of the text is yet to be published.

<sup>131</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 948: velum, 383 folios; five miniatures. An edition of the text is yet to be published. Yvon Lacaze included segments from the *Debat* in his dissertation: Yvon Lacaze, *Un représentant de la polémique antimusulmane au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle Jean Germain Evêque de Nevers et de Chalon-sur-Saône* (Position des thèses de l'école de Chartres, 1958). Unfortunately, Lacaze's work remains unpublished. Copies of his dissertation manuscript are currently kept in a few libraries in France (including the University of Dijon), which, when I contacted them, were unable to produce it for InterLibrary Loan or reproduction.

<sup>132</sup> For Lacaze, see above footnote; François Berriot, 'Images de l'Islam dans le *Débat* manuscrit de Jean Germain (1450)' in François Berriot, *Spiritualités, Hétérodoxies et Imaginaires: Études sur le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'université de Saint-Étienne, 1994), pp. 174–85; David J. Wrisley, 'Jean Germain's *Debat du Crestien et du Sarrasin*: Illumination Between Multi-Confessional Debate and Anti-Conciliarism' in Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith, eds., *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brills, 2013), pp. 177–205.

<sup>133</sup> David J. Wrisley, 'Situating Islamdom in Jean Germain's *Mappemonde Spirituelle* (1449)', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), p. 327.



correspondence between theologians Juan de Segovia and Nicolas de Cusa about the threat of Islam (only Juan's letters are extant).<sup>134</sup>

Given Germain's central place at the Burgundian court, and his role in representing Burgundy's ideological perspective on Islam in a diplomatic capacity, his avid interest in 'the sect of Muhammad' is all the more vital. How did 'Islamdom' figure in his writings? What view of the Islamic East can we draw out of his works? How does this vision sit within broader Christian views of Islam in the late Middle Ages? We shall refer to three of Germain's works: his *Discours du voyage d'outremer* to Charles VII, the *Mappemonde*, and the *Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin*. An analysis of Juan de Segovia's correspondence with Germain will be our starting point since it helps us understand Germain's place in a broader conversation about Islam in the Latin West at the time, as well as his place in recent scholarship. We will then examine Germain's works individually within the context of current approaches to medieval Christian attitudes towards Islam.

### **Juan de Segovia, Jean Germain, and the question of Islam**

Following the Council of Basel, Juan de Segovia and Jean Germain entered into correspondence. Representing Castile, Juan played a pivotal role at the council, especially in defence of the council's superiority over the papacy (against Germain, who supported papal primacy). Among Juan's works are an extensive history of the Council of Basel and a refutation of the Qur'an.<sup>135</sup> A Latin translation of Germain's *Debat* had reached Juan while

---

<sup>134</sup> For the *Discours du voyage d'outremer*: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 5737: parchment; 24 folios; one miniature. For the edition published by Charles Schefer: Jean Germain (Charles Schefer, ed.), 'Le discours du voyage d'outremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII, prononcé en 1452 par Jean Germain', *Revue d'Orient Latin* III (1895), pp. 302–42.

<sup>135</sup> Juan de Segovia, *De gladio Divini Spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, trans., U. Roth (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012).

he was writing this treatise against Islam, and it was in response to the *Debat* that Juan sent Germain an outline of his method of conciliation with Islam.<sup>136</sup>

While Germain's letters to Juan are not extant, those from the Castilian are available and have been the subject of scholarly analysis, most recently by Anne Marie Wolf. One such letter, written by Juan de Segovia in December 1455 in response to Germain, has been reproduced by Wolf in her most recent work concerning Juan's commentary on Islam.<sup>137</sup> The letter was in response to one sent by Germain in July 1455, in which the Burgundian rebutted Juan's proposition that the best response to the threat of Islam was conversion. Instead, Germain advocated war against the Ottomans, referring to Juan's proposition for peace as 'difficult, not useful, dangerous, and scandalous'.<sup>138</sup> According to Wolf, Juan's point-by-point refutation of Germain was pitched on scriptural grounds, following the example of Christ in laying down the sword and using the Word.<sup>139</sup> In the same letter, Juan told Germain that he had read the *Summarium omnium azoararum* and the *Thirteen Articles of the Muslim Faith*, readings Germain would well have considered 'dangerous and scandalous'.<sup>140</sup>

Juan attracts scholarly focus partly because he prompts questions like the one Wolf asks: 'What explains the fact that some individuals *did* think differently, especially after centuries of warfare had conditioned most to see Muslims as perpetual enemies?'<sup>141</sup> It is a question that also seems to seek an alternative medieval Christian–Muslim narrative to

---

<sup>136</sup> Ana Echvarria, *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude Towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 37; Anne Marie Wolf, 'Juan de Segovia' in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 5 (1350–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 435–36.

<sup>137</sup> Anne Marie Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace: Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015).

<sup>138</sup> 'viam paternitas vestra dicit fore difficilem non utilem periculosam et scandalosam': reproduced in Anne Marie Wolfe, 'Pleas for Peace, Problems for Historians: A 1455 Letter from Juan de Segovia to Jean Germain on Countering the Threat of Islam' in Marguerite Ragnow and Williams D. Phillips Jr, eds., *Religious Conflict and Accommodation in the Early Modern World* (Minneapolis: Centre for Early Modern History, 2011), p. 58.

<sup>139</sup> Wolf, 'Juan de Segovia', p. 436.

<sup>140</sup> Gerard Albert Wiegiers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 73.

<sup>141</sup> Wolf, 'Pleas for Peace', p. 57.

buttress a premodern history of Christian–Muslim tolerance to meet needs of our own time. As Wolf herself notes of figures like Juan, ‘thinkers who struggled against the currents of their day to encourage fresh thinking about Islam offer modern scholars fresh perspectives on the foundations of such concepts as tolerance’.<sup>142</sup> This is echoed in seminal scholarly works on Christian–Muslim relations in the Middle Ages more broadly. In *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, Norman Daniel considers Germain ‘weighty enough’ but suggests he had ‘little to add’. Works by Nicholas de Cusa, he argues, reflect an ‘open mind’ that responded ‘freshly to old problems’.<sup>143</sup> Nicholas too has attracted dedicated scholarly attention, including a recent monograph.<sup>144</sup> In Tolan’s *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, Germain is dismissed in his one mention as offering ‘little truly new’, as opposed to Juan.<sup>145</sup> The modern scholar’s quest for something ‘new’, ‘atypical’, or ‘fresh’ in medieval Christian attitudes towards Islam has left Germain’s work largely unattended.

What is noteworthy about Juan de Segovia and Jean Germain is their respective contexts. Both wrote with very different social contexts and frames for their understanding of Islam. Not only did Juan live in a context where Muslims had long been a feature of Castilian demography, but there was also a relatively sizable population of Muslim converts to Christianity (*conversos*). Although Castile was at war with its on-again, off-again Muslim vassal state, Nasrid Granada, the Iberian kingdom’s conflict with a substantial Muslim power had passed. In many respects, Juan’s approach was quite *typical* of the Iberian context, as well as having earlier precedents in thirteenth-century Franciscan missionary work. For Germain, on the other hand, the Burgundian court that was his context had played a role responding to the Ottoman advance in the east since Nicopolis. Juan’s letter to Germain,

---

<sup>142</sup> Wolf, ‘Pleas for Peace’, p. 57.

<sup>143</sup> Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Oxford: OneWorld, 1993), p. 307.

<sup>144</sup> Ian Christopher Levy, Rita George-Tvrtković, and Donald F. Duclow, *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

<sup>145</sup> John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 276.

considered alongside their very different social contexts, helps us understand the frame through which Germain saw the Islamic world, in contrast to the Castilian. For Germain, that frame was Ottoman territorial expansion.

### **The *Discours du voyage d'outremer***

In 1452, Philip sent Jean Germain to the French court to enlist Charles VII's support for crusade. Germain's speech to the king (also prepared as a manuscript), the *Discours du voyage d'outremer*, currently sits within the manuscript collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, with an edition published by Charles Schefer in 1895.<sup>146</sup> No recent edition of this text has been published.

As a call to crusade, Germain's speech appeals to the glory of past defenders of the faith. He enticed Charles with the titles of 'the new David, the new Constantine, the new Charlemagne', proposing a providential calling to the French king.<sup>147</sup> The attribute 'new David' was a popular title used since Carolingian times and, indeed, Charlemagne himself reputedly adopted this honorific.<sup>148</sup> Germain projected himself as 'one of the servants of the good man once called Peter the Hermit', who, inspired by God, had:

... by his exhortation and piteous remonstrance, solicited the high princes of France, who made the great journey that was called publicly by Godfrey of Bouillon, by which they conquered the Turk in the Holy Land and the greater part of the Orient.<sup>149</sup>

---

<sup>146</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 5737: parchment; 24 folios; one miniature. For the edition published by Charles Schefer: Jean Germain (Charles Schefer, ed.), 'Le discours du voyage d'outremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII, prononcé en 1452 par Jean Germain', *Revue d'Orient Latin* III (1895), pp. 302–42.

<sup>147</sup> 'C'est à dire, honneur, gloire et victoire, nouveau David, nouveau Constantin, nouveau Charlemaigne': Germain, 'Discours', p. 342. [All translations from Middle French in this work are my own.]

<sup>148</sup> Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 225–26.

<sup>149</sup> '... ymaginez que je soye l'un des serviteurs du bon homme jadiz appelé Pierre l'ermite, qui, par l'inspiracion de Dieu ... et par son exhortacion et piteuse remonstrance, sollicita les haulx princes de France, dont advint le grant passage qu'on appelle communement de Godeffroy de Buillon, par lequel fut conquise sur le Turcq la tressaincte [terre] et le plus part de l'Orient': Germain, 'Discours', p. 315.

He framed himself in relation to Peter the Hermit, a figure traditionally depicted in the Middle Ages as preaching the First Crusade, while reserving for Charles the place of the ‘high princes of France’ and Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>150</sup> Clearly, Germain was offering Charles the opportunity to stand alongside such figures from France’s past who acquired heroic glory as defenders of the faith in the Orient.

The *Discours* follows a particular and deliberate structure that organises the Orient temporally and spatially in such a way that it complements his rhetorical goals but also tells us something about the way this Burgundian thought about the East. Germain explained:

I shall divide my present proposition into two principal points. The first will speak of the pitiful state and suffering of the holy Christian religion in lands of the Orient, and the second [will concern] the possible remedies and provisions.<sup>151</sup>

In order to accomplish the first of these two points, the *Discours* undertakes a highly structured organisation of time and space, all serving to account for the spread of Christendom in the east and its retreat as a result of the expansion of Islam and, later, the Ottomans. Germain proposed to ‘divide time from the birth of Jesus Christ until the present into four parts’ to demonstrate that God is always planting peace in Christian world.<sup>152</sup>

Within this temporal providential framework, he then proceeded to undertake surveys of Christendom (and, then, Islamdom) in Africa and Asia. This novel structuring of the past is a

---

<sup>150</sup> On the traditional depiction of Peter the Hermit, see, for example: Ghislaine Fournès, ‘La geste sacrée de Pierre l’Ermite, pèlerin et croisé, dans la *Gran conquista de ultramar*’, *Cahiers d’études hispaniques médiévales* 30, no. 1 (2007), p. 58. For Francesco Petrarca’s veneration of Peter the Hermit as inspired by God to lead the crusade, see Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 21.

<sup>151</sup> ‘Et pour acomplir nostre charge, je diviseray ma presente proposition en deux principaulx points. Le premier parlera de piteux estat et doleance de la sainte religion chrestienne ès parties d’Orient, et le second des remedes et provisions possibles’: Germain, ‘Discours’, p. 35.

<sup>152</sup> ‘Et, afin de faire clerement apparoir mon entencion, divisons le tempts de la nativité de Jhesuscrisct jusques à present en quatre parties, et nous verrons que Dieu en icelles a tousiours planté paix civile en la chrestienté’: Germain, ‘Discours’, p. 319.

curious fusion of crusade history and a branch of millenarianism that became popular in the fifteenth century, ‘the Second Charlemagne’ prophecy.<sup>153</sup>

The first stage in Germain’s periodisation begins with the birth of Jesus and ends with ‘the law promulgated by Muhammad about seven hundred years later’ a period, he explained, where ‘all the nations of the world had been issued with, and received, the faith of Jesus Christ’.<sup>154</sup> For twelve-hundred years, he declared, those living in Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor all cried out, ‘Vive, vive Jhesucrist et sa loy!’.<sup>155</sup> Within this temporal stage, he divided the world into four regions: Asia (which he split in two), Africa, and Europe. This was a modification of traditional medieval geographies, which divided the world into *three* regions (Asia, Africa, and Europe). Germain’s addition (splitting Asia into two regions) served to reflect fifteenth-century geopolitical realities (Mamluk and Ottoman Asias).<sup>156</sup> The *Discours* then proceeds to explain, region-by-region, the Christianisation of the world. Germain dedicated notable attention to locations that were still Islamic in the fifteenth century. For example, in Europe, Germain mentions ‘Castile and the Spains’ simply within a broader list of other European lands. Yet, he sets aside special mention for ‘the kingdom of Granada ... which was once Christian and that held a general council and cried “Jesus Christ

---

<sup>153</sup> Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, pp. 39–40. See also Vassilieva-Codognet, Olga, ‘The Iconography of the Last World Emperor: A Study of a Late Fifteenth-Century Prophetic Image’, *Journal of Iconographic Studies* 5 (2012), p. 200. Bisaha and Vassilieva-Codognet discuss the circulation of this prophesy in the Italian and German contexts respectively, and both in relation to the Ottomans. For a discussion of how political currents influenced periodisation in the late Middle Ages, see: Rolf Sprandel, ‘World Historiography in the Late Middle Ages’ in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 157–80.

<sup>154</sup> ‘Premierement, depuis ledit temps jusques à la loy promulgée de Mahomet environ sept cens ans, par toutes les nations du monde a esté publiée et receue la foy de Jhesucrist’: p. 319.

<sup>155</sup> ‘... crians et confessans publiquement à haulte voix: “Vive, vive Jhesucrist et sa loy!” et les plusieurs, comme en Afrique, Egipte, Surrye, Ase la mineur’: Germain, *Discours*, p. 319.

<sup>156</sup> The medieval division of the world into three continents was inherited from Ptolemy, whose legacy continued into the Middle Ages, transmitted by writers such as Roger Bacon and Isidore of Seville: see Andy Merrills, ‘Geography and memory in Isidore’s *Etymologies*’ in Keith D. Lilley, ed., *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 45–64; Margaret Small, ‘Displacing Ptolemy? The textual geographies of Ramusio’s *Navigazioni viaggi*’ in Lilley, ed., *Mapping Medieval Geographies*, pp. 152–72; David Woodward, ‘Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 4 (December 1985), p. 512.

lives!’ and it was called *Civitas Heliberana*’.<sup>157</sup> He then continued, documenting the spread of Christianity through Africa, the ‘Mauritaines’, Egypt, Ethiopia, Syria, Babylon, Parthia, Scythia, Asia Minor, provinces on the Black Sea (including Trebizond), and Tartary. Any discussion of Christianisation in northern Europe is absent. Rather than a survey of the Christian world before Muhammad, his *Discours* is a survey of how contemporary lands that were now Islamic once figured as part of a unified Christendom before Muhammad. They are all geographic points mapping territory based on fifteenth-century frontiers of Christianity and Islam.

The remaining stages in Germain’s periodisation follow a course that is hinged around the relationship between Christendom and Islamdom over the course of proceeding centuries. The second stage is defined by ‘the great trouble in the world made by the seduction of Muhammad and his adherents’.<sup>158</sup> This is followed by the arrival of the Turks, their conquest of Syria, Jerusalem, and ‘a great part of the empire of Constantinople’, as well as the crusades. The fall of Christian Jerusalem and the crusader states marks the final stage in Germain’s periodisation. He then proceeded to detail the geographic scope of Islam’s conquest of the Orient during this fourth age. Starting with the ‘sultan of Babylon of Egypt’ (that is, the Mamluk leader), he proceeded to detail the attacks on Rhodes and submission of Cyprus, Ottoman conquests in Greece, the submission of the king of Bosnia, the lords of Wallachia and the Despot of Serbia. Before too long, Germain warned, ‘[the Ottoman sultan] will make himself emperor of Constantinople and could easily enough come up to Rome, where he will ... entitle himself Emperor of the East and West’.<sup>159</sup> This bifurcation — the

---

<sup>157</sup> ‘le royaume de Grenade, qui chiet en Europe, a esté jadis chrestien et illec tenu concile et cryé: Vive Jhesucrist! et s’appeloit lors: *Civitas Heliberana*’: Germain, ‘Discours’, p. 319.

<sup>158</sup> ‘.. le grant trouble fait au monde par la seduction de Mahomet et de ses adherens et successeurs et qu’ilz eussent subtraictes à la chrestienté plusieurs provinces et regions’: Germain, ‘Discours’, p. 322.

<sup>159</sup> ‘... il se fera empereur de Constantinoble et pourra legierement assez venir jusques à Rome, où ... se intitulera empereur d’Orient et d’Occident’: Germain, ‘Discours’, p. 328. The threat to Rome was genuinely felt at the time, especially with the fall of Constantinople: see Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, p. 25.

‘sultan of Babylon of Egypt’ (referring to the Mamluk sultan) and the Ottomans — is telling. The division reflects the key territorial division of the Islamic world encountered by Christians contemporaneous with Germain.

Germain’s *Discours* is foremost an exercise in rhetoric soliciting the French king’s involvement in the Burgundian crusade project. In doing so, however, Germain not only evoked the glory of Charlemagne and the past crusades, as we might expect, but he constructed a temporal and spatial vision of the Islamic world from a Christian perspective. He assembled a timeline and geography hinged around the rise and expansion of Islam. Even when Germain described a unified, pre-Islamic Christian past, it is shaped by the realities, contours, and frontiers of his own time. What Germain presented to Charles was a map — a detailed geographic account of the world in which the frontiers of religion had radically changed. This sense of space and geographic detail is striking in this piece of rhetoric, and Germain’s vision more broadly.

### ***The Mappemonde Spirituelle***

If Germain’s *Discours* presents us with a temporal and spatial map of the East that pivots around Islam’s rise and expansion, it stands in stark contrast to his *Mappemonde Spirituelle*, in which Islam and the Ottomans are peripheral. Despite being produced in the same milieu, Germain presented a very different vision in this map of the world. It constitutes a manuscript of seventy-seven folios and now sits in the collection at the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. As mentioned earlier, the *Mappemonde* was presented to the duke in May 1451. The German printer and publisher, Johann Reger (d. 1499), who prepared a Latin



translation of the work and used it for his 1486 printed edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, dated its composition to 1450.<sup>160</sup>

Although Germain referred to the work as a 'mappemonde', it is a textual manuscript and contains no actual maps. However, a miniature in the prologue depicts Germain presenting an actual *mappa mundi* to Philip the Good (Fig. 4).<sup>161</sup> The work then plots locations according to their relationship with Jesus, the apostles, and the saints. Paviot describes the text as 'a simple list of places illustrated by martyrs of the Christian faith' that advocates crusade.<sup>162</sup> Philippe Sénac argues that it 'envisaged a battle plan as well as proposed an itinerary to follow for delivering the Holy Land after the defeat of the Turks and the relief of Constantinople'.<sup>163</sup> David Wrisley, on the other hand, sees the *Mappemonde* as something more complex: 'a geographically organised compendium of Christian hagiography' and 'a meditation on universal Christian space and power'.<sup>164</sup> In the work's prologue, Germain noted that his representation of the world was intended to stand apart:<sup>165</sup>

Considering that others are occupied with portraying diverse temporal *mappaemundi* so as to know in each country the deserts, forests, mountains, snakes, birds, fish, and marvels of the world, there was ...

<sup>160</sup> For the entry on Chalon-sur-Saône (Cabulium), Johann Reger wrote: 'Hic dominus Primus Germanus episcopus sacrae theologie professor, qui anno domini 1450 hos sanctos composuit in sua mappa mundi que spiritualis dicitur': Johann Reger of Ulm quoted in Margriet Hoogvliet, 'The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition of Johann Reger of Ulm', *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002), p. 13. Hoogvliet notes that Johann's text was printed at the request of the Venetian Justus de Albano and met with 'considerable success', selling a large number of copies in Italy and compelling some printers to publish pirate editions: see Hoogvliet, 'The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition', p. 9.

<sup>161</sup> Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, PA 32, f. 1.

<sup>162</sup> Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 121.

<sup>163</sup> '[Jean Germain] envisageait un plan de bataille et proposait encore un itinéraire à suivre pour délivrer les lieux saints après défaire les Turcs et soulager Constantinople': Philippe Sénac, *L'image de l'autre: l'Occident médiéval face à l'Islam* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983), p. 152. Sénac is the only one to see the *Mappemonde* as so evidently linked to crusade, even to the extent that he suggests it sets out a plan for action. While I have not had access to the full text, other scholarly assessments of the work based on Yvon's doctoral work do not go so far as Sénac.

<sup>164</sup> David J. Wrisley, 'Situating Islamdom in Jean Germain's *Mappemonde Spirituelle* (1449)', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), pp. 326 and 328.

<sup>165</sup> 'Qu'en consideration que plusieurs se sont occupéz à pourtraire diverses mappemondes temporelles pour connoitre dans chacun pays les désers, forests, montaignes, serpens, oyseaux, poyssons et merveilles du monde, il a l'an 1449, fait icelle mappemonde spirituelle, pour presenter en chacune cité les saints, apôtres, martyrs, vierges et confesseurs qui les on sanctifiées': quoted in Antoine François Delandine, *Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Lyon* (Paris: Renouard, 1812), p. 43. [This is my translation from Middle French to English.]

made this *mappemonde spirituelle*, to present in each city the saints, apostles, martyrs, virgins, and confessors who sanctified them.

Germain was concerned with inscribing a Christian past into a geographic present.

This map was very different too from that presented in the *Discours*. The world defined in the *Mappemonde* reflects an assertion of (and aspiration for) universal Christendom, with no overt mention of Islam or Muhammad. Non-Christians are chiefly referred to as ‘heretics’ or ‘idolaters’.<sup>166</sup> Where they are mentioned, they are framed within a narrative of conversion or their incorporation into Christendom. For example, in his section on Africa, Germain detailed the lives of saints and the African Church in their struggles during the late Roman period, ignoring the Islamic conquest of these very same territories and their rule by the Muslim Mamluks and Hafsiids in Germain’s own time. Such a geography contrasts sharply with what we saw in his *Discours*, which details the extent of Islamic expansion. In the case of non-Christians, such as the Mongols, Germain situated them in relation to Christian martyrdom and even literally married them to Christianity. Of the Mongols, he wrote:

In the year 1202, the Tartars hailing from the land of Mongolia ... subject to the king of India, rose up against their natural lord of David and violently decapitated him. On account of his patience and virtue, he was given the crown of martyrs. [They] took his daughter Angisce and married her to Küyük their leader and king ...<sup>167</sup>

Later in *Mappemonde*, Germain noted that Küyük had converted all his people to Christianity. These two examples suggest Germain was presenting an ideological worldview in which Muslims and other non-Christians were either absent or incorporated within Christendom.

---

<sup>166</sup> Wrisley, ‘Situating Islamdom’, p. 328.

<sup>167</sup> ‘Cy l’an mil CC et deux les Tartarins natif de la terre de Mongolie ... soubgez au roi de ceste Inde s’esleverent contre leur naturel seigneur David et par violence ly couperent la teste, et pour sa patience et vertuz fut coronne martir, prindrent sa fille appelle Angisce et le marierent a Kyothay leur capitaine et depuis leur roy ... [et] le successor du roy David ... obtint victoire contre ses voisins Sarrazins. Et don’t sans les mors estoient esclaves plus de cinq cens mille Sarrazins’: Jean Germain in Wrisley, ‘Situating Islamdom’, pp. 343–44. [This is my own translation from Middle French to English.]

The Ottomans, who were surely a threat to Christendom as significant as the Mongols had been, are completely absent from the text. His definition of Adrianople is of import here. Germain described the city as follows:

St Thomas the Apostle arrived here with Albanus the *maître d'hotel* of the king of India from that part of Palestine Cesarea and converted the king, his son and his daughter, Pelagia, who since have become martyrs.<sup>168</sup>

When Germain was writing this in 1450, Adrianople was, of course, Edirne — the very heart of the Ottoman court as its capital and the city where Bertrandon stood before the sultan. The Ottoman world, and Islamic world generally, is absolutely conspicuous by its absence at a time when Christendom's eastern frontiers were scorched by war against the Turk. It is striking that, at the height of Ottoman expansion across the Christian frontier, Germain's *mappa mundi* makes no mention of the Ottomans.

The 'geography' Germain presented in his *Mappemonde* stands in stark contrast to the *Discours*. In the former, we are presented with an imagined Orient that is wholly Christian, sanctified by the evangelism and martyrdom of saints, while the latter is a world exasperating in its detail of Islam's presence. One is a monument to Christian faith and expression of Christian universalism, while the other is a piece of rhetoric to spur action against the imminent Ottoman threat. Yet, both texts are produced by the same author and in the same crusade milieu. They are two sides of the same coin. While the Ottomans and Islam generally are virtually absent from the *Mappemonde*, this conspicuous absence makes them all the more present. It is unsurprising that, at a time when Christendom's frontiers were so significantly under threat by the Ottomans, a map of a world sanctified and unified under Christendom (Europe, Asia, and Africa) might be presented. Absences are just as interesting to us because they testify to what can be seen as an intentional choice. Other *mappaemundi* of

---

<sup>168</sup> Quoted in Wrisley, 'Situating Islamdom', p. 332.

the period, such as the *Borgia mappamundi* (c. 1430), depicted Muslims in Nubia, Ethiopia, and even on pilgrimage in Mecca.<sup>169</sup> Islam's relative absence from his *Mappemonde* is a symptom of its absolute presence in Germain's vision.

### **The *Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin***

Germain presented his *Debat* to the duke along with the *Mappemonde* in May 1451, with the prologue dated April 1450. Comprising five books, the work is essentially a cross-confessional exposition of the Christian and Muslim faiths, as well as a refutation of the latter, played out through a debate between a Christian and a Muslim before the court of a sultan. It is based on Peter of Toledo's twelfth-century Latin translation of the *Risālat al-Kindi* ('Apology of al-Kindi'), a work originally composed in Arabic and dated to the era of Abbasid caliph al-Mamūn (786–833).<sup>170</sup> The *Risālat* was an epistolary debate between a Christian (al-Kindī) and a Muslim (al-Hasimi). Germain's other key source, especially for his knowledge of the Islamic faith, was Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Judaeos* ('Dialogue Against the Jews'; 1110), which included a section responding to Islam.<sup>171</sup>

A brief summary of the book's structure and context is necessary. The *Debat* takes the form of a debate between a Christian and a Muslim, who are depicted as possessing high

---

<sup>169</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Borgia 16.

<sup>170</sup> Wrisley, 'Jean Germain's *Debat*', p. 179. For the *Risālat*, see: Laura Bottini, 'The Apology of Al-Kindī' in David Thomas and Barbara Roggema, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, Volume 1 (600–900)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 587–94; P. S. van Koningsveld, 'The Apology of Al-Kindī' in T. L. Hettema and A. van der Kooij, eds., *Religious Polemics in Context: Papers Presented to the Second International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) held at Leiden, 27–28 April 2000* (Leiden: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), pp. 69–84.

<sup>171</sup> For further literature on medieval Christian-Muslim polemic (that is, works such as the *disputatio*, the *refutatio*, and the *dialogus*), see: John Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (London: Routledge, 1996); Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Thomas E. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c.1050-1200* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews in Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004); John Tolan, 'Peter the Venerable on the "diabolical heresy of the Saracens"' in Alberto Ferreiro, ed., *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 345–68; James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

social status and learning. The Muslim is described as ‘very wise and very excelled in the law [of Islam], a man of great faith and morality’, while the Christian is described as ‘a very wise Christian man educated in the Christian law, native of Commude, a principal city of Arabia’.<sup>172</sup> The debate itself takes place at the court of a sultan, who is generally understood to be al-Mamūn.<sup>173</sup> Through the words of the Muslim speaker, the first book presents the faith of ‘la secte sarrazine’. The second book then proceeds as a refutation of the preceding, while the third retraces the history of Christianity’s birth. The fourth book constitutes an ‘invective against the Saracen [that is, Muhammad] and his adherents’.<sup>174</sup> The work concludes with the sultan convinced by the force of the Christian’s argument and, thus, his judgment in favour of Christianity. The work itself incorporates, and thus reflects, a tradition of polemic that, through a presentation of the terms of Islam and their refutation, serves as an affirmation of Christianity’s superiority.<sup>175</sup> However, there are two key features that are unique to Germain’s text and, thus, can provide insights into his intentions and vision. The first is the prologue, which has been reproduced in print by Charles Schefer, and the illumination program that accompanies the text and which Germain oversaw.

In the prologue, Germain identified two key reasons for his work. The first was to warn that ‘the sect of Muhammad had brought to Christianity many great harms and continues to do so daily’ and that:

---

<sup>172</sup> The Muslim is described as: ‘Sarrazin tres prudent et tres excellent en la loy helesme, homme des grande religion et preudomnie’. The Christian is described as: ‘un homme crestien tres saige et lettré en la loy crestienne, natif de Commude, une principale cite d’Arabe’. Quoted in Berriot, ‘Image de l’Islam’, p. 36.

<sup>173</sup> ‘puissant prince Emirhelmonim, dit Admirmonim, empereur et seigneur des Maures’: quoted in Berriot, ‘Images de l’Islam’, p. 36.

<sup>174</sup> ‘invective contre le Sarrazin et ses adherents’: quoted in Berriot, ‘Images de l’Islam’, p. 35.

<sup>175</sup> Ryan Szpiech, ‘Introduction’, in Ryan Szpiech, ed., *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference: Commentary, Conflict, and Community in the Premodern Mediterranean* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), pp. 9–10.

... on the occasion of civil wars between Christian princes or of indifference, pilgrims, crusaders, and soldiers for the faith since around two-hundred years have been rarely undertaken and [so] continues the great decline of Christianity and the advantage of the Saracens.<sup>176</sup>

His second rationale for the work is particularly interesting. While Germain was concerned with the potential for apostasy by Christians in lands conquered by Muslims, another group of Christians attracted his concern, and constituted his second motivation. He wrote:

... on the occasion of travels for war, commerce, and pilgrimage made by people of all estates, nobles and others, in the regions of the Orient, Egypt, Africa, Tunis, Bourgie, Bellemarine, and Granada, many seeing the great lordships, cities and people in great number under the obedience of Muhammad, often return full of scruples and poorly edified and by reason of knowledge, they think or speak against the holy Christian faith.<sup>177</sup>

Germain was with Philip the Good when Bertrandon returned from his journey dressed in Ottoman costume and bearing texts relating to Islam. Guillebert was among Burgundian travellers who, as well as visiting north Africa and the Levant, had travelled to Granada (as diplomat and soldier). Germain's concern about the threat posed by Islam to those travelling in the Islamic world, and the possible seductiveness of such a world, is curious. Evidently, for Germain, the threat of Islam was not only military and territorial. In a world where fellow Burgundians were travelling through Islamic lands for reasons of war, commerce, or pilgrimage, the threat was also spiritual and cultural. The intention of his work then, at least in part, was to counter any 'contaminating' influence cultural encounters with the Islamic world might induce. This fear of Islam's 'seduction' is paralleled in other areas of

---

<sup>176</sup> 'la secte de Mahumet a pourté à la sancta chrestienté plusieurs grans domaiges et encores faitc journallement ... et que à l'occasion des guerres civiles entre les princes crestiens our de nonchaloir, les sains voyages d'outremer, croisées et armées pour la foy depuis environ deux cens ans en ça ont esté peu entreprises et continues au grand aboutement de la crestienté et avantaige des Sarrazins': Germain, 'Discours', p. 311. [Note that Schefer has extracted the *Debat's* prologue in his edition of the *Discours*, which is why I am citing this work.]

<sup>177</sup> 'd'autre part que, en l'occasion des voyaiges en guerres, marchandises et pelegrinaiges fais par gens de tous estas, nobles et aultres, en regions d'Orient, d'Egypte, Afrique, Thunes, Bossie, Bellemarine et Granade, plusieurs veans les grandes seignories, villes et peuples en grand nombre soubz l'obeysance de Mahumet, souvent retournerent plains de scruples et mal eddifiez et par default de cognoissance pensent our dient reproaches contre le saincte foy crestienne': Germain, 'Discours', p. 311.

Christendom, especially intercultural contact zones such as Iberia, and motivated works such as Peter the Venerable's *Contra Sarracenos*, itself seeking to combat possible Christian attraction to Islam.<sup>178</sup> The *Debat* stipulates the correct Christian understanding of Islamic items of faith (an understanding informed by the tradition of Peter of Toledo and Petrus Alfonsi) and then proceeds to refute those tenets. Thus, we see in the prologue both an appeal to crusade but also an anxiety over contact with the Islamic world.

The other unique aspect of Germain's *Debat* is the illumination program. According to Wrisley, Germain oversaw production of the illuminated copy from 1447, which suggests that Germain was closely involved in the development of the miniatures.<sup>179</sup> There are six miniatures in total: a presentation scene, with Philip the Good and Germain; a scene from the debate at the sultan's court, with the Muslim speaking; scenes from the life of Mohammed; another debate scene, with the Christian speaking; a representation of the risen Christ; and a papal council. Importantly, none of the imagery traditionally used to depict Saracens or Muhammad is employed, imagery or tropes that associated them with inferiority or demonic otherness.<sup>180</sup> As Suzanne Conklin Akbari notes, medieval Christian representations of Muhammad and Muslims tended to be idolators, tricksters, or Antichrist figures.<sup>181</sup> In Germain's *Debat*, both figures are of equal stature in terms of physical placement, dress, and gestural refinement. Yet, Wrisley rightly cautions that this can 'seduce the viewer into an idealisation of a cross-confessional exchange between peers'.<sup>182</sup> A closer examination reveals

---

<sup>178</sup> Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'The Creation of a Christian Armory of Islam' in Constance Hoffman Berman, ed., *Medieval Religion: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 333–34. Laws requiring specific clothing and forbidding inter-marriage are other examples of attempts to prevent this 'contamination' in medieval Iberia. Even food and food practices presented a danger of 'contamination': see Olivia Remie Constable, 'Food and Meaning: Christian Understandings of Muslim Food and Food Ways in Spain, 1250–1550', *Viator* 55, no. 3 (2013), pp. 199–236.

<sup>179</sup> Wrisley, 'Jean Germain's *Debat*', p.177.

<sup>180</sup> Michelina Di Cesare, 'The Prophet in the Book: Images of Muhammad in Western Medieval Book Culture' in Avinoam Shalem, ed., *Constructing the Image of Muhammad in Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), p. 15.

<sup>181</sup> Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 200.

<sup>182</sup> Wrisley, 'Jean Germain's *Debat*', p. 179.

a more nuanced picture, and the key figure here is the arbitrator of the dispute, the sultan, and his gaze. In the first debate scene (Fig. 5), the sultan is looking at the Christian while the Muslim speaks. In the second debate scene (Fig. 6), later in the text, the sultan holds his sceptre towards the Muslim as the Christian speaks (as if to stop the former from responding), while looking directly at the viewer. For Wrisley, considered together these two scenes reflect the work's overall refutation of Islam. Through the subtlety of the sultan's gaze and gesture, the miniatures instruct and guide the viewer on how to read the text even before the viewer has read the sultan's final judgment in favour of the Christian. While both figures are represented in equal terms, the imagery is consistent with the text's anti-Islam position.

A similar visual refutation of Islam is contained in the miniature depicting two scenes from Muhammad's life — the Hijra and his appearance before Bahira, the holy man who foretold to the adolescent Muhammad his destiny as a prophet (Fig. 7). Apart from his black skin tone, dress, and use of a camel, Muhammad is represented with neutral imagery. Once again, the traditional fanciful, demonic, or trickster imagery is not used (for example, Figs. 8 and 9).<sup>183</sup> In some polemic texts in the Latin West, the holy man Bahira went by the name 'Sergius the Monk' and functioned to present Islam as a human (rather than divine) invention. Muhammad, as the story goes, was 'an obedient disciple' of the monk rather than a prophet of God.<sup>184</sup> Within the polemic tradition, this represented the moment of Muhammad's conversion to Islam (but understood as the false doctrine of Sergius). However, as Wrisley points out in his analysis of the images, the illumination in Germain's work places the monk before a Christian church with the result that Muhammad is not converted to Islam

---

<sup>183</sup> For example, an image of Muhammad as trickster appears in a mid-fifteenth-century copy of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Les cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (Fig. 8): Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 226, fol. 243r. Muhammad within a demonic context, see the fresco by Giovanni da Modena on the San Petronio Basilica in Bologna (Fig. 9): Giovanni da Modena, *Heaven and Hell*, 1410, fresco, San Petronio Basilica, Bologna.

<sup>184</sup> Krisztina Szilágyi, 'Muhammad and the Monk: The Making of the Christian Bahīrā Legend', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34 (2008), p. 169.



or the false doctrine, but to Christianity.<sup>185</sup> What seems to be a neutral representation of scenes from Muhammad's life is another refutation of Islam and a visual guide to the reader. Curiously, just as the *Mappemonde* distorted the past by having the Mongols convert to Christianity, so too this depiction of Muhammad's life presents him as becoming part of the Christian fold. Here, contrary to claims by historians that Germain was derivative, we see him standing apart from his thirteenth-century sources who presented Muhammad as a heresiarch. In his anti-Islamic polemic in *Dialogues against the Jews*, Petrus Alfonsi presented Muhammad first as an idolator, then as a false prophet.<sup>186</sup> Meanwhile, Peter the Venerable presented Muhammad as a false prophet schooled by Jews and heretics.<sup>187</sup> Although drawing on this polemic tradition, Germain cast Muhammad as a convert to Christianity, tying in with his vision in the *Mappemonde* of a universal Christianity.

Germain drew on the works of Peter of Toledo and Petrus Alfonsi in producing his *Debat*, both of whom were scholars working in an Iberian context where polemic texts were used to counter anxieties about the appeal of Islam and Judaism or to convert Muslims and Jews. The question begs why a fifteenth-century Burgundian would feel the need to produce a text refuting Islam. Certainly, the *Debat* serves to buttress Philip the Good's reputation in the Latin West as a 'defender of the faith'. It is, in a sense, a weapon in the artillery of Burgundy's crusade against the Ottomans. However, as we have seen in its prologue, Germain directed the work not just to support crusade efforts but to address concerns and anxieties about the possible seduction of Christian travellers to the Islamic world (whether soldiers, merchants, or pilgrims) by 'the sect of Muhammad'. Arguably, Germain is responding to one of the effects and realities of Islamic expansion — more porous boundaries

---

<sup>185</sup> Wrisley, 'Jean Germain's *Debat*', p. 190. Typically, in this scene, Sergius is depicted before a cave as an eremitic monk.

<sup>186</sup> Tolán, *Saracens*, pp. 148–49. According to Tolán, Petrus based his anti-Islamic polemic on the *Risālat*.

<sup>187</sup> Tolán, *Saracens*, p. 157.

and greater interaction with the Islamic world. The *Debat*'s illumination program presents the viewer with a set of Muslim figures (the orator, the sultan, and Muhammad himself) in fairly neutral terms, but nonetheless guides the viewer with a visual refutation using subtle visual cues. In a sense, the illumination program assures its viewer that while aspects of the Islamic world might appear equivalent to Christianity, the latter remains superior. The *Debat* is a piece of edification produced in a context of greater contact with the Islamic world. Indeed, one might argue that the *Debat* itself, both as a text and a set of illuminations, presents an imagined frontier between Christianity and Islam to resolve anxieties about contact between these two worlds.

### **Polemic and the fifteenth-century Christian–Muslim frontier**

Germain's works offer a valuable insight into the way Islam figured within the Burgundian context. As we have seen, he not only occupied a central position at the Burgundian court, representing the duke outside Burgundy, but he actively wrote about Islam and engaged in correspondence with other theologians about the threat posed by Islamic powers. One of the striking aspects of his works is the way he represents Islam in territorial terms. We saw it in his *Discours*, where he structured the world temporally and spatially based on the rise and expansion of Islam. In *Mappemonde*, which bears a striking contrast to the *Discours* in its marginalisation of Islam, we are presented with another map, another spatial representation of the world, but this time the idealised world of universal Christendom projected from a reality where Christendom's frontiers were under threat. Finally, in his *Debat*, Germain attended to anxieties about spiritual 'contamination' stemming from an impinging Islamic world. Indeed, given Germain's concerns about the corrupting influence of Islam on Christian travellers, we can appreciate why he might have had strong objections to Juan de Segovia's approach of pacification and conversion. Juan's approach was shaped by

his Iberian context, where Christianity's frontier had expanded and settled such that it was less a question of military conquest than what to do with a Muslim population living under Christian rule. Germain, on the other hand, was writing with reference to Christendom's rapidly shifting eastern frontier. Nancy Bisaha has documented the way this frontier shaped the approach of Germain's Italian contemporaries, including Pius II, who began to articulate their crusade rhetoric in similarly geographic terms.<sup>188</sup>

It is also worth noting Germain's representation of a Muslim orator and Muhammad in the *Debat* in unconventionally neutral terms. In the next chapter, we will again encounter representations of Muslims, only in the context of a *romance*.

---

<sup>188</sup> Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, pp. 78–79.

## Chapter 3

### Worldly goods and ambiguous identities: commerce, art, and courtly love

As we saw in Chapter 1, the knight Geoffroy de Thoisy was imprisoned in the Georgian kingdom (1445). Geoffroy's malfeasance comprised several acts of piracy along the Trebizond and Georgian coasts, the chief objects of which were textiles. Specifically, Jean de Wavrin reported, the errant knight was interested in silk and cloth-of-gold arriving on the Black Sea ports from Shamakhi. This booty of trade goods might appear a small detail in a larger, swashbuckling misadventure, but it is actually a window into a much bigger world. This is the world of Burgundy's northern cities, such as Bruges, Antwerp, and Ghent, important commercial centres in Flanders with markets of textiles, spices, and other 'worldly goods'.

Even at the ducal court, oriental goods had found their place. In his *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 10), Italian artist Gentile da Fabriano chose three rulers as models for the three wise kings from the east, including the Burgundian, John the Fearless (as Caspar).<sup>189</sup> The work was a tribute to the successful rebuke of an Ottoman blockade of Constantinople in 1402, with these three 'kings' at the helm of such efforts.<sup>190</sup> The Burgundian duke, writes Abolala Soudavar, is dressed in 'his new Ottomanesque attire', having returned to Venice from Bursa, where he had been the sultan's captive. John returned from Bursa not only with the memory of war and captivity, but with what Bertrand Schnerb calls 'a certain orientalist taste and fashion'.<sup>191</sup> Among John's entourage was a small group of 'Sarrasins et Turcs', later

<sup>189</sup> Gentile da Fabriano, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1423, tempera on panel, 203 x 282 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

<sup>190</sup> Abolala Soudavar, *Decoding the Old Masters: Patrons, Princes and Enigmatic Paintings of the 15th Century* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 125–26.

<sup>191</sup> Bertrand Schnerb, *Jean Sans Peur: Le prince neutrier* (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages, 2005), p. 105.

baptised Christian, as well as merchandise and goods.<sup>192</sup> These goods included a gift of Turkish garments given to the young Philip the Good, who was subsequently dressed as if a young Ottoman prince.<sup>193</sup>

Textiles were just one dimension of Burgundy's rich commercial, material, and visual cultures for which it had a reputation. Together with its thriving commerce in the north, the emergence of an artistic culture, and the flourishing of manuscript illumination and book collection, Burgundy acquired an aura of luxury, high culture, and prestige across the continent.<sup>194</sup> These present us with important avenues for exploring Burgundy's vision of the Islamic world. Already, we have seen the important place textiles occupied in Jean de Wavrin's account of the Ottomans and Bertrandon's observation of oriental rugs in Bursa. While there is growing scholarship on representations of the Orient and Islam in fifteenth-century art, a Burgundian perspective has been neglected.<sup>195</sup> This chapter begins by examining Burgundy's commercial connection to the Islamic East, with its key Flemish markets connected to ports in Egypt, Anatolia, and the Levant for trade in spices, cotton, and alum. One luxury import from the Islamic world, oriental rugs, began to appear in Flemish art, and we shall examine this phenomenon light of recent scholarship of similar evidence in Italian art. Finally, we shall see how courtly love and the Islamic East came together in the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*.

---

<sup>192</sup> These objects (including knives, salt containers, and a tambour) are itemised in Léon de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Plon Frères, 1851), pp. 46 [item 2343], 85 [2650], 96–97 [2757], 138 [3240, 3341, 3345, 3252], 139 [3256, 3281], 225 [4182], 264 [4242], 258 [4201], 259 [4210], 266 [4256], and 276 [4317, 4319].

<sup>193</sup> Schnerb, *Jean Sans Peur*, p. 106.

<sup>194</sup> For a survey of Burgundian material culture, see: Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*; Susan Marti and Gabriele Keck, *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433–1477)* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009); Wim Blockmans, Till Borchert, Nele Gabriëls, et al., *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013); Jan van der Stock and Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, 1475–1550* (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1996);

<sup>195</sup> Examples include: Raphael Beuing, *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art* (Brussels: BOZAR Books, 2015); Jean Arrouye et al., eds., *Images et signes d'Orient dans l'Occident medieval* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1982); Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'Imagining Islam: The Role of Images in Medieval Depictions of Muslims', *Scripta Mediterranea* 19–20 (1998–99), pp. 9–27.

### **Bruges: ‘one of the greatest markets of the world’**

When Castilian traveller Pero Tafur arrived in Bruges in 1438, he had just completed a journey to the Levant, Cairo, Alexandria, Constantinople, the Ottoman court at Edirne, Trebizond, Kaffa, Bursa, and Venice (among other places). Amid such an impressive itinerary, he reserved this ovation for the Flemish mercantile city:

This city of Bruges is a large and very wealthy city and one of the greatest markets of the world. It is said that two cities compete with each other for commercial supremacy, Bruges in Flanders in the West, and Venice in the East. It seems to me, however ... that there is much more commercial activity in Bruges than in Venice.<sup>196</sup>

In Bruges, continued Tafur, ‘the goddess of luxury had great power’ and ‘anyone who has money ... will find in this town alone everything which the whole world produces’.<sup>197</sup> He continued:

I saw there oranges and lemons from Castile, which seemed only just to have been gathered from the trees ... I saw also confections and spices from Alexandria, and all the Levant, just as if one were there; furs from the Black Sea, as if they had been produced in the district ...<sup>198</sup>

For this traveller, who had just visited eastern ports in Egypt and the Levant, the Flemish city presented him with a vision of abundance and ‘worldly goods’.

While Tafur was in Flanders, Philip the Good summoned him on many occasions and ‘enquired as to the places [he] had visited, and by repeated questions desired to be exactly informed concerning all [he] had seen and done’, with the duke signalling his intention to ‘make the conquest of Jerusalem’.<sup>199</sup> We can well imagine the very places that piqued the

---

<sup>196</sup> Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, trans., Malcolm Letts (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1926), p. 198. For a discussion of Tafur’s time in Flanders, see M. H. van der Linden, ‘Le voyage de P. Tafur en Brabant, en Flandres et en Artois (1438)’, *Revue du Nord* 5, no. 19 (August 1914), pp. 216–31.

<sup>197</sup> Tafur, *Travels*, p. 200.

<sup>198</sup> Tafur, *Travels*, p. 200.

<sup>199</sup> Tafur, *Travels*, p. 195.

duke's interest. Philip's presence in Brussels represented an important shift for Burgundy that had taken place during his reign. While John the Fearless was the first Valois Burgundian to rule Bruges as count of Flanders, it was Philip who consolidated Burgundian control over the county, as well as the duchy's expanding territorial acquisitions northward that included Holland, Hainaut, and Zeeland.<sup>200</sup> Richard Vaughan, noted: 'Philip has been credited, not only with the unification of the Low Countries under himself, but also with the foundation of the Burgundian state'.<sup>201</sup> Along with Bruges, these territories included some of the great trading centres of northern Europe. These territorial gains also meant a greater northern orientation for the Burgundian court, as it shifted from Dijon–Paris to a more ambulatory court that included Lille, Brussels, and Bruges.<sup>202</sup> Moreover, under Philip, the Valois Burgundians were for the first time to reap the financial, commercial, and cultural benefits of the north. 'The Burgundian domination of the Low Countries,' writes Jean-François Lassalmonie, 'carried their principality to the forefront of the economic powers of the West'.<sup>203</sup>

Bruges had been a longstanding commercial market in medieval Europe, and between 1380 and 1480 it was the preeminent trading city in north-western Europe.<sup>204</sup> During the fifteenth century, three core commodities arriving from the Levant and eastern Mediterranean via the 'Flanders galleys' were spices, cotton, and alum. The Venetian galleys to Flanders

---

<sup>200</sup> J. C. H. Bloom and E. Lamberts, *History of the Low Countries* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), p. 87. For an account of Burgundian territorial expansion in the north, see Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule (1369–1530)*, trans., Lizabeth Fackelmans (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). The text was originally published in Dutch in 1988, with this edition expanding and reorienting the original for a broader international readership.

<sup>201</sup> Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Longmans, 1970), p. 29.

<sup>202</sup> The five key ducal residences during Philip's reign were at Brussels, Bruges, Lille, Dijon, and Hesdian (in Artois). According to Vaughan, the hotel d'Artois in Paris, where the previous Valois dukes had spent much of their time, was 'given over to a caretaker and cobwebs': Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 136.

<sup>203</sup> 'La domination bourguignonne des Pays-Bas ... a porté leur principauté aux tout premier rangs des puissances économiques d'Occident'. Lassalmonie notes that the Low Countries were second only to northern Italy for gold and silver reserves. Jean-François Lassalmonie, 'Le plus riche prince d'Occident' in Werner Paravicini, ed., *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe: le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2013), p. 72.

<sup>204</sup> Bloom and Lamberts, *History of the Low Countries*, p. 100.

were among the Italian city's eight key galley services, which also included Constantinople, Beirut, Alexandria, and Barbary.<sup>205</sup> Letters addressed to Bruges-based Venetian Lorenzo Dolfín identify goods carried on the Flanders galleys in 1424: pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, cumin, cotton, nuts, galanga, and mace.<sup>206</sup> A similar record in 1441 notes the same spices, along with dyed silk and 'Syrian and Turkish cotton'.<sup>207</sup> With respect to cotton, Jong-Kuk Nam observes that, as well as the 'considerable *quantity*' of cotton shipped to Flanders, 'one must also note the *variety* of cotton', listing cotton from Alexandria, Turkey, and Ascalon.<sup>208</sup> Bruges was 'in effect ... the principal destination of Italian and Catalan ships coming from the Mediterranean with a charge of cotton'.<sup>209</sup> The alum trade was commandeered chiefly by the Genoese, who mined the product from Ottoman-controlled Phocaea. Alum was an important complement to cotton, since it was a key ingredient in the production of tints, paints, and dyes used for textiles.<sup>210</sup> According to Marie-Louise Heers, until 1455, 'alum formed the essential product of cargo on ships returning from the Orient, both in weight and value' and that 'lines of Genoese navigation established a permanent contact between the Orient and Flanders'.<sup>211</sup> The city also hosted Italian, Iberian, and German *Hanse* merchants, all maintaining a strong, permanent presence as commercial 'nations'.<sup>212</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> Jong-Kuk Nam, *Le commerce du coton en Méditerranée à la fin du Moyen Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 227.

<sup>206</sup> '... la ligne de Flandre porta à Bruges les produits suivants: poivre, gingembre, *mechin*, cannelle, clou de girofle, noix, *macis*, *galanga*, *verzi*, coton, et *comini*': Nam, *Le commerce du coton*, p. 256. [My translation from French to English.]

<sup>207</sup> Nam, *Le commerce du coton*, p. 256.

<sup>208</sup> Nam, *Le commerce du coton*, p. 258 (emphasis added). See also Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 45.

<sup>209</sup> Nam, *Le commerce du coton*, p. 383.

<sup>210</sup> Marie-Louise Heers, 'Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du Moyen Age', *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 32, no. 1 (1954), p. 31.

<sup>211</sup> Heers, 'Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun', pp. 43–44.

<sup>212</sup> James M. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280–1390* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 217. Chapter 6 provides an instructive account of the development of the foreign mercantile community in Bruges throughout the Middle Ages. See also: Maria Teresa Ferrer, 'Catalan commerce in the late Middle Ages', *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012), p. 46. Andrew Brown, 'Cities, nations and divine service: identifying Spanish merchants in late medieval Bruges', *Urban History* (May 2016), pp. 1–22.



Bruges was not only a destination for goods coming from the Islamic East but also home for foreign merchant communities with extensive contact with the that world.

Fifteenth-century Burgundy's acquisition of territories in the Low Countries introduced a new cosmopolitan dynamic into the duchy, including commercial contact with the Mediterranean. As Tafur's reports of Bruges attest, as well as studies of commodity imports to Flanders, the city had connections to markets in the Islamic world. These connections were facilitated by foreign merchants, chiefly from the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. We have already seen how one such merchant, Anselm Adorno, would also undertake duties on behalf of the duke. At the same time, one particular luxury commodity found its way into art emerging from Bruges.

### **Oriental rugs and the Flemish Primitives**

Amid this milieu of oriental commodities and foreign merchants, a curious development takes place in art emerging from Flanders. It is a development that has attracted limited scholarly attention to-date — namely, the appearance of oriental rugs in Flemish artworks. These rugs make a noticeable appearance from the 1430s, predominantly in the works of Jan van Eyck (1390–1441) and Hans Memling (1430–1494). Our focus is on Van Eyck and Memling since their work represents the largest use of these objects.

According to John Mills, the mid-fifteenth century marks a point when 'well-known types of geometrical-design Ottoman carpets' make an appearance in European art, reflecting rug designs coming from places like Anatolia.<sup>213</sup> The phenomenon is most notable among Italian works, such as Andrea Mantegna's *San Zeno Altarpiece* (Fig. 11), Antonello da Messina's *San Sebastian* (Fig. 12), Gentile Bellini's *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (Fig.

---

<sup>213</sup> John Mills, 'The Coming of the Carpet to the West' in Donald King and David Sylvester, eds., *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World: from the 15th to the 17th century* (London: Hayward Gallery, 1983), p. 14.

13), and Carlo Crivelli's *Annunciation with St Emidius* (Fig. 14).<sup>214</sup> The appearance of oriental rugs peaks in the sixteenth-century, particularly with Lorenzo Lotto's work, such as *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta and His Wife and Children* (Fig. 15) and *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, Christina, Liberale, and Jerome* (Fig. 16).<sup>215</sup>

The presence of oriental rugs (and other objects from the east) in Italian Renaissance art has received significant scholarly attention in recent years, from historians such as Alexander Nagel, Marco Spallanzani, Lisa Jardine, Jerry Brotton, and Rosamond Mack.<sup>216</sup> Scholars cite the appearance of oriental objects in Renaissance Italian painting as pointing to the underlying commercial contact and trade Italian cities had with the Islamic world, as well as a growing taste among 'consumers' for oriental goods as part of a trend of acquiring more domestic luxury products. Mack, for example, explains that the surge arose from 'changes in painting style, the arrival of high-quality carpets with geometric patterns, and increased interest in acquiring and displaying luxury domestic furnishings'.<sup>217</sup>

Yet, a similar phenomenon emerged at the same time in the north, specifically in Bruges, and appear in the works two artists connected to the Burgundian court: Van Eyck and Memling. Despite notable examples appearing across their work, there is a paucity of

---

<sup>214</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *San Zeno Altarpiece*, 1457–60, tempera on panel, 212cm x 460cm, Basilica di San Zeno, Verona. Antonello da Messina, *San Sebastian*. 1479–79, oil on canvas, 171cm x 85cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden. Gentile Bellini, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned*, 1475–85, oil on wood, 121.9 x 82.6 cm, The National Gallery, London. Carlo Crivelli, *The Annunciation, with Saint Emidius*, 1486, egg and oil on canvas, 207 x 146.7 cm, The National Gallery, London.

<sup>215</sup> David Young Kim, 'Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting', *The Art Bulletin* 98 (2016), p. 181. Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta and His Wife and Children*, 1547, oil on canvas, 104.5 x 138 cm, The National Gallery, London. Lorenzo Lotto, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, Christina, Liberale, and Jerome* (main panel of the San Cristina Altarpiece), 1504–06, oil on panel, 175 x 162 cm, San Cristina al Tivernone, Treviso.

<sup>216</sup> See Alexander Nagel, 'Some Discoveries of 1492: Eastern Antiquities and Renaissance Europe' in *The Seventeenth Gerson Lecture held in memory of Horst Gerson (1907–1978) in the aula of the University of Groningen on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November 2014* (Groningen: The Gerson Lectures Foundation, 2013); Marco Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs in Renaissance Florence* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 2007); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Nan A Talese, 1996); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East & West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: from the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>217</sup> Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, p. 73.

scholarship exploring the presence of these carpets and their connection to social, cultural, and commercial life in the Burgundian north. It is tempting to partly attribute this scholarly absence to the historiographical tendency to relegate the northern experience as ‘medieval’ and prioritise contemporaneous Italianate culture as ‘Renaissance’.<sup>218</sup> In calling for a ‘historiographical reappraisal’ of the Renaissance, Marina Belozerskaya argues that the fifteenth-century ‘has been studied largely through the prism of Italy’, which is portrayed as ‘the quintessence of spiritual and creative triumph’ while the north (including Burgundy, the focus of her seminal work) is conceptualised as ‘a society in decline’.<sup>219</sup> If Pero Tafur considered Bruges equal to Venice as ‘a great market of the world’, then surely the dynamics in the Flemish context demand similar scholarly attention. Why do these objects appear in these works? Were the artists working with original models, products sourced from the Bruges marketplace? Do they indicate a taste for oriental goods in the Burgundian north matching the Italian context? Before turning to these questions, a brief account of oriental rugs in these works is necessary.

According to the official account of Philip the Good’s embassy to Portugal, Van Eyck was ‘an excellent master in the art of painting’.<sup>220</sup> The Bruges-based painter, who entered the duke’s service as *valet de chambre* in 1425, had been sent to Portugal to paint a portrait of Philip’s prospective wife, Isabella. Van Eyck’s patrons also included wealthy nobles and

---

<sup>218</sup> For this historiographical tendency, see: Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Margaret A. Sullivan, ‘Bosch, Bruegel, Everyman and the Northern Renaissance’, *Oud Holland* 121, nos. 2/3 (2008), pp. 117–46; Hanno Wijsman, ‘Northern Renaissance Burgundy and Netherlandish Art in Fifteenth-Century Europe’ in Alexander Lee, Pit Péporté, and Harry Schnitker, eds., *Renaissance?: Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, c. 1300–c. 1500* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 269–88. In Lisa Jardine’s *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West*, van Eyck is mentioned once and Bruges only twice in the monograph’s 185 pages.

<sup>219</sup> Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, p. 2. See also: Susie Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 4; Wesser Krul, ‘Realism, Renaissance and Nationalism’ in Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren, and Henk van Veen, eds., *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Rediscovery, Reception and Research* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), pp. 252–53.

<sup>220</sup> ‘excellent maistre en art de peinture’ quoted in Catherine Reynolds, ‘The King of Painters’ in Susan Foister, Sue Jones, and Delphine Cool, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 2.

merchants, including Anselm Adorno.<sup>221</sup> Another patron was the Lucchese merchant, Giovanni Arnolfini (c. 1400–1452), for whom Van Eyck painted the celebrated *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* (Fig. 17).<sup>222</sup> Behind the couple is an oriental rug, located within an entirely Flemish domestic setting along with other household objects. This is the first appearance of such a rug in Van Eyck's work. His most spectacular use of oriental rugs is reflected in three key pieces. First is the *Lucca Madonna* (Fig. 18), likely a triptych panel in which the Virgin Mary is enthroned upon an oriental rug.<sup>223</sup> The Virgin is painted in a seemingly domestic setting, surrounded by objects almost reminiscent of the Arnolfini portrait. The next is the *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (Fig. 19), commissioned by Joris van der Paele, who appears kneeling beside the Virgin Mary.<sup>224</sup> The Virgin is enthroned upon an oriental rug that art historian Otto Pätsch referred to as among 'the finest examples of oriental carpets in Renaissance painting'.<sup>225</sup> In the *Dresden Triptych* (Fig. 20), the Virgin Mary is again enthroned on an oriental rug.<sup>226</sup> While the donor for this work remains contentious, recent scholarship suggests it was a member of the Giustiniani family, the same group that governed the Chios–Flanders alum trade.<sup>227</sup> A final work is worth

---

<sup>221</sup> Anselm bought at least two works from Van Eyck depicting scenes from the life of St Francis: see Carola Hicks, *Girl in a Green Gown: The History and Mystery of the Arnolfini Portrait* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2011), pp. 19–20. For a discussion of possible candidates for these works, see: Noël Geirnaert, 'Anselme Adornes and his Daughters. Owners of Two Paintings of Saint Francis by Jan van Eyck?' in Foister, Jones, and Cool, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck*, pp. 165–70.

<sup>222</sup> Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife*, 1434, oil on oak, 82.2 x 60 cm, National Gallery, London.

<sup>223</sup> Jan van Eyck, *Lucca Madonna*, 1436, oil on panel, 65.5 x 49.5 cm, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt.

<sup>224</sup> Jan van Eyck, *The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele*, 1434–36, oil on wood, 141 x 176.5 cm, Groeningemuseum, Bruges.

<sup>225</sup> Otto Pätsch, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, trans., Maria Schmidt-Dengler (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1999), p. 76. This is an English edition of a work originally published in German in 1989: Otto Pätsch, *Van Eyck Die Begründer der altniederländischen Malerei* (Munich: Prestel, 1989).

<sup>226</sup> Jan van Eyck, *Dresden Triptych* (or *Virgin and Child with St. Michael and St. Catherine and a Donor*), 1427, oil on oak panel, 33.1 x 27.4 cm (side panels 33.1 x 13.6 cm), Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden. Dimensions of each panel: 33.1cm x 13.6cm; 33.1cm x 27.5cm; 33.1cm x 13.6cm.

<sup>227</sup> For a discussion, see Uta Neidhardt and Christoph Schölzel, 'Jan van Eyck's *Dresden Triptych*' in Foster et al, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck*, pp. 25–39; Noëlle L. W. Streeton, 'Jan van Eyck's *Dresden Triptych*: New Evidence for the Giustiniani of Genoa in the Borromei Ledger for Bruges, 1438', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1–16.

mentioning not because of an oriental rug, but a ceramic vase. A recent study into the *Three Marys at the Tomb* (Fig. 21) concluded that ‘it is becoming increasingly likely that the apothecary jar pictured by Van Eyck was based on a piece from Damascus, Syria’.<sup>228</sup> Curator Alexandra Gaba-van Dongen writes that ‘the great majority of archaeological finds of similar blue and white apothecary jars of the first half of the fifteenth century discovered in north-western Europe prove to come from Damascus’, comparing it to finds in Sévres (Fig. 22) and London (Fig. 23).<sup>229</sup> An object in the inventory of Philip the Good’s estate describes a similar object: ‘an earthenware pot, made in Damascus, white and blue’.<sup>230</sup>

Memling was official court painter under Charles the Bold and spent most of his life in Bruges, although born in Germany.<sup>231</sup> Not only do oriental rugs feature in several of Memling’s works, but his name now lends itself to a particular Anatolian design, the ‘Memling gul’.<sup>232</sup> According to Mills, Memling ‘gave us the most complete survey of the sorts of carpets available at the time’.<sup>233</sup> These rugs first appeared in Memling’s work with the *St John Altarpiece* (Fig. 24), commissioned by civic authorities in Bruges for the Old St John’s Hospital.<sup>234</sup> As with Van Eyck, the oriental carpet appears beneath an enthroned Madonna. Then we have what appears to be a very different, and highly domestic, use of an

---

<sup>228</sup> Jan van Eyck, *The Three Marys at the Tomb*, 1430–35, oil on panel, 71.5 x 90 cm, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Alexandra Gaba-van Dongen, ‘A Syrian Apothecary Jar in *The Three Marys at the Tomb* by Jan van Eyck’ Museum Boijmans van Beuningen. <http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/research/alma-en/a-syrian-apothecary-jar-in-the-three-marys-at-the-tomb-by-jan-van-eyck>.

<sup>229</sup> Gaba-van Dongen, ‘A Syrian Apothecary Jar’.

<sup>230</sup> Léon de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l’industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne* (Paris: Plon frères, 1852), p. 253.

<sup>231</sup> Alfred Michiels, *Hans Memling* (New York: Parkstone Press, 2007), p. 23; Barbara G. Lane, *Hans Memling: Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009), p. 10.

<sup>232</sup> ‘Gul’ is a term used in carpet studies that refers to the design or geometric pattern on a carpet. Renaissance art depictions of oriental rugs had the effect of also recording particular designs, a number of gul designs are identified by an artist — for example, Lotto, Bellini, Holbein, and, of course, Memling: Hilary Dumas and D. G. Dumas, *Trefoil: Guls, Stars & Gardens: An Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets* (Oakland: The Gallery, 1990), p. (v).

<sup>233</sup> Mills, ‘The Coming of the Carpet to the West’, p. 20.

<sup>234</sup> Hans Memling, *Saint John Altarpiece*, 1479, oil on an oak panel, 173.6 x 173.7 cm (central panel), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.

oriental rug in Memling's *Flower in a Jug* (Fig. 25).<sup>235</sup> This painting presents an ornate ceramic vase with lilies sitting in a niche covered by an oriental rug. The work is understood to be the exterior side of a triptych panel that would open to reveal a scene similar to the earlier discussed pieces — an enthroned Virgin Mary. The exterior representation of a vase and oriental rug has a dual function. On the one hand, it reflects the domestic, household space to which it belongs as a material object while on the other hand it hints at the contents inside, with the lily and vase symbolising the Madonna (enthroned on an oriental rug).<sup>236</sup> Further Memling works depicting the Madonna enthroned upon oriental rugs include the *Donne Triptych* (Fig. 26), *Madonna and Child with Angels* (Fig. 27), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Musical Angel* (Fig. 28), *Virgin Enthroned with Child and Angel* (Fig. 29), *Virgin with Child between St James and St Dominic* (Fig. 30), *Diptych of Maarten Nieuwenhove* (Fig. 31), and *Madonna Enthroned with Two Musical Angels* (Fig. 32).<sup>237</sup> Each rug contains complex patterns and motifs that have been matched with Anatolian samples, especially from Konya (Fig. 33).<sup>238</sup>

<sup>235</sup> Hans Memling, *Flowers in a Jug*, 1485, oil on panel, 29.2 x 22.5 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

<sup>236</sup> As Lynn Jacobs observes in her discussion of Memling's triptychs, the vase and lily combination was a traditional symbolic motif in Marian iconography, and thus a reference to the Virgin. When placed upon an oriental rug, we can easily understand the image as an enthroned Madonna. According to Jacobs, the placement of these objects in a niche is a play on the traditional sculptural grisaille images that appear on the external sides of triptych doors in early Netherlandish art: see Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), p. 158. The Majolica jug is understood to come from the Romagna: for a discussion of the jug in this Memling painting see Zsombor Jékely, 'Majolica Jugs in Late Medieval Painting' in Gabrielle Balla and Zsombor Jékely, eds., *The Dowry of Beatrice — Italian Maiolica Art and the Court of King Matthias* (Budapest: Museum of Applied Art, 2008), pp. 55–66.

<sup>237</sup> Hans Memling, *Donne Triptych*, 1478, oil on oak, 71 x 70.3 cm, The National Gallery, London. Hans Memling, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, 1479, oil on panel, 58.8 x 48 cm, The National Gallery of Art, Washington. Hans Memling, *Madonna and Child with Musical Angel*, 1485–90, oil on oak, 69.3 cm x 47.2 cm (centre panel), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Hans Memling, *Virgin Enthroned with Child and Angel*, 1480, oil on wood, 66 x 46.5 cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Hans Memling, *The Virgin and Child between St James and St Dominic*, 1485–90, oil on oak panel, 130.3 x 160 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris. Hans Memling, *Diptych of Maarten Nieuwenhove*, 1487, oil on oak panel, 52 x 41.5 cm (left panel), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges. Hans Memling, *Madonna Enthroned with Child and Two Musical Angels*, 1490–91, oil on wood, 57 x 42 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

<sup>238</sup> Ferenc Batári, 'The "Memling" Carpets' in Dirk de Vos and Maryan W. Ainsworth, eds., *Hans Memling: Essays* (Ghent: Ludion, 1994), p. 65; King and Sylvester, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World*, p. 35.

As in Italy, the use of oriental rugs in painting expanded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries among Flemish (and, most especially, Dutch) artists, including Ambrosius Francken's *The Last Supper* (Fig. 34) and Cornelis de Vos's *Self-Portrait with the Family* (Fig. 35).<sup>239</sup> How are we to understand this trend in art emerging out of the Burgundian north? Given the place of Bruges as a hub of international commerce, its commercial exchange with the Ottoman world, and the presence of foreign merchants, to what extent can we draw on the scholarship covering the Italian context?

Peter Stabel has recently attempted to answer these questions, asking whether there was a 'taste for the Orient' evident in consumer demand for luxury products in late medieval Bruges similar to what scholars had identified in Italy.<sup>240</sup> Citing the work of Richard Goldthwaite, Stabel explains how Renaissance Italy witnessed a shift in consumption to a new demand that consisted of goods relating to fashion, including a taste for domestic oriental products like rugs and ceramics.<sup>241</sup> The appearance of oriental rugs in the works of Van Eyck and Memling suggests the possibility of a corresponding trend in consumption and taste. However, for Stabel, the case of Bruges was different. By the fifteenth century, Bruges was sourcing its textiles from Italian cities such as Lucca, where silk production had been mastered, and thus making imports from the east unnecessary.<sup>242</sup> The presence of oriental carpets in these Flemish paintings, contends Stabel, does not reflect 'a taste for the Orient' among the Burgundian elite. Rather, it reflects the taste of Italian merchants residing in

---

<sup>239</sup> Ambrosius Francken, *The Last Supper*, 1573, oil on panel, 280 x 240 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Cornelius de Vos, *Self-portrait with the Family*, 1621, oil on canvas, 188 x 162 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

<sup>240</sup> Peter Stabel, 'Le goût pour l'Orient: demande cosmopolite et objets de luxe à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Histoire urbaine* 1, no. 30 (2011), pp. 21–39.

<sup>241</sup> Stabel, 'Le goût pour l'Orient', p. 24. For Richard Goldthwaite, see: Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1993) and Richard Goldthwaite, 'The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy' in F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons, eds., *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 153–75.

<sup>242</sup> Mary Schoeser also attributes the shift to Italian producers to traditional weaving centres in the Balkans, Constantinople, and Anatolia affected by the Ottoman advance: Mary Schoeser, *Silk*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 45.

Bruges and commissioning these artworks. Stabel concludes that what informs the presence of oriental rugs in Flemish art, and especially beneath the enthroned Madonna, was equally ‘the political and ideological image of a Christianity triumphantly superior to Islam’.<sup>243</sup> In other words, the presence of these rugs not only represented the taste of Italian merchant–donors, but also reflected ‘the idea of the crusade against the Turks’.

Stabel’s argument is not entirely convincing. His conclusion that the oriental rugs in the Flemish works simultaneously reflect both the taste of Italian patrons and the crusade ideology of the Burgundian court is not necessarily at odds. There certainly are other medieval analogues for this, such as the taste among Iberian Christian rulers for *mudéjar* art within a context of conquest (and even an extension of this conquest).<sup>244</sup> A more plausible explanation lies in the symbolic value of textiles more broadly. The value, status, and luxury of the textile product provide better clues to their place beneath the enthroned Virgin. As Donna Cottrell notes, it was common practice, especially for artists like Van Eyck, to dress the Madonna (and other religious figures) in rich, elaborate, and expensive textiles (whether her own clothes or the ‘cloth-of-honour’ behind her).<sup>245</sup> Textiles were a key vehicle for representing the divine, partly because of their value in the secular world. Similarly, exotic or elaborate patterns had an affective impact on the viewer (encouraging reverence or wonder) and located the Madonna in an ‘otherworldly’ realm.<sup>246</sup> The oriental rugs in Van Eyck and Memling, as exotic objects of value, connected the Madonna to a place, namely, the East (the

---

<sup>243</sup> ‘[L]e fait que la Vierge soit habituellement représentée à l’époque (notamment par Van Eyck, Christus et Memling) assise sur une estrade couverte d’un tapis anatolien ne soit pas seulement l’indication d’une attitude particulière envers des objets matériels ... mais puisse également être l’image politique et idéologique d’une Chrétienté triomphante supérieure à l’Islam’: Stabel, ‘Le goût pour l’Orient’, p. 39.

<sup>244</sup> See: Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Maria Rose Menocal and Abigail K. Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Antonella L. Scorpio, ‘Religious Frontiers and Overlapping Cultural Borders: The Power of Personal and Political Exchanges in the Works of Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284)’, *Al-Masāq* 23, no. 3 (December 2011), pp. 217–36.

<sup>245</sup> Donna M. Cottrell, ‘Unraveling the Mystery of Jan van Eyck’s Cloths of Honour: The *Ghent Altarpiece*’ in Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder, *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 175. See also: Lisa Monnas, ‘Silk Textiles in the Paintings of Jan van Eyck’ in Foister, Jones, and Cool, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck*, p. 155.

<sup>246</sup> Cottrell, ‘Unravelling the Mystery’, p. 188.



Holy Land). These are objects that speak to her divinity, ‘otherness’, and connection with the Holy Land within the context of devotion. While the appearance of these rugs in Flemish art demands further investigation, they do provide an initial insight into the Burgundian view of the Islamic East. The phenomenon reinforces that textiles were an important frame through which Burgundians viewed the Islamic world, especially as a vehicle for expressing power (also seen in Jean de Wavrin’s description of the sultan’s court).

Further, while a number of patrons for these works were Italian, this was not exclusively the case. Two key works that contain oriental rugs, Memling’s *St John Altarpiece* and Van Eyck’s *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele*, were not produced for Italian patrons but for a hospital and a Flemish canon (respectively). We also know that oriental rugs were a commodity familiar to Burgundians because Bertrandon witnessed their production in Bursa. Moreover, even while a figure like Giovanni Arnolfini had an Italian background, he had spent most of his life in Flanders. What does it mean for someone like Arnolfini to have ‘Italian taste’? Finally, the dates of Van Eyck’s works, spanning 1435 to 1437, are actually earlier than some of the higher profile works emerging in Italy, and certainly earlier than those of Lorenzo Lotto.

While the Italian and Burgundian contexts differ, and we should not expect them to be driven by the same impulses and circumstances, there is clearly a need for further scholarly investigation. To disregard this development in Burgundy as simply a case of Italian influence seems not only insufficient, but reproduces the kind of historiographical tendencies identified earlier.

### **‘Love is in the East’: the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies***

As well as its reputation for textiles, Flanders was also a preeminent site for illuminated manuscript production in the fifteenth century, representing another important

domain of Burgundian visual culture. David Aubert, official scribe at the Burgundian court, claimed that Philip was ‘without any reservation the Christian prince who is the best purveyed with an original and sumptuous library’.<sup>247</sup> The library included a number of works relating to Alexander the Great, the Trojans, and even an *histoire* on Saladin.<sup>248</sup> Philip’s bibliophilia extended across his court with many Burgundian elites commissioning and collecting. Andreea Mocan writes that the Burgundian dukes and their courtiers, ‘played a fundamental role in the great flowering of Flemish manuscript illumination during the fifteenth century’.<sup>249</sup>

One important manuscript for our present discussion is the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, a lavishly illuminated work commissioned by Louis of Bruges (d. 1492) and produced in 1464.<sup>250</sup> The manuscript was scribed by Aubert and illuminated by Lieven van Lathem, who also worked for Philip.<sup>251</sup> Louis of Bruges had a stellar career at the Burgundian court, starting out as Philip’s *échanson* (cupbearer), before serving as governor

---

<sup>247</sup> Quoted in Richard E. F. Straub, *David Aubert: escriptvain et cleric* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), p. 83. Georges Doutrepoint has provided a definitive inventory and study of the Valois Burgundian ducal library: Georges Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la “Librairie” de Philippe le Bon, 1420* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977); Georges Doutrepoint, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970).

<sup>248</sup> Chrystèle Blondeau has documented the special interest in Alexander (and volume of works) taken by the Burgundian dukes: Chrystèle Blondeau, *Un conquérant pour quatre ducs: Alexandre le Grand à la cour de Bourgogne* (Paris: Institut national d’histoire de l’art, 2009). For Troy, see Myriam Cheyns-Condé, ‘L’épopée troyenne dans la “librairie” ducal bourguignonne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle’ in Jean-Marie Cauchies, *À la cour de Bourgogne: le duc, son entourage, son train* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 85–114. For Saladin, see: Danielle Quéruel, ‘Le “valliant turc et courtois Salhadin”: un oriental à la cour de Bourgogne’ in *Images et signes de l’Orient dans l’Occident médiéval* (Marseille: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1982), pp. 299–311.

<sup>249</sup> Andreea Mocan, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), pp. 1–2.

<sup>250</sup> The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 111: tempera colours, gold, and ink on parchment, bound in blind-tooled orange morocco leather featuring the arms of the sixth duke of Devonshire; 38.9 x 28 x 9.4 cm. The museum recently published a monograph on the manuscript, that includes an excellent collection of illuminations from the work as well as extracts: Elizabeth Morrison and Zrinka Stahuljak, *The Adventures of Gillion de Trazegnies: Chivalry and Romance in the Medieval East* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2015). A complete English edition of the work is yet to be published, but a recent French edition is available: Stéphanie Vincent, *Le Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

<sup>251</sup> Works by Van Lathem produced by ducal commission include the *Chroniques de Jérusalem abrégées*, *L’histoire du bon roi Alexandre* (musée de Petit Palais, coll. Dutoit, MS 456), and a prayer book for the duke (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français nouvelles acquisitions 16428). A biography of Van Lathem is available in Antoine de Schryver, *The Prayer Book of Charles the Bold: A Study of a Flemish Masterpiece from the Burgundian Court*, trans., Jessica Berenbeim (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007). For David Aubert, see Richard E. F. Straub, *David Aubert, escriptvain et cleric* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995).

of Bruges (1452). An avid art patron, Louis also built a private library of 200 works, rivalling the duke's own.<sup>252</sup> Three other copies of the *Gillion* romance were produced in the same period, commissioned by other leading figures at the court: Jean de Wavrin, Philippe de Clèves, and Anthony, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy.<sup>253</sup> The original author remains unknown, although two names have been proffered by scholars: Jean de Wavrin and Guillebert de Lannoy.<sup>254</sup> The following discussion will focus on the copy commissioned by Louis of Bruges, which was dedicated to Philip.<sup>255</sup>

The narrative hinges around the adventures of its hero, Gillion de Trazegnies, before whose tomb the narrator first heard the story. There is something unusual about his *gissant* effigy tomb, depicted in the opening miniature — Gillion lays not with one wife, but with two (Fig. 36). As narrated in the prologue:

I learned that the most valiant knight, Gillion de Trazegnies, lay buried there in the midst of two noble and virtuous ladies, who were both his companions and spouses during his lifetime, one of whom was daughter to the sultan of Egypt, which astonished me to no end.<sup>256</sup>

Gillion had left his wife, Marie, in Hainaut to fulfil his promise to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land should she fall pregnant. On his return journey, his ship is thrown off course by a storm in the Mediterranean and into the path of the sultan's fleet. After a violent clash that left all Christians dead except Gillion, the hero is taken back to Cairo and imprisoned, with plans for execution. His fate, however, is postponed when the emir of Damascus, Ysore, attacks the sultan's forces and takes the sultan hostage, causing the Cairenes to retreat. The

---

<sup>252</sup> Malcolm Vale, 'An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron: Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester' in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul, eds., *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 115–16.

<sup>253</sup> Jean de Wavrin's copy is considered the earliest (Brussels, KBR, MS 9629), dated to 1450–60. Philippe de Clèves's copy is kept in Jena at the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (MS. El. F. 92). Anthony's copy, also scribed by Aubert and illuminated by Van Lathem, was produced in 1463 and now sits in a private collection in Dülmen.

<sup>254</sup> Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 83.

<sup>255</sup> 'I am certain that the story will please you, my most high, most excellent, and most powerful prince Philip ... duke of Burgundy': quoted in Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 16.

<sup>256</sup> Extracted in Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 16.

sultan's daughter, Gracienne, then dresses Gillion in the sultan's armour, causing the retreating Cairene soldiers to return to attack, defeat the Damascus emir, and liberate the true sultan. In return for his bravery, the sultan stays the execution and appoints Gillion army commander. The Flemish knight spends the next twenty-two years in Cairo, serving under the sultan and fighting other rebellious emirs. After receiving false news from Hainaut of Marie's death, Gillion marries the Muslim Gracienne. The pair would eventually return to Hainaut, where Gracienne takes the veil, but Gillion returns to serve the sultan in Cairo, where he dies.

Given the romance was owned by a number of leading figures at the Burgundian court, it demands our attention. What about the Burgundian context gave rise to this story about a Christian knight who fights for the sultan of Egypt and marries his daughter? What insight can its illuminations and narrative provide into Burgundy's vision of the Islamic East?

Production of the two manuscripts, for Louis and Anthony, coincided with Philip's renewed promotion of crusade against the Ottomans, and it is important to note that both nobles made crusade vows at the Feast of the Pheasant. There is, however, more to indicate this work's place within a crusade context. First, the geographic world of *Gillion* matches the kind of eastern focus emerging in Burgundy at the time, reflected in the travel accounts of Guillebert and Bertrandon. As Stahuljak writes, *Gillion* 'creates a web of connections between Mediterranean centres', 'geopolitical arenas that preoccupied Philip the Good'.<sup>257</sup> The places featured in *Gillion* include Cairo, Damascus, Ramla, Cyprus, Dubrovnik (Muslim-ruled in the story), Fez, and Tripoli. Second, the real-world Trazegnies family had long associations with the earlier crusades. Otto II of Trazegnies (d. 1192) died in the Holy Land, Gilles II de Trazegnies (d. 1204) joined the Fourth Crusade in the Holy Land theatre, while Gilles le Brun de Trazegnies (1199–1276) went on crusade with Louis IX and was taken

---

<sup>257</sup> Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 63.

prisoner in Egypt.<sup>258</sup> There are also resonances with Bertrandon assuming Saracen and Ottoman identities on his journey. Clearly, *Gillion* is the product of a Burgundian court where the concept of crusade was being tightly woven into the chivalry of the Order of the Golden Fleece and vows made at the Feast of the Pheasant.

However, while crusade might be an important context for the production of this work, *Gillion* also presents a more complex, and curious, engagement with the Islamic East. Present in the illuminations and narrative is an overall motif of ambiguous identity, an ambivalence towards Muslims, and a very interesting use of courtly love.

The story involves an undeniable ambiguity and ambivalence around Gillion's Christian-Muslim identity. It regularly riffs on the negotiation of Christian-Muslim identity, whether that of Gillion or Gracienne. After the sultan discovers Gillion's deed in setting him free, the sultan wonders whether the knight is indeed Muhammad himself. A miniature depicts the sultan presenting a statue of Muhammad out of respect (visually depicted as a copy of Gillion: Fig. 37).<sup>259</sup> After Gillion defeats king Fabur of Tripoli, the sultan calls him 'the force of Egypt, the pillar and haven of its Eastern nations subjected to us all'.<sup>260</sup> Before duelling with Gillion, the emir of Orbrie addresses his opponent: 'You, Saracen, have caused me so much displeasure and damage'.<sup>261</sup> Gillion is even married to Gracienne under Islamic law: 'The caliph married them according to the law of Muhammad'.<sup>262</sup> Yet, the *roman* is also emphatic about Gillion's steadfast Christian faith and refusal to convert to Islam (in contrast to the seemingly easy conversions of his Muslim friend, Hetan, and Gracienne herself). The

---

<sup>258</sup> Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 67.

<sup>259</sup> This functions as a joke directed against the sultan, since, of course, Gillion is not Muhammed. Note the figures standing behind the sultan covering their mouths indicating laughter (Fig. 28).

<sup>260</sup> Quoted in Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 56.

<sup>261</sup> Quoted in Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 31.

<sup>262</sup> Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 98.

insistence on Gillion's continued faith as a Christian after twenty-years in Cairo permits the ambiguity around his identity elsewhere.

Coupled with this ambiguity around Gillion's identity, is an ambivalence towards Muslims. Both visually and textually, Muslim rulers are depicted in neutral terms rather than disparagingly. The Muslim king Haldin is referred to as 'well-esteemed, strong of body, well built in all his body parts, daring, tenacious, and skilled in arms' (Fig. 38).<sup>263</sup> The emir Lucion is described as 'a handsome knight, well-built, and strong of body'.<sup>264</sup> The descriptions of Muslim rulers in *Gillion* belong more to the tradition of Christian chivalry than the pagan, fanciful depictions of Muslims Suzanne Conklin Akbari notes as ubiquitous in the *chansons de geste*.<sup>265</sup> Most of the miniatures depict Muslim rulers as very similar to their Christian counterparts, perhaps with minor adjustments to their clothing that identify them as Muslim (see Fig. 39). One difference is king Fabur of Tripoli, who, along with the attendants at his court, are depicted as dark-skinned (Fig. 40). Here, the illuminations are concerned with marking these figures as Moors.

The most striking feature of the *Gillion* story and manuscript, however, is his relationship with Gracienne, the sultan's daughter. Here, we see not just an ambiguity or ambivalence towards the Islamic world, but an association of courtly love. Gillion's Christian wife, Marie, plays a peripheral role in the text: she is backgrounded in the prologue, in favour of the more exotic Gracienne. Gracienne, on the other hand, is the player in Gillion's adventure, the observer of his heroic deeds, the courtly love figure in this *roman*. This is best epitomised by the illumination, with Gracienne's regular appearance in the background of many battle scenes, looking out from a castle turret and bearing witness to her lover's deeds (Figs. 41 and 42). One of the regular representational conventions in the visual culture of

---

<sup>263</sup> Quoted in Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 47.

<sup>264</sup> Quoted in Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 43.

<sup>265</sup> See Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 203.

courtly love was the lady watching out from a castle wall or turret at her knight lover engaged in tournament or battle.<sup>266</sup> A well-known example is the *Siege of the Castle of Love* (Fig. 43), an ivory panel on a fourteenth-century casket that depicted a scene from the *Romance of the Rose*.<sup>267</sup> Gracienne's act of dressing Gillion in (her father's) armour is another trope of courtly love.<sup>268</sup> When Gracienne sees Gillion naked, the text remarks: 'She believed she had never seen a more beautiful or better shaped body of a man'.<sup>269</sup> Just as the ambiguity of Gillion's identity is contained by his continued Christian faith, so too the text can compromise on transgressive love (Muslim-Christian love) because it is ultimately uncompromising on religion (Gracienne's eventual conversion). Still, as Stahuljak puts it, in *Gillion*, 'love resides in the East'.<sup>270</sup>

*Gillion* provides a fascinating insight into the Burgundian vision of the Islamic East that is at once grounded in a crusade context but also imagines this world as a place of love, adventure, and romance. The lavish illuminations that decorate these objects suggest that, for courtiers like Louis and Anthony, the Islamic East held a seductive sway, just as it did for Gillion. The crusade context and attraction of this fictive Islamic world are not necessarily mutually exclusive. *Gillion* entwines the crusade project with the appeal of chivalry and adventure that is ultimately ennobled by the very act of courtly love. Still, the illuminations and story reveal a curiosity with the Islamic East that we also saw in the accounts of our travellers earlier.

---

<sup>266</sup> Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), pp. 35–36.

<sup>267</sup> The casket belongs to the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (catalogued as Walters 71264).

<sup>268</sup> Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, p. 36.

<sup>269</sup> Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 97.

<sup>270</sup> Morrison and Stahuljak, *Gillion de Trazegnies*, p. 97.

### **Porous frontiers and ambiguous identities**

The period of Burgundian interest in crusade coincided with another engagement with the Islamic world at the level of visual and material culture. In earlier chapters, we saw hints of this in Bertrandon's account, marvelling at the rich merchandise in Damascus and observing the production of oriental rugs in Bursa. We also saw Adorno's admiration for the splendour of palaces and gardens in cities like Cairo. We even see it in Germain's anxiety about merchants, pilgrims, and soldiers travelling to Islamic lands and being seduced by their cities and led into erroneous doctrinal understandings.

Indeed, Germain's anxieties point to a more ambiguous, porous relationship between Burgundy and the Islamic world, which bears out in our above analysis. As a centre of the Burgundian north and international trade, Bruges was an important destination of a host of commodities from Ottoman and Mamluk ports, facilitated by Italian and Iberian galleys. A traveller like Pero Tafur was able to see in the markets of Bruges the worlds of Alexandria and the Levant. One luxury commodity from the East that was present in the Bruges were oriental rugs, to what extent we cannot be certain. However, their appearance in the paintings of Brugeois artists Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling throughout the fifteenth century attests to these objects being available, familiar, and considered objects of the kind of value worthy of a divine figure such as the Virgin Mary. We also see, amidst book culture of the Burgundian court, the romance of a Christian knight marrying a Muslim woman and serving in the army of the sultan of Egypt. In *Gillion*, we again see a more ambiguous, playful Burgundian vision of the Islamic world. Despite the crusade context of the work, as well as its tendency to ennoble Christian chivalry in an Islamic context, *Gillion* brings the fifteenth-century Islamic world traversed by Guillebert and Bertrandon into the realms of Christian illumination and literary practice — the *romance*. In doing so, the boundaries between Christian and Muslim become ambiguous, ambivalent, and even rendered absent by love. The



fine lines between Christendom and Islam, so important to a figure like Germain, become more compromised.

## Conclusion

Fifteenth-century Burgundy presents us with a rich, extensive, and multi-faceted vision of the Islamic world. Whether through the accounts of Burgundian travellers in the Islamic East, the writings and polemic of Jean Germain, the stalls of the Bruges marketplace, the paintings of Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling, the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* and its luxurious illumination program, the Islamic world occupied an important place in the Burgundian imagination. Yet, to-date, the vast scholarly literature on Christian–Muslim relations and Latin West perceptions of Islam has largely neglected the Burgundian experience. The duchy of Burgundy, albeit a focus of political, economic, and cultural power in the fifteenth century, has remained marginal in scholarly accounts of the Latin West’s view of the Islamic world, aside from its involvement in crusade efforts. This absence is all the more remarkable given the period represents a critical juncture in the relationship between these two worlds. After all, the fifteenth century witnessed the fall of Constantinople and the end of the Byzantine Empire, radically shifting frontiers between Christendom and Islamdom (the Ottoman advance into the Balkans in the east and the final stages of Christian ‘reconquest’ in the Iberian west), the emergence of a powerful Ottoman state, and shifting ‘ethnographic’ understandings of Islam and its adherents. In this present study, I have attempted to address this absence, repositioning Burgundy and its relationship to the Islamic world more centrally in broader scholarship. In doing so, avenues for further investigation have been opened.

The prospect of a Burgundian crusade, together with the duchy’s military support for campaigns against the Ottomans in the Christian East, meant a number of Burgundian travellers came into contact with the Islamic world. The accounts we have examined —

particularly those of Guillebert, Bertrandon, and Jean de Wavrin — reflect this military engagement, whether through presenting a detailed map of Ottoman/Mamluk military capacity or through actual military engagement. Yet, these same accounts also exhibit a nuanced and detailed understanding of this world. Crusade, it seems, was the context not only for their military observations about the Islamic world, but also for the development of a detailed ethnography about that world. The accounts of these Burgundian travellers constitute a valuable, although hitherto neglected, addition to the emergence of such an ethnography that scholars like Rubiés and Khanmohmadi attribute to the fifteenth century.

Of course, crusade was not the only context of Burgundian contact with the Islamic world. With the incorporation of Flanders and its rich mercantile cities, commerce was another important plane of Burgundian activity that linked cities like Bruges to centres like Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, and Bursa. Facilitating these networks were Bruges-based, Italian mercantile families like the Adorno family. This is the backdrop for the journey of Anselm and Jan Adorno through Islamic territories on the Mediterranean littoral. In the Adorno account, we saw an even more detailed and richer account of Islamic customs, cities, and religion, as well as a representation of Islam as something comparable, rather than strictly inferior, to Christianity. Indeed, what Bertrandon and Adorno presented is the kind of ‘naturalistic’ report for those noblemen, to borrow from Bertrandon, ‘who desired to see the world’.

These travellers also witnessed the bustling commercial life of centres like Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus, as well as the ‘worldly goods’ of these lands. Jean de Wavrin’s description of the ornate, sumptuous textiles that decorated the sultan’s court illustrates just how much luxury goods, especially fabric, formed part of the Burgundian vision of the Islamic world. It is a thread that we also see in Bertrandon’s experience at the markets of Damascus and Bursa, as well as Adorno’s admiration of oriental architecture and gardens in

Tunis and Alexandria. The alterity of the Islamic world was marked by these Burgundians through its material culture and the exoticism of its commodities.

Perhaps it was the appeal and seduction of such exoticism, or the sympathy with the Muslim Other, that raised the concern of the bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Jean Germain. In Germain, we find another Burgundian writing about the Islamic world, only he had never travelled there. Just as Guillebert and Bertrandon constructed a textual map of the Islamic East, so too did Germain. In fact, Germain presented two textual maps that conceptualised the fifteenth-century Christian frontier with Islam — one that reflected the extent of Islamic expansion during the time and the other, his *Mappemonde spirituelle*, in which it is virtually absent. Germain's work embodied an anxiety about the shifting boundaries between Christendom and Islamdom that also underpinned his support for crusade. Germain's most remarkable work, his *Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin*, points to an anxiety about the porous nature of the borders brought on by commerce and travel to the Islamic world. While some scholars have seen Germain's work as derivative and repetitive of earlier Christian views of Islam, his writings are best understood as a reflection of his fifteenth-century context as much as those of Juan de Segovia and Nicolas de Cusa. That his contribution has received limited attention is underscored by the lack of a print edition of the *Debat*.

This present investigation has repositioned Germain within broader scholarship on Christian views of Islam in the Middle Ages, particularly alongside figures like Juan de Segovia. While Germain borrowed from earlier sources such as Petrus Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable, it is insufficient to dismiss his work as 'derivative' or 'typical'. As we have seen, Germain did make a unique contribution, modifying inherited representations of Islam and Muhammad to reflect the exigencies of the fifteenth-century. The is good cause for greater scholarly attention to be directed towards the Germain's corpus of polemical literature.

We also saw how the Islamic world found its way into the visual culture and even *romance* prose of fifteenth-century Burgundy. The appearance of oriental luxury goods in Italian Renaissance art has been well-documented by scholars, and there is good reason to extend such analysis to the Burgundian north of the same period. Goods from the Islamic world such as oriental rugs and apothecary jugs began to feature in the Flemish visual culture, notably in the paintings of Van Eyck and Memling. We can suppose that these objects also appeared in the Bruges marketplace, the same marketplace that impressed fifteenth-century traveller Pero Tafur, with its supply of exotic goods from locations like Alexandria and the Levant. Does the presence of these rugs in works by leading artists such as Van Eyck and Memling indicate a taste for oriental luxury goods in the Burgundian north similar to that accounted for in contemporaneous Italy? While this question requires further investigation, we can say that the Burgundian vision of the Islamic East was also framed by these ‘worldly goods’ and manifested in visual culture at the time.

Finally, we also see the Islamic world reflected in Burgundian *romance* prose and illumination with the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*. Four copies of this romance were produced by leading figures at the Burgundian court, with at least two copies lavishly decorated by one of the leading court illuminators. In *Gillion*, the porous boundaries that troubled Germain manifest in this tale of courtly love between a Burgundian, Christian knight, and the Muslim daughter of a sultan. Gillion, who is dressed as the sultan of Egypt at one stage, is a lot like our traveller, Bertrandon, who twice has to dress in Muslim costume. Let us not forget that Philip the Good too had been dressed as an Ottoman prince upon his father’s return from captivity in Bursa. The ambiguity of identity, ambivalence towards the Muslim Other, and the discovery of love in the Islamic east all point to a playful, almost orientalist, vision of the Islamic East.

So, what can we conclude about the Burgundian vision of the Islamic East? How are we to comprehend a vision motivated by a desire for military engagement, a determination to understand this world more accurately, a sympathy towards the Muslim Other, an interest in its commodities and material culture, and a fear of its seduction? Clearly, the key pretext for Burgundian contact with the Islamic world was crusade, one of the chief projects under Philip the Good and, to a lesser extent, Charles. Most immediately, this meant the vision of Islam as a military threat to Christendom, borne out in the textual maps produced by Guillebert, Bertrandon, and Germain. It is a vision that belongs very much to a world of shifting frontiers and the fall of Constantinople. However, it was not just territorial frontiers that were shifting, but ethnographic ones as well. Crusade not only prompted a military attitude towards the Islamic world, but also necessitated greater knowledge about that world. Just as the first Franciscans to visit the Mongol court in the thirteenth century returned with detailed, more accurate accounts of the Mongol Other, so too travellers like Bertrandon returned with a rich account of the Muslim Other. Even Jean Germain too, while not travelling to this world but instead drawing on texts largely from the Iberian experience of cross-cultural encounter, attempted to better define the definitional boundaries between ‘Christian’ and ‘Muslim’.

At the same time, this investigation has also highlighted the ambiguities and porous quality of these frontiers. Indeed, we began this study with an ambiguity — the illumination depicting a Burgundian traveller dressed as an Ottoman presenting the Philip the Good with a book with an ambiguous identity. Is Bertandon presenting the Qur’an to the duke? Perhaps the identity of the book is less important than the questions it raises. This ambiguity and ambivalence is another fundamental feature of the Burgundian vision of the Islamic East that we have identified. We have seen it in Germain’s anxieties, the sympathy towards Islam displayed by Bertrandon and Adorno, the appearance of oriental rugs in the visual culture of northern Burgundy, and Gillion’s adventures with the sultan of Egypt.

My analysis has drawn together a constellation of threads in considering Burgundy's vision of the Islamic world, and a variety of sources from polemic interfaith literature to visual arts and textiles. These threads intersect in the way people understood and wrote about the Islamic world. To approach Burgundy's vision of this world from the perspective of a single category does not do justice to the underlying historical reality that was more complex and multi-faceted. Figures like Jean de Wavrin were chronicling crusades, commissioning luxurious illuminated works such as *Gillion*, and writing about the material culture (namely, textiles) of the Ottoman court. Even Jean German, for all his anxiety about frontiers and borders, had his eyes on the world of travellers, merchants, and the Orient. This study calls for a more interdisciplinary approach to the Christian vision of the Islamic East that draws together polemic literature, travel accounts, material culture, art history, and trade.

## Appendix: Illustrations

### Table of Illustrations

- Figure 1      Bertrandon de la Broquière (kneeling) presenting duke Philip the Good of Burgundy with a book: *Avis directif pour faire le passage d'outre mer* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 9087), fol. 152v.
- Figure 2      Jerusalem: *Avis directif pour faire le passage d'outre mer* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 9087), fol. 85v.
- Figure 3      Siege of Constantinople: *Avis directif pour faire le passage d'outre mer* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 9087), fol. 207v.
- Figure 4      Jean Germain kneeling and presenting his *mappa mundi* to Philip the Good: *Mappemonde Spirituelle*, Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, PA 32, fol. 1.
- Figure 5      Debate between a Christian and a Muslim (first scene): *Le Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 948, fol. 11v.
- Figure 6      Debate between a Christian and a Muslim (second scene): *Le Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 948, fol. 28v.
- Figure 7      Two scenes from the life of Muhammad: *Le Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 948, fol. 14v.
- Figure 8      Muhammad as trickster preaching (with ox bearing his text between his horns): *Les cas des hommes et femmes*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 226, fol. 243r.
- Figure 9      Muhammad in Hell depicted in Giovanni da Modena, *Heaven and Hell*, 1410, fresco, San Petronio Basilica, Bologna.
- Figure 10      Gentile da Fabriano, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1423, tempera on panel, 203 x 282 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
- Figure 11      Centre panel from Andrea Mantegna, *San Zeno Altarpiece*, 1457–60, tempera on panel, 212 x 460 cm, Basilica di San Zeno, Verona.
- Figure 12      Antonello da Messina, *San Sebastian*, 1479–79, oil on canvas, 171 x 85 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.
- Figure 13      Gentile Bellini, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned*, 1475–85, oil on wood, 121.9 x 82.6 cm, The National Gallery, London.



- Figure 14 Carlo Crivelli, *The Annunciation, with Saint Emidius*, 1486, egg and oil on canvas, 207 x 146.7 cm, The National Gallery, London.
- Figure 15 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta and His Wife and Children*, 1547, oil on canvas, 104.5 x 138 cm, The National Gallery, London.
- Figure 16 Lorenzo Lotto, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, Christina, Liberale, and Jerome* (main panel of the San Cristina Altarpiece), 1504-06, oil on panel, 175 x 162 cm, San Cristina al Tivernone, Treviso.
- Figure 17 Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife*, 1434, oil on oak, 82.2 x 60 cm, National Gallery, London.
- Figure 18 Jan van Eyck, *Lucca Madonna*, 1436, oil on panel, 65.5 x 49.5 cm, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt.
- Figure 19 Jan van Eyck, *The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele*, 1434–36, oil on wood, 141 x 176.5 cm, Groeningemuseum, Bruges.
- Figure 20 Jan van Eyck, *Dresden Triptych* (or *Virgin and Child with St. Michael and St. Catherine and a Donor*), 1427, oil on oak panel, 33.1 x 27.4 cm (side panels 33.1 x 13.6 cm), Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.
- Figure 21 Jan van Eyck, *The Three Marys at the Tomb*, 1430–35, oil on panel, 71.5 x 90 cm, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
- Figure 22 Apothecary jar, Syria, blue and white fritware, h. 36 cm, inv. MNC 8386, Cité de la Céramique, Sèvres.
- Figure 23 Apothecary jar, Syria, blue and white fritware, 1400-50, Museum of London Archaeology.
- Figure 24 Hans Memling, *Saint John Altarpiece*, 1479, oil on an oak panel, 173.6 x 173.7 cm (central panel), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.
- Figure 25 Hans Memling, *Flowers in a Jug*, 1485, oil on panel, 29.2 x 22.5 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.
- Figure 26 Hans Memling, *Donne Triptych*, 1478, oil on oak, 71 x 70.3 cm, The National Gallery, London.
- Figure 27 Hans Memling, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, 1479, oil on panel, 58.8 x 48 cm, The National Gallery of Art, Washington.

- Figure 28 Hans Memling, *Madonna and Child with Musical Angel*, 1485–90, oil on oak, 69.3 cm x 47.2 cm (centre panel), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Figure 29 Hans Memling, *Virgin Enthroned with Child and Angel*, 1480, oil on wood, 66 x 46.5 cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
- Figure 30 Hans Memling, *The Virgin and Child between St James and St Dominic*, 1485–90, oil on oak panel, 130.3 x 160 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris.
- Figure 31 Hans Memling, *Diptych of Maarten Nieuwenhove*, 1487, oil on oak panel, 52 x 41.5 cm (left panel), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.
- Figure 32 Hans Memling, *Madonna Enthroned with Child and Two Musical Angels*, 1490–91, oil on wood, 57 x 42 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
- Figure 33 Rug with Memling motif, fragments, Anatolia, second half 15th century, Iparművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Applied Arts), Budapest.
- Figure 34 Ambrosius Francken, *The Last Supper*, 1573, oil on panel, 280 x 240 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.
- Figure 35 Cornelis de Vos, *Self-portrait with Family*, 1621, oil on canvas, 188 x 162 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.
- Figure 36 Gillion's effigy tomb in *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 111, fol. 9r.
- Figure 37 An initial featuring the scene where the sultan kneels before Gillion, who is still dressed in the sultan's armour. Behind Gillion sits a statue of Muhammed, represented as Gillion himself: *Gillion*, fol. 45v.
- Figure 38 The court of King Haldin, a Saracen: *Gillion*, fol. 150v.
- Figure 39 Battle scene with Gillion fighting the emir of Orbrie in the background: *Gillion*, fol. 49v.
- Figure 40 The court of King Fabur of Tripoli: *Gillion*, fol. 95r.
- Figure 41 Gillion captured by king Fabur (Gracienne in the upper right): *Gillion* fol. 78v.
- Figure 42 Gillion defeats the emir of Tripoli (Gracienne in the upper right): *Gillion*, fol. 72r.

Figure 43      *Siege of the Castle of Love*, Walters 71264, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5





FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9



FIGURE 10



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12



FIGURE 13





FIGURE 14



FIGURE 15



FIGURE 16

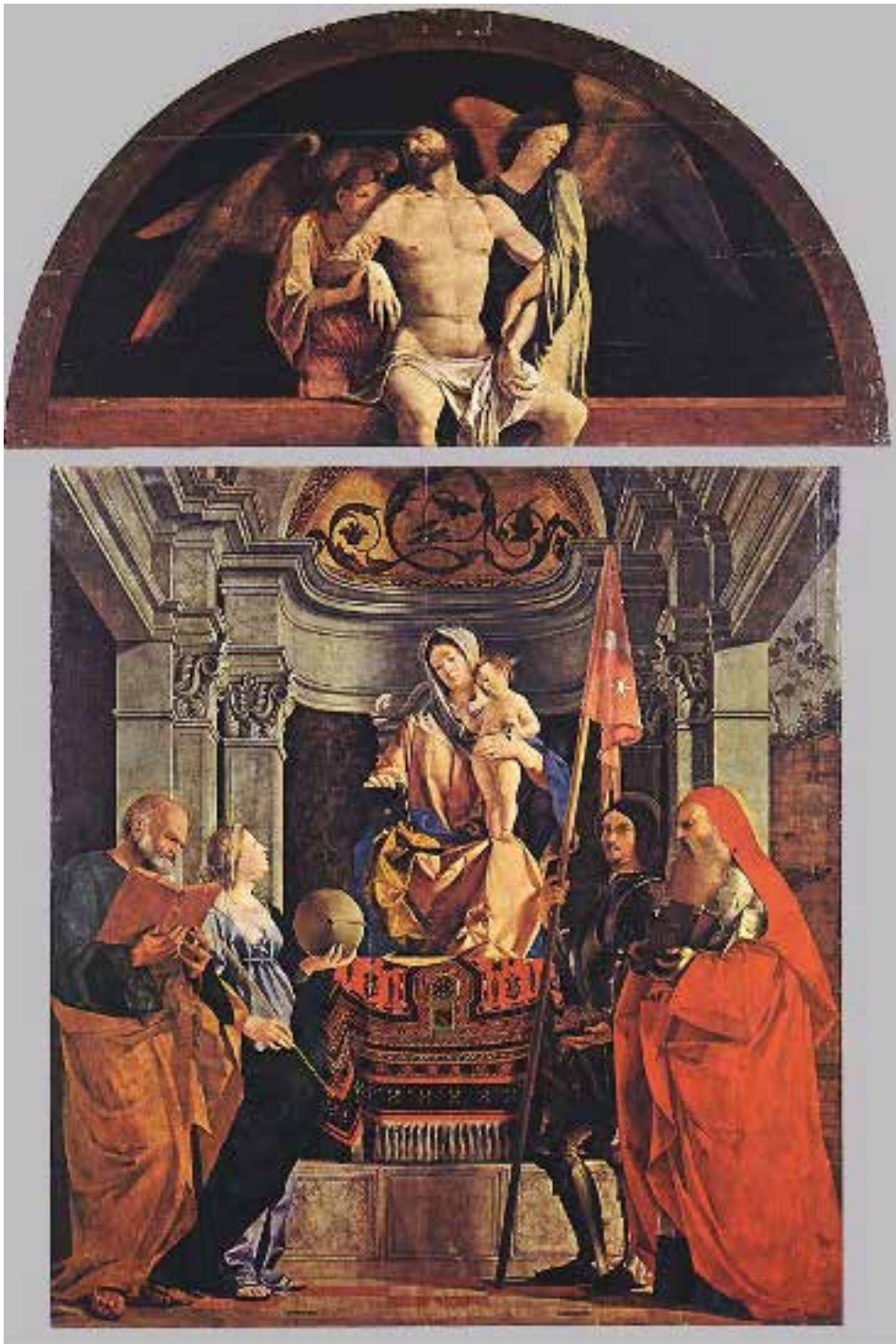


FIGURE 17



FIGURE 18



FIGURE 19



FIGURE 20

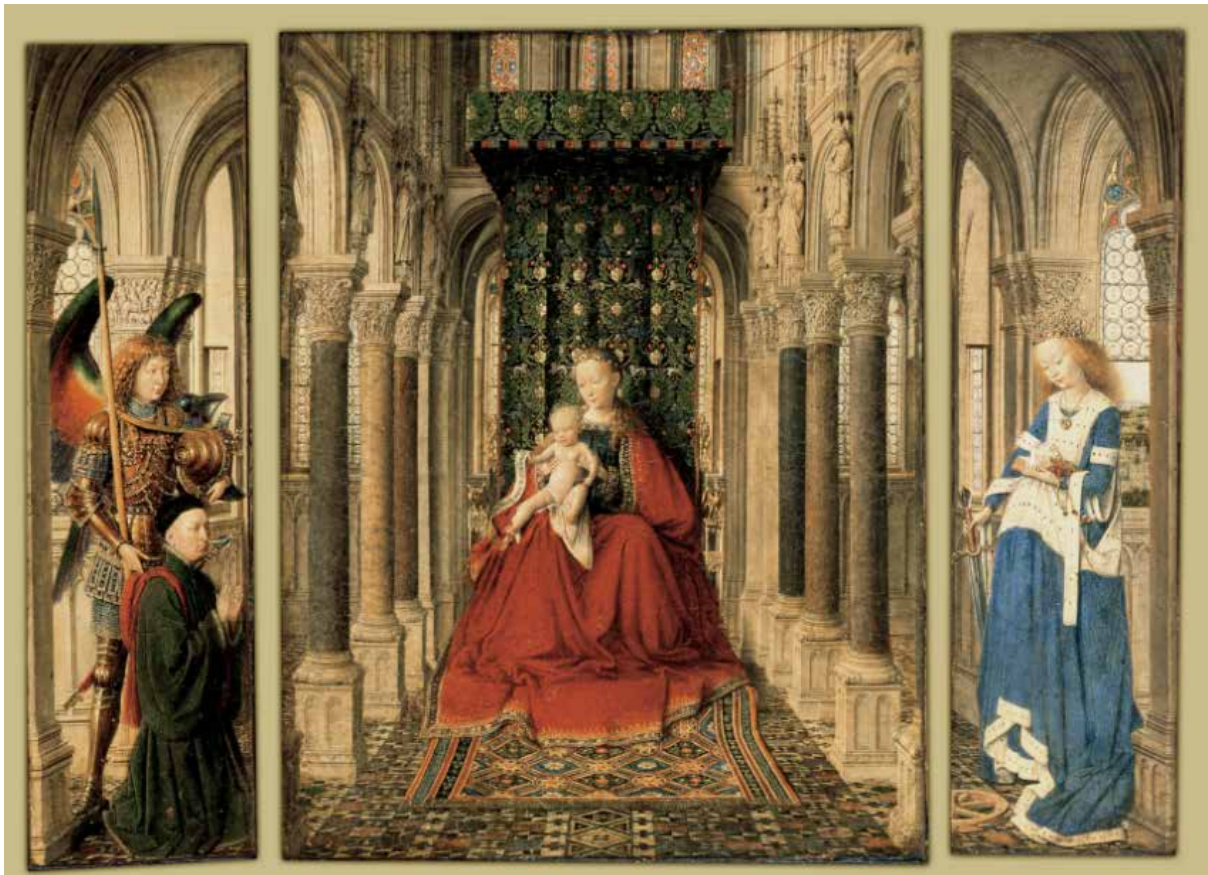


FIGURE 21





FIGURE 22



FIGURE 23



FIGURE 24



FIGURE 25



FIGURE 26



FIGURE 27



FIGURE 28



FIGURE 29





FIGURE 30



FIGURE 31



FIGURE 32



FIGURE 33

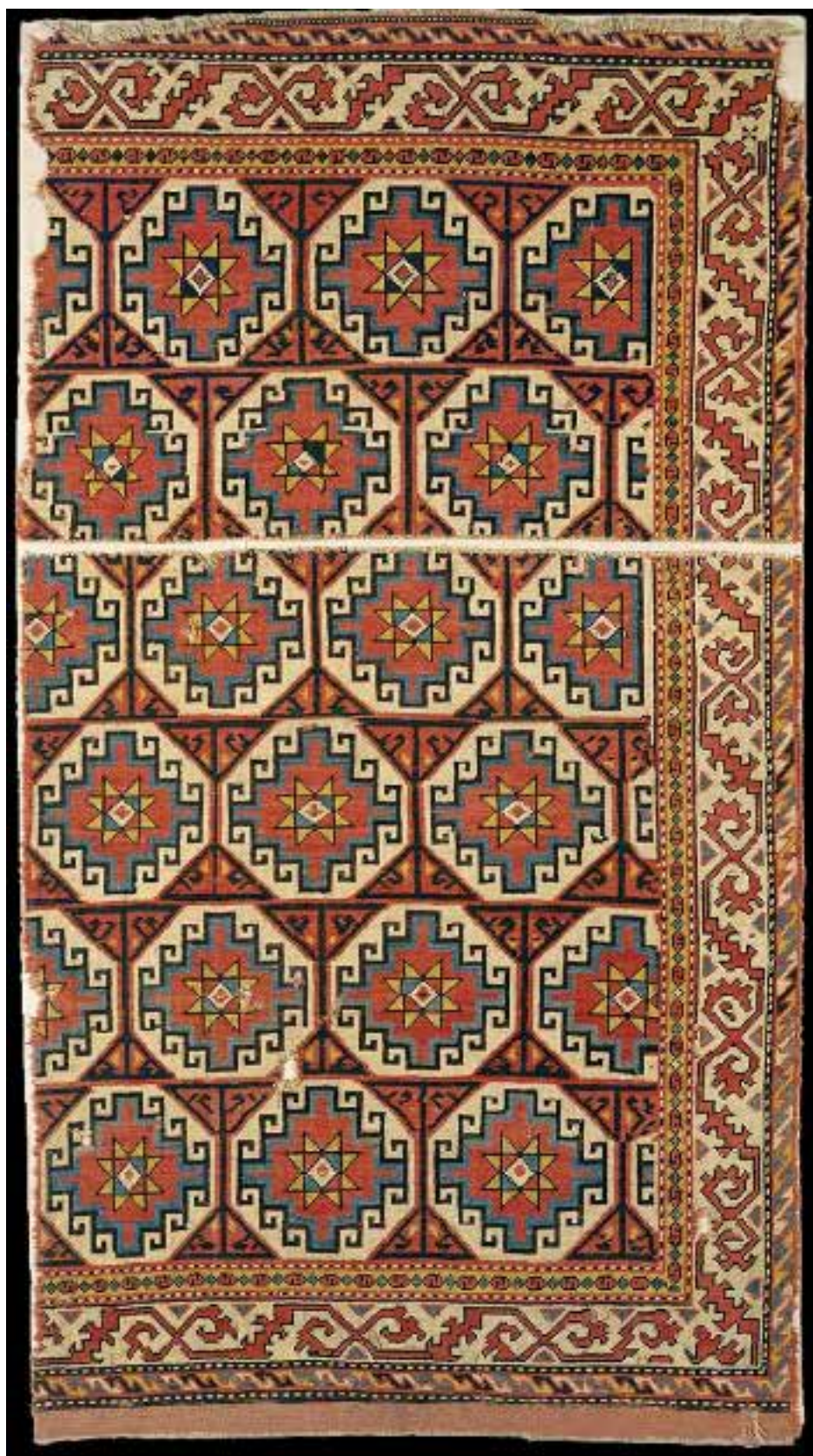


FIGURE 34



FIGURE 35



FIGURE 36



FIGURE 37





FIGURE 38



FIGURE 39



FIGURE 40



FIGURE 41



FIGURE 42



FIGURE 43



## Sources & Bibliography

### 1. Manuscripts

*Advis directif pour faire le passage d'outre mer*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 9807.

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Les cas des hommes et femmes*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 226.

Germain, Jean, *Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrasin*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 948.

Germain, Jean, *Mappemonde Spirituelle*, Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, PA 32.

*Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 111.

### 2. Artworks

Bellini, Gentile, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned*, 1475–85, oil on wood, 121.9 x 82.6 cm, The National Gallery, London.

Crivelli, Carlo, *The Annunciation, with Saint Emidius*, 1486, egg and oil on canvas, 207 x 146.7 cm, The National Gallery, London.

da Fabriano, Gentile, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1423, tempera on panel, 203 x 282 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

de Vos, Cornelius, *Self-portrait with the Family*, 1621, oil on canvas, 188 x 162 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

Francken, Ambrosius, *The Last Supper*, 1573, oil on panel, 280 x 240 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

Lotto, Lorenzo, *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta and His Wife and Children*, 1547, oil on canvas, 104.5 x 138 cm, The National Gallery, London.

Lotto, Lorenzo, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, Christina, Liberale, and Jerome* (main panel of the *San Cristina Altarpiece*), 1504-06, oil on panel, 175 x 162 cm, San Cristina al Tivernone, Treviso.

Mantegna, Andrea, *San Zeno Altarpiece*, 1457–60, tempera on panel, 212 x 460 cm, Basilica di San Zeno, Verona.

Memling, Hans, *Diptych of Maarten Nieuwenhove*, 1487, oil on oak panel, 52 x 41.5 cm (left panel), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.

- Memling, Hans, *Donne Triptych*, 1478, oil on oak, 71 x 70.3 cm, The National Gallery, London.
- Memling, Hans, *Flowers in a Jug*, 1485, oil on panel, 29.2 x 22.5 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.
- Memling, Hans, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, 1479, oil on panel, 58.8 x 48 cm, The National Gallery of Art, Washington.
- Memling, Hans, *Madonna and Child with Musical Angel*, 1485–90, oil on oak, 69.3 cm x 47.2 cm (centre panel), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Memling, Hans, *Madonna Enthroned with Child and Two Musical Angels*, 1490–91, oil on wood, 57 x 42 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
- Memling, Hans, *Saint John Altarpiece*, 1479, oil on an oak panel, 173.6 x 173.7 cm (central panel), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.
- Memling, Hans, *Virgin Enthroned with Child and Angel*, 1480, oil on wood, 66 x 46.5 cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
- Memling, Hans, *Virgin and Child between St James and St Dominic*, 1485–90, oil on oak panel, 130.3 x 160 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris.
- Van Eyck, Jan, *Dresden Triptych* (or *Virgin and Child with St. Michael and St. Catherine and a Donor*), 1427, oil on oak panel, 33.1 x 27.4 cm (side panels 33.1 x 13.6 cm), Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.
- Van Eyck, Jan, *Lucca Madonna*, 1436, oil on panel, 65.5 x 49.5 cm, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt.
- Van Eyck, Jan, *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife*, 1434, oil on oak, 82.2 x 60 cm, National Gallery, London.
- Van Eyck, Jan, *The Three Marys at the Tomb*, 1430–35, oil on panel, 71.5 x 90 cm, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
- Van Eyck, Jan, *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele*, 1434–36, oil on wood, 141 x 176.5 cm, Groeningemuseum, Bruges.

### 3. Edited Primary Sources

- Argenti, Philip P., ed., *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island 1346–1566: Described in Contemporary Documents and Official Dispatches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).
- Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Orient: Espion en Turquie*, trans., Hélène Basso (Toulouse: Anacharsis éditions, 2010).



- Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, ed., Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1988).
- Burchard of Mount Sion, 'A Description of the Holy Land' in C. R. Conder, trans., *The City of Jerusalem* (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896), pp. 1–111.
- Germain, Jean (ed. Charles Schefer), 'Le Discours du Voyage d'Oultremer: au très victorieux roi Charles VII, prononcé en 1452, par Jean Germain, évêque de Chalon', *Revue d'Orient Latin* III (1895), pp. 303–42.
- Heers, Jacques and de Groer, Georgette, trans., *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sancte (1470–1471)* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1978).
- Kenndall, Paul M. and Ilardi, Vincent, eds., *Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450–1483 Volumes I and II* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1970).
- Olivier de la Marche, *Les Memoires de Messire Olivier de la Marche* (Louvain: Everaerdt De Witte, 1645).
- Potvin, Charles, ed., *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy: voyageur, diplomate et moraliste* (Louvain: Imprimerie de P. et J. Lefever, 1878).
- Tafur, Pero, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, trans., Malcolm Letts (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1926).

### 3. Secondary Sources

- Alexander-Skipnes, Ingrid, ed., *Cultural Exchange Between the Low Countries and Italy (1400–1600)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).
- Allen, Rosamund, *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
- Arié, Rachel, 'Un seigneur bourguignon en terre musulmane au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Ghillebert de Lannoy', *Le Moyen Âge: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 95 (1989), pp. 293–309.
- Arnade, Peter J., *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremonial and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Arrouye, Jean, et al., *Images et signes d'Orient dans l'Orient medieval* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1982).
- Balard, Michel, *Les Latins en Orient X<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2006).

- Bale, Anthony, 'European Travel Writing in the Middle Ages' in Carl Thompson, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 152–60.
- Barbe, Françoise, Stagno, Laura and Villani, Elisabetta, *L'Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand dans les tapisseries au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
- Batári, Ferene, 'The "Memling" Carpets' in Dirk de Vos and Maryan W. Ainsworth, eds., *Hans Memling: Essays* (Ghent: Ludion, 1994), pp. 63–66.
- Belozerskaya, Marina, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Berriot, François, 'Images de l'islam dans le *Débat* manuscrit de Jean Germain (1450)', in François Berriot, *Spiritualités, Hétérodoxies et Imaginaires: études sur le Myen Age et la Renaissance* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'université de Saint-Étienne, 1994), pp. 173–85.
- Beuing, Raphael, *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art* (Brussels: BOZAR Books, 2015).
- Bisaha, Nancy, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- Blockmans, Wim, Borchert, Till-Holger, Gabriëls, Nele, Oosterman, Johan and van Oosternwijk, Anne, eds., *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
- Blom, J. C. H and Lamberts, E., eds., *History of the Low Countries* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999).
- Blondeau, Chrystèle, *Un conquérant pour quatre ducs: Alexandre le Grand à la cour de Bourgogne* (Paris: CTHS-INHA, 2009).
- Bottini, Laura, 'The Apology of al-Kindī' in David Thomas and Barbara Roggema, eds., *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliography. Volume 1 (600–900)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 587–94.
- Boulton, Jonathan D. A., *The Knights of the Crown: the monarchical orders of knighthood in later medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1987).
- Brotton, Jerry, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Brown, Andrew, 'Cities, nations and divine service: identifying Spanish merchants in late medieval Bruges', *Urban History* (May 2016), pp. 1–22.
- Brown, Michelle P., *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994).

- Brusque, Georges le, 'Des chevaliers bourguignons dans les pays du Levant: l'expédition de Walleran de Wavrin contre les Turcs ottomans (1444–1446) dans les *Anchiennes Croniques d'Engleterre* de Jean de Wavrin', *Moyen Âge: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 106, no. 2 (2000), pp. 255–75.
- Burman, Thomas E., *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
- Camille, Michael, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 1998).
- Campbell, Lorna, 'The Arnolfini Double Portrait' in Foister, Susan, Jones, Sue and Cool, Delphine, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17–24.
- Caron, Marie-Thérèse, *La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne 1315–1477* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1987).
- Cartellieri, Otto, *The Court of Burgundy*, trans., Malcolm Letts (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Casado Alonso, Hilario, 'La colonie des marchands castillans de Bruges au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Publication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes* 51 (2011), pp. 233–45.
- Chareyron, Nicole, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans., W. Donald Wilson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- Cheyns-Condé, Myriam, 'L'épopée troyenne dans la "bibliothèque" ducale bourguignonne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle' in Jean-Marie Cauchies, ed., *À la cour de Bourgogne: le duc, son entourage, son train* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 85–93.
- Clemens, Raymond and Graham, Timothy, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).
- Coman, Marian, 'Experiencing Otherness. Bertrandon de la Broquière's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', *New Europe College Yearbook* (2007–2008), pp. 87–120.
- Conklin Akbari, Suzanne, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).
- Conklin Akbari, Suzanne, 'Imagining Islam: The Role of Images in Medieval Depictions of Muslims', *Scripta Mediterranea* 19–20 (1998–99), pp. 9–27.
- Constable, Olivia Remie, 'Food and Meaning: Christian Understandings of Muslim Food and Food Ways in Spain, 1250–1550', *Viator* 55, no. 3 (2013), pp. 199–236.
- Contadini, Anna and Norton, Claire, *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World* (London: Ashgate, 2013).
- Daniel, Norman, *Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London: Longman, 1979).

- Daniel, Norman, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1993).
- De Clerq, Wim, Dumolyn, Jan, and Haemers, Jan, “‘Vivre Noblement’: Material Culture and Elite Identity in Late Medieval Flanders”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38, no. 1 (Summer 2007), pp. 1–31.
- De Schryver, Antoine, *The Prayer Book of Charles the Bold: A Study of Flemish Masterpiece from the Burgundian Court*, trans., Jessica Berenbeim (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Press, 2007).
- De Vos, Dirk, *Hans Memling: The Complete Works* (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1994).
- Delandine, Antoine François, *Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Lyon* (Paris: Renouard, 1812).
- Devereaux, Rima, ‘Reconstructing Byzantine Constantinople: Intercession and Illumination at the Court of Philippe le Bon’, *French Studies* 59, no. 3, pp. 297–310.
- Di Cesare, Michelina, ‘The Prophet in the Book: Images of Muhammad in Western Medieval Book Culture’ in Avinoam Shalem, ed., *Constructing the Image of Muhammad in Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 9–32.
- Doehaerd, R. and Kerremans, C. H., *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, La Belgique et l’Outremont d’après les Archives Notariales Génoises 1400–1440* (Brussels: Academia Belgica, 1952).
- Doutrepoint, Georges, *Inventaire de la ‘Librairie’ de Philippe le Bon* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977).
- Doutrepoint, Georges, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970).
- Dumas, Hilary and Dumas, D. G., *Trefoil: Guls, Stars & Gardens: An Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets* (Oakland: The Gallery, 1990).
- Dumont, Jonathan, ‘Conserver ou transformer les structures sociales? La place de l’idéologie ternaire au sein de la pensée politique française et bourguignonne à la fin du Moyen Âge’ in Martin Martial, ed., *Les états: ordres, institutions et formes (France 1302–1614)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2013), pp. 43–71.
- Echevarria, Ana, *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude Towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).
- Faroqhi, Suraiya, ‘The Story of Bursa’ in H. Altenmüller, B. Hrouda, et al., eds., *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1, The Near and Middle East: The City in the Islamic World, Vol. 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 357–82.
- Fenlon, Ian, *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the end of the 16th Century* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

- Ferrer, Maria Teresa, 'Catalan commerce in the late Middle Ages', *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012), pp. 29–65.
- Fleet, Kate, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Foister, Susan, Jones, Sue and Cool, Delphine, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).
- Fournès, Ghislaine, 'La geste sacrée de Pierre l'Ermitte, pèlerin et croisé, dans la *Gran conquista de ultramar*', *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* 30, no. 1 (2007), pp. 55–66.
- Friedman, John B. and Mossler Figg, Kristen, eds., *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000).
- Garipzanov, Ildar H., *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- Geirnaert, Noël, 'Anselm Adornes and his Daughters: Owners of Two Paintings of Saint Francis by Jan van Eyck?' in Foister, Susan, Jones, Sue and Cool, Delphine, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 165–70.
- Goehring, 'Taking Borders Seriously: The Significance of Cloth-of-Gold Textile Borders in Burgundian and post-Burgundian Manuscript Illumination in the Low Countries', *Oud Holland* 119, no. 1 (2006), pp. 22–40.
- Guard, Timothy, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (London: The Boydell Press, 2013).
- Gumus, T. Tolga, 'Medieval Perspectives: Jean de Waurin and his perception of the Turks in Anatolia in the Late Middle Ages', *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 4, no. 16 (December 2013), pp. 163–71.
- Haarmann, Ulrich, 'The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travelers', *Mamluk Studies Review* 5 (2001), pp. 1–24.
- Hankins, James, 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), pp. 111–207.
- Heers, Marie-Louise, 'Les génois et le commerce d'alun à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 32, no. 1 (1954), pp. 31–54.
- Heller, Sarah-Grace, 'Fashion in French Crusade Literature: Desiring Infidel Textiles' in Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder, eds., *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 103–20.
- Hicks, Carola, *Girl in a Green Gown: The History and Mystery of the Arnolfini Portrait* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2011).

- Hoogvliet, Margriet, 'The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition by Johann Reger of Ulm', *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002), pp. 7–18.
- Housley, Norman, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580, From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Huizinga, Johan, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans., F. Hopman (London: Penguin Books, 1990).
- Hyde, J. K., 'Real and Imaginary Journeys in the Later Middle Ages', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester* 55 (1982), pp. 124–47.
- Imber, Colin, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–45* (London: Ashgate, 2006).
- Inoga-Prat, Dominique, 'The Creation of a Christian Armory of Islam' in Constance Hoffman Berman, ed., *Medieval Religion: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 325–46.
- Iorga, Nicolae, 'Les aventures "sarrazines" des français de Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale* (1926), pp. 3–52.
- Izzedin, Mehmed, 'Deux voyageurs du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle en Turquie: Bertrandon de la Broquière et Pero Tafur', *Journal Asiatique* 239 (1951), pp. 159–71.
- Jacobs, Lynn F., *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).
- Jardine, Lisa, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Nan A Talese, 1996).
- Jardine, Lisa and Brotton, Jerry, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East & West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
- Jékely, Zsombor, 'Majolica Jugs in Late Medieval Painting' in Gabrielle Balla and Zsombor Jékely, eds., *The Dowry of Beatrice — Italian Maiolica Art and the Court of King Matthias* (Budapest: Museum of Applied Art, 2008), pp. 55–66.
- John, Simon, 'Godfrey of Bouillon and the Swan Knight' in Simon John and Nicholas Morton, eds., *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 129–41.
- Jolivet, Sophie, 'Les italiens et le commerce du luxe à la cour de Philippe le Bon', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes* 49 (2009), pp. 243–56.
- Jolly, Penny, 'Marked Difference: Earrings and "The Other" in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Art' in Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder, eds., *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 195–208.

- Kaçar, Hilmi and Dumolyn, Jan, 'The Battle of Nicopolis (1396), Burgundian Catastrophe and Ottoman Fait Divers', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 91 (2013), pp. 905–34.
- Keck, Gabriele, *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433–1477)* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009).
- Khanmohamadi, Shirin, *In Light of Another's World: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).
- King, Donald and Sylvester, David, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World: from the 15th to the 17th century* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983).
- Kritzeck, James, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).
- Krul, Wesser, 'Realism, Renaissance and Nationalism' in Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren and Hank van Veen, eds., *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Rediscovery, Reception and Research* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), pp. 252–89.
- Laborde, Léon de, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne* (Paris: Plon frères, 1849).
- Lacaze, Yvon, *Perse et Bourgogne dans la seconde moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions A. Pedone, 1972).
- Lacaze, Yvon, 'Politique "méditerranéenne" et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon: de la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade', *Annales de Bourgogne* 41, no. 161 (1969), pp. 5–132.
- Lacaze, Yvon, 'Une page d'histoire marseillaise au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'incident vénétobourguignon de Porto Conte et ses suites (1448)', *Provence historique* 14, Fasc. 57 (1964), pp. 221–42.
- Lambert, Bart, *The City, the Duke and their Banker: The Raondi Family and the Formation of the Burgundian State (1348–1430)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
- Lane, Barbara G., *Hans Memling: Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009).
- Lassalmonie, Jean-François, 'Le plus riche prince d'Occident' in Werner Paravicini, ed., *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe: le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2013), pp. 63–82.
- Levy, Ian C., George-Tvrtković, Rita, and Duclow, Donald F., *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

- Luchitskaya, Svetlana, 'The Muslim Political World as Mirrored in the First Crusade Chronicles' in Adrian Boas, ed., *The Crusader World* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 346–61.
- Mack, Rosamund E., *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- Macquarrie, Alan, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James II', *The Innes Review* 33 (August 2010), pp. 15–22.
- Marchandisse, Alain, 'Jean de Wavrin, un chroniqueur entre Bourgogne et Angleterre, et ses homologues bourguignons face à la guerre des Deux Roses', *Le Moyen Age* 112, no. 3 (2006), pp. 507–27.
- Martens, Maxmillian P. J., *Bruges and the Renaissance: Memling to Pourbus* (Bruges: Stichting Kunstboek, 1998).
- Merrills, Andy, 'Geography and Memory in Isidore's *Etymologies*' in Keith D. Lilley, ed., *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond 300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 45–64.
- Michiels, Alfred, *Hans Memling* (New York: Parkstone Press, 2007).
- Mills, John, 'The Coming of the Carpet to the West' in Donald King and David Sylvester, eds., *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World: from the 15th to the 17th Century* (London: Hayward Gallery, 1983), pp. 11–23.
- Minorsky, Vladimir, *La Perse au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle entre la Turquie et Venise* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1933).
- Mocan, Andreea, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003).
- Monnas, Lisa, 'Silk Textiles in the Paintings of Jan van Eyck' in Foister, Susan, Jones, Sue and Cool, Delphine, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 149–64.
- Moodey, Elizabeth J., *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).
- Morrison, Elizabeth and Kren, Thomas, *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context: Recent Research* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006).
- Morrison, Elizabeth and Stahuljak, Zrinka, *The Adventures of Gillion de Trazegnies: Chivalry and Romance in the Medieval East* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2015).
- Murray, James M., *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280–1390* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).



- Nabor, Antoinette, 'Les manuscrits d'un bibliophile bourguignon du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Jean de Wavrin', *Revue du Nord* 72, no. 284 (January–March 1990), pp. 23–48.
- Nagel, Alexander, 'Some Discoveries of 1492: Eastern Antiquities and Renaissance Europe' in *The Seventeenth Gerson Lecture held in memory of Horst Gerson (1907–1978) in the aula of the University of Groningen on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November 2014* (Groningen: The Gerson Lectures Foundation, 2013).
- Nam, Jong-Kuk, *Le commerce du coton en Méditerranée à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- Nash, Susie, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Neidhardt, Uta and Schölzel, Christoph, 'Jan van Eyck's Dresden Triptych' in Foister, Susan, Jones, Sue and Cool, Delphine, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 25–40.
- Page, Christopher, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Palambo, Giovanni, 'David Aubert historien? Le récit de la bataille de Roncevaux dans les *Croniques et Conquestes de Charlemaine*', *Le Moyen Age* 12, no. 3 (2006), pp. 585–602.
- Pätsch, Otto, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, trans., Maria Schmidt-Dengler (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1999).
- Paviot, Jacques, 'Angleterre et Bourgogne: deux voies pour la croisade aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles?', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes* 35, no. 1 (1995), pp. 27–35.
- Paviot, Jacques, "'Croisade" bourguignonne et intérêts génois en mer Noire au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Studi di Storia Medioevale e di Diplomatica*, nos. 12–13 (1992), pp. 135–62.
- Paviot, Jacques, 'Jean Germain, évêque de Nevers et de Chalon-sur-Saône, chancelier de l'ordre de Toison d'Or', *Publications du Centre Européen Bourguignonnes* 50 (2010), pp. 109–27.
- Paviot, Jacques, 'La piraterie bourguignonne en Mer Noire à la moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle' in Henri Dubois, Jean-Claude Hocquet and André Vauchez, eds., *Horizons Marins Itinéraires Spirituels (V<sup>e</sup> – XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles): Volume II Marins, Navires et Affaires* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1987), pp. 203–14.
- Paviot, Jacques, *La politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne: 1384–1482* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1995).
- Paviot, Jacques, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la crusade et l'Orient* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2003).

- Paviot, Jacques, *Portugal et Bourgogne au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995).
- Peters, Edward and Simons, Walter P., 'The New Huizinga and the Old Middle Ages', *Speculum* 74, no. 3 (July 1999), pp. 587–620.
- Phillips, Kim M., *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).
- Phillips, Kim M., 'Travel, Writing, and the Global Middle Ages', *History Compass* 14, no. 3 (2016), pp. 81–92.
- Pick, Lucy K., *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews in Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004).
- Quéruel, Danielle, 'Le "valliant turc et courtois Salhadin": un oriental à la cour de Bourgogne' in *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident medieval* (Marseilles: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1982), pp. 299–311.
- Rubiés, Joan-Pau, 'The Emergence of a Naturalistic and Ethnographic Paradigm in Late Medieval Travel Writing' in Joan-Pau Rubiés, ed., *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perspectives of the World Beyond* (London: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 43–64.
- Schnerb, Bertrand, 'Burgundy' in Christopher Allmand, *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 431–56.
- Schnerb, Bertrand, *Jean Sans Peur: Le prince neutrier* (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages, 2005).
- Schnerb, Bertrand, *L'État bourguignon, 1363–1477* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 1999).
- Schoeser, Mary, *Silk* (New York: Yale University Press, 2008).
- Schwoebel, Robert, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1967).
- Sénac, Phillipe, *L'image de l'autre: histoire de l'Occident médiéval face à l'Islam* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983).
- Serchuk, Camille, 'Cartes et Chroniques: Mapping and History in Late Medieval France' in Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard Watson Unger, eds., *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 257–76.
- Small, Margaret, 'Displacing Ptolemy? The textual geographies of Ramusio's *Navigazioni viaggi*' in Keith D. Lilley, ed., *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 152–72.
- Smeyers, Maurit, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16th Century: The Medieval World on Parchment* (Leuven: Brepols, 1999).

- Soudavar, Abolala, *Decoding Old Masters: Patrons, Princes and Enigmatic Paintings of the 15th Century* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008).
- Southern, Richard, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- Spallanzani, Marco, *Oriental Rugs in Renaissance Florence* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 2007).
- Sprandel, Rolf, 'World Historiography in the Late Middle Ages' in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 156–72.
- Stabel, Peter, 'Le goût pour l'Orient: demande cosmopolite et objets de luxe à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Histoire urbaine* 1, no. 30 (2011), pp. 21–39.
- Stein, Henri, 'Un diplomate bourguignon du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Antoine Haneron', *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* 98 (1937), pp. 283–348.
- Straub, Richard E. F., *David Aubert: escrivain et clerc* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995).
- Streeton, Noëlle L. W., 'Jan van Eyck's *Dresden Triptych*: New Evidence for the Giustiniani of Genoa in the Borromei Ledger for Bruges, 1438', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1–16.
- Sullivan, Margaret A., 'Bosch, Bruegel, Everyman and the Northern Renaissance', *Oud Holland* 121, nos. 2–3 (2008), pp. 117–46.
- Svátek, Jaroslav, 'Guillebert de Lannoy, un seigneur bourguignon espion en Terre Sainte' in Martin Nejedlý and Jaroslav Svátek, eds., *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge (France, Bourgogne, Bohême)* (Toulouse: Collection Méridiennes Série Croisades Tardives, 2009), pp. 85–94.
- Svátek, Jaroslav, 'La vision de la croisade dans le récit de Bertrandon de la Broquière' in Martin Nejedlý and Jaroslav Svátek, eds., *Histoires et mémoires des croisades à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Toulouse: Collection Méridiennes Série Croisades Tardives, 2012), pp. 143–59.
- Svátek, Jaroslav, 'Les catégories des "naciones, langues et créances" chez les voyageurs des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles' in *Nation et nations au Moyen Âge: Actes du XLIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la SHMESP* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2014), pp. 123–35.
- Szilágya, Krisztina, 'Muhammad and the Monk: The Making of the Christian Bahīrā Legend', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34 (2008), pp. 169–214.
- Szpiech, Ryan, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).
- Szpiech, Ryan, *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference: Commentary, Conflict, and Community in the Premodern Mediterranean* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015).

- Taparel, Henri, 'Un episode de la politique orientale de Philippe le Bon: les bourguignons en Mer Noire (1444–1446)', *Annales de Bourgogne* 55 (1983), pp. 5–29.
- Thomas, David and Mallett, Alex, *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 5 (1350–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Thompson, Carl, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011).
- Tieszen, Charles, *A Textual History of Christian–Muslim Relations: Seventh–Fifteenth Centuries* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015).
- Tolan, John V., 'Bertrandon de la Broquière' in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 5 (1350–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 443–46.
- Tolan, John V., ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Tolan, John V., 'Peter the Venerable on the “diabolical heresy of the Saracens”' in Alberto Ferreiro, ed., *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 345–68.
- Tolan, John V., *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
- Vale, Malcolm, 'An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron: Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester' in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul, eds., *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 115–31.
- Van der Linden, M. H., 'Le voyage de P. Tafur en Brabant, en Flandre et en Artois (1438)', *Revue du Nord* 5, no. 19 (August 1914), pp. 216–31.
- Van der Stock, Jan and Smeyers, Maurits, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, 1475–1550* (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1996).
- Van Koningsveld, P. S., 'The Apology of al-Kindi' in T. L. Hettema and A van der Kooij, eds., *Religious Polemics in Context: Papers Presented to the Second International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religion (LISOR) held at Leiden, 27–28 April 2000* (Leiden: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), pp. 69–84.
- Van Steensel, Arie, 'Noble Identity and Culture. Recent Historiography on the Nobility in the Medieval Low Countries', *History Compass* 12, no. 3 (2014), pp. 287–99.
- Vanderjagt, A. J., 'Bertrandon de la Broquière (1400–1459)' in John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg, eds., *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. 325–26

- Vanderjagt, A. J., 'Lannoy, Ghillebert de (1386–1462)' in John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg, eds., *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. 331–32.
- Vassileiva-Codognet, Olga, 'The Iconography of the *Last World Emperor*: A Study of a Late Fifteenth-Century Prophetic Image', *Journal of Iconographic Studies* 5 (2012), pp. 199–206.
- Vaughan, Richard, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1973).
- Vaughan, Richard, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London: The Boydell Press, 2002).
- Vaughan, Richard, *Philip the Good: Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1970).
- Viltart, Franck, 'Itinéraires, transport et logement des armées dans les projets de croisade de Philippe le Bon (1454–1464)' in Daniel Baloup and Manuel Sánchez Martínez, eds., *Partir en croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge. Financement et logistique* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2015), pp. 331–49.
- Walsh, Richard J., 'Charles the Bold and the crusade: politics and propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), pp. 53–86.
- Wieggers, Gerard Albert, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).
- Wijsman, Hanno, 'Northern Renaissance? Burgundy and Netherlandish Art of Fifteenth-Century Europe' in Alexander Lee, Pit Péporté, and Harry Schnitker, eds., *Renaissance?: Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, c. 1300 – c. 1550* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 269–88.
- Willard, Charity Cannon, 'Jean de Wavrin' in William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn, eds., *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), pp. 1841–43.
- Wolf, Anne Marie, 'Juan de Segovia' in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 5 (1350–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 434–37.
- Wolf, Anne Marie, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace: Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015).
- Wolf, Anne Marie, 'Pleas for Peace, Problems for Historians: A 1455 Letter from Juan de Segovia to Jean Germain on Countering the Threat of Islam' in William D. Phillips Jr. and Marguerite Ragnow, eds., *Religious Conflict and Accommodation in the Early Modern World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pp. 55–68.
- Woodward, David, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 4 (December 1985), pp. 510–21.

Wrisley, David J., 'Jean Germain's *Debat du Crestien et du Sarrasin*: Illumination Between Multi-Confessional Debate and Anti-Conciliarism' in Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse and Kathryn A. Smith, eds., *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 177–205.

Wrisley, David J., 'Situating Islamdom in Jean Germain's *Mappemonde Spirituelle* (1449)', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), pp. 326–46.

Wrisley, David J., 'The Loss of Constantinople and Imagining Crusade at the Fifteenth-Century Court of Burgundy', *al-Abhath* 55 (2007–08), pp. 81–116.

Young Kim, David, 'Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting', *The Art Bulletin* 98 (2016), pp. 181–212.