Romantic Geography and the Crusades: British Library Royal ms. 19 D I

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It is not unusual in the shorthand of manuscript illumination of the first half of the fourteenth century to simplify place and emphasize action when presenting a scene of historical interest. Miniatures in chronicles and romances are often filled with events, such as battle scenes or historical meetings that take place in front of a blank or geometrically patterned background – perhaps a rather generic building may be depicted or a lonely tree may appear -- but rarely is there any indication that the action takes place in a recognizable location. This is true for miniatures in books produced in France during the reign of King Philip VI of Valois (1328-1350), which, while conforming to the highest level of artistic fashion at the Parisian court, rarely incorporated the developing illusionistic techniques for placing a scene's protagonists within an architectural or environmental space favored by earlier illuminators such as Jean Pucelle or the contemporary Italian painters working for the Papal Court in Avignon like Simone Martini.[1]

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[1] The number of manuscripts created in Paris in the reign of Philip VI is larger than I will include here, but the following books should be considered for their stylistic relevance: Vincent of Beauvais, *Miroir Historial* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 3160; the Book of Hours of Jeanne de Navarre (Paris, BNF, ms. n.a.l. 3145); Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 5716); and the Process of Robert d'Artois (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 18437). Crusades manuscripts produced during the 1330s will be listed below. For contemporary stylistic comparisons in which the technical interest in illusionistic space or rather, the lack thereof, in manuscripts of the 1330s and earlier is immediately apparent see the still relevant François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)*, (New York, and London, 1978); and the newer survey in Colette Beaune, *Le miroir du pouvoir: Les manuscrits des rois de France au moyen âge*, (Paris, 1997); and for an Italian alternative to the French miniatures under discussion, see Simone Martini's title

In this moment just before – or even as – manuscript illumination and painting in general became focused on increasingly realistic representations of illusionistic space, I suggest that the Parisian court artists were not actually unconcerned with where the action being depicted took place; rather, they conformed to a definition of place that relied on human experience and action more strongly than on topographic distinction.[2] In this essay, I focus on the artistic emphasis on action over location in a single manuscript whose *raison d'être* seems to be the identification of specific far-off lands for the purpose of travel and battle, yet whose representation of those places remains generic. The manuscript is known rather blandly as the *Crusading Miscellany* (London, British Library, Royal ms. 19 D I – hereafter abbreviated to Royal 19 D I).[3] In this manuscript, most likely created at the behest of a member of Philip VI's court, scenes of crusade and foreign adventure occur in locations identified with great specificity in the text, yet the miniatures rarely include even a single topographic element allowing identification of an individual site; instead the action of the protagonists is highlighted.[4] This striking imbalance of place and action creates what I prefer to think of as an "experiential geography" in which

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page to Petrarch's *Virgil* of c. 1336, available online at www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/s/simone/7last/4virgil.html.

[2] Interest in the style of late medieval illumination often focuses on the question of "realistic" versus "not-so-realistic" questions. Regarding the introduction of perspective and increasingly complicated composition in the background of manuscript miniatures, see the many volumes of Millard Meiss's monumental study, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry:* I. *The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London, 1967); II. *The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968); III. *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (London, 1974). For a more recent contribution, see Christine Geisler Andrews, "The Boucicaut Masters," *Gesta* 41/1 (2002), 29-38.

[3] Research for this project was carried out under the auspices of a grant from the American Trust for the British Library, enabling a three-month internship in the Manuscripts Department at the British Library, and a Mellon Faculty Development Grant from Saint Louis University. I would like to thank these authorities and the directors and staff of the British Library for their invaluable aid, especially Kathleen Doyle, Peter Kidd, and Scot McKendrick.

[4] For example, the city of Campision is described in the body of the text both according to its location and the actions and nature of its inhabitants. The rubrics above the miniature, however, is almost as simple as the scene itself, reading only "de la cite de capisio." See figure 10 below.

personal experience is emphasized over location – even when that location is known, is

identified clearly, and is, on many levels, the point of the manuscript. [5]

In1332, when Philip VI of Valois declared an overseas crusade only a few years after his

accession to the throne of France, few people actually knew the physical location of the Holy

Land; it was, rather vaguely, "overseas."[6] Outremer was, simply, that land across the

Mediterranean where Christ once lived. Generations of Christian merchants, pilgrims and

crusaders had visited, making the Holy Land of the fourteenth century a knowable, if not

necessarily a personally experienced, place to a European audience. Since the fall of Jerusalem

in 1291 to the Mamluks, European leaders had planned the military recovery of the Holy Land.

This was especially true of the French, who had the recent crusading example of St. Louis IX.[7]

In a well-established practice, Philip VI, the first king of the newly established Valois dynasty,

emphasized a relationship to the most important members of his bloodline as a means of

acknowledging his authority – St. Louis being the most important Capetian relative for this

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[5] Many of my thoughts on this topic were inspired by ideas relatively common in the study of cultural geography, but less prevalent (at least to this point) in the realm of art history. Influential to a formulation of an "experiential geography" as it relates to medieval manuscript painting, although not specifically dealing with the medium, are Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, (Chicago, 2004); Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, (Minneapolis, 1977); and the numerous late antique and medieval authors represented in Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds., *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, (Philadelphia, 2002), especially Hugh of St. Victor and his "memory aids." Likewise, Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, 1990), and Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (Chicago, 1966), prove essential reading in their approaches to the idea of the difference between personally experienced remembrance and artificially constructed knowledge.

[6] Although the bibliography of crusader scholarship is vast, it is possible to note a few important sources for Philip VI's unsuccessful program. See Raymond Cazelles, *La Société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois*, (Paris, 1958); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar*, (Oxford and New York, 1992); Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land, The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000); Christopher Tyerman, "Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land," *The English Historical Review*, 100/394, (1985), 25-52; and Jules Viard, "Les projets de croisade de Philippe VI de Valois," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 97 (1936), 305-316.
[7] For royal participation in the cult of St. Louis, see especially Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval* France, ed. Frederic L. Cheyette, trans. Susan Ross Huston, (Berkeley, 1991); Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "The Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis," *Mediaevalia* 10 (1984), 279-331; Elizabeth Hallam, "Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis," *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), 201-214. See Cazelles, (1958), esp. 96-97 for Philip's dedication to St. Louis.

Valois king.[8] Louis's reputation as a crusader, disastrous as the reality may have been, provided a firm model for Christian leadership – and specifically visitable locations, such as Damietta, Jaffa, and Acre – that could rally the sometimes querulous French peers to the new king's cause.[9]

In his preparations for extended overseas battle, Philip VI convened a crusade council dedicated to the question of war. The council consulted a broad array of crusaders from previous generations and received a series of treatises providing strategic advice. These texts addressed such logistical questions as how to get to the Holy Land and what kind of military devices would be most efficacious against Saracen defenses. They also provided more basic ethnographic understanding in the form of romantic and encyclopedic travelogues detailing just whom the French crusaders might encounter once out of their western European comfort zone.[10]

In response to the crusading fervor of the 1330s several well-known illuminated manuscripts were created with at least tangential crusading themes. These included Jean de Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 13568), the *Grandes chroniques de France*, owned by Philip's son, John the Duke of Normandy (London, British Library, Royal ms. 16 G VI), William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer* (Paris, Bibliothèque

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[8] I have elsewhere addressed several of Philip VI's efforts to justify his right to the throne of France. See Maureen Quigley, "Political Benefit and the Role of Art at the Court of Philip VI of Valois (1328-1350)," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin, 2003.

[9] For the late Capetian tradition of crusade following St. Louis, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cornell, 2008); Joseph Strayer, "France, the Holy Land, The Chosen People, and the Most Christian King," in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph Strayer*, ed. John F. Benton and Thomas N. Bisson, (Princeton, 1971); Leopold, (2000), for an examination of the primary sources; and Tyerman, (1985), 25-52, for the most important contextual perspective on Philip's proposals

[10] J.M.A. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle: Expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaut*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1886; reprint 2004) 2:7-11; and Tyerman (1985), 34-35. Most certainly associated with the crusade council's call for advice is Guido da Vigevano's *Texaurus Regis Francie acquisitionis terre sancta*, which directly addressed Philip's proposed crusade by providing advice on the maintenance of the king's health and suggested military machinery. The manuscript today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF ms. lat. 11015) is likely a later version of the original presentation copy. See Giustina Ostuni, *Le macchine del re: il Texaurus Regis Francie di Guido da Vigevano; trascrizione, traduzione e commento del codice lat. 11015 della Bibliothèque nationale di Parigi* (Vigevano, 1993).

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Nationale de France, ms. fr. 22495), and the *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 5716).[11] These manuscripts were commissioned by and intended for a courtly audience responding to a popular interest in the planned crusade. It is, however, the miscellany of texts in Royal 19 D I that appears to have been created specifically as a direct response to the crusade council's appeal.

Royal 19 D I is a compilation of popular prose romances and travel chronicles that includes an important treatise on crusading intended for Philip VI's council in its earliest translation into French, the anonymous *Directoire*.[12] Listing the texts as they appear within the compilation, it is readily apparent that with the *Vraie hystoire du bon roi Alixandre*, the *Venjance d'Alexandre*, the *Livres du Grant Caam* – better known to a modern reader as Marco Polo's Voyages, the *Merveilles de la terre d'Outremer* of Odoric of Pordenone, accounts of foreign travel by John of Plano Carpini from the *Miroir historial*, the *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*, excerpts from Primat's *Chronique* including the Life of St. Louis, and Old Testament passages of battle from Guiard des Moulins' *Bible historiale*, the traditional prose genres of romance, travel journal, chronicle, hagiography, and advice manual are incorporated

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[11] As part of an ongoing project, I continue to expand and define this list. At the moment of writing, these are the manuscripts that I have personally viewed. The Joinville manuscript is often attributed to an origin in the reign of Charles V (1364-80), but has been more correctly recognized as work of the Master of the Vies de Saint Louis. See Thérèse Habary-Dufeil, "Attribution des enluminures du peinture "C" de la Bible historiale, Montpellier, Bibl. Méd. ms. H49 (ms. M49) au maître des Vies de Saint Louis," Diplôme d'Études Approfondies, Université Paul-Valéry, 1992. For the London Grandes Chroniques, see Anne Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the* Grandes Chroniques de France*, 1274-1422* (California Studies in the History of Art, 28, Berkeley, 1991). For BNF ms. fr. 22495, see Jaroslav Folda, "Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist," *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 90-95. For BNF ms. fr. 5716, see Jane Geein Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Paris, B.N., ms. fr. 5716), Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, 1998.

[12] See the catalogue entry for Royal 19 D I in George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 2:339-341. The catalogue is quite complete with its identification and analysis of the various texts and with its detailed description of the images. See also D.J.A. Ross, "Methods of Book-Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952), 63-75; and Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (London, 2000), 2:224-247. Both Ross and the Rouses provide insight into the crusading intent of the compilers and the Rouses strongly suggest Philip VI as either the patron or recipient of the manuscript.

into the manuscript – each adding to the meta-narrative of journeying to far-away lands. Except

for the first three texts, all popular or increasingly popular romance/travelogues, the texts in 19 D

I were new creations, unique excerptions of larger works, or original translations.[13] For my

purposes, though, the most important component of this compilation is the inclusion of Jean de

Vignay's translation of the anonymous Dominican's *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre*

Sainte, which exists in this manuscript in its earliest French translation.[14] This practical advice

text was dedicated by its author, typically identified as William Adam, to Philip VI in 1330 and

was intended for this crusade project. The addition of Adam's practical crusade planner and

other similar texts to the romantic travel legends of the Alexander and Polo texts illustrates that

nebulous point where the intellectual and scientific knowledge of the Holy Land meets the

medieval desire to romanticize and categorize the distant unfamiliar.[15] The compilers of Royal

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[13] Scholars have, for the most part, glossed over the interesting combination of texts, choosing instead to focus on individual texts or image cycles. Ross and the Rouses have come closest to examining the book as a whole and their bibliographies point to several pertinent sources for textual study, and identify several instances of similarly joined texts. Further inquiry is necessary both by literary and art historians to establish patterns of illumination across these texts, however. Several of the individual texts, although not those new to this manuscript, have received extensive scholarly attention. For the Alexander Romance, see D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, (London, 1963). For the Marco Polo and its copies, see Consuelo Dutschke, "The Truth in the Book: The Marco Polo Texts in Royal 19 D I and Bodley 264," *Scriptorium* 52, (1998), 278-300. Christine Knowles, "Jean de Vignay, un traducteur du XIVe siècle," *Romania* 75, (1954), 353-383, identifies the unique appearance of Jean de Vignay translations in Royal 19 D I. See also Gregory Guzman, "The encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint Quentin," *Speculum* 49, (1974), 287-307. See below for further bibliography on these texts.

[14] The inclusion of the French translation of the text at this early date has indicated to many the direct correlation between this manuscript and the crusade project. There is a continuing discussion of just who wrote the *Directorium ad passagium faciendum transmarinum* (Recueil des historiens des croisades). Documents armeniennes, 2, Paris (1906), 365-517), which was dedicated to Philip VI and presented to the crusade council on July 26, 1330; for this date see C. Raymond Beazley, "*Directorium ad passagium faciendum transmarinum,*" *American Historical Review*, XII/4 (July 1907), 810. Although consensus generally accepts Guillaume Adam, a Dominican whose interest in the crusades was born out in his *De modo Saracennos extirpandi* (Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniennes, 2, Paris (1906), 521-55), general treatment of the question acknowledges the unlikelihood of definitive proof and most scholars continue to refer obliquely to the author's identity. See Leopold, (2000), 43-44 for a summary of the literature.

[15] Especially helpful in understanding fourteenth-century concepts, both romantic and realistic of "where" the crusades took place are David Abulafia, "Asia, Africa, and the Trade of Medieval Europe," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 2: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, M.M. Postan and Edward Miller, eds., (Cambridge, 1987), 402-473; Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel*

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19 D I further underscored this congruence of science and romance through the visual program. By displaying *actions* abroad, rather than *locations* abroad, the romances and travel chronicles could be read in terms just as scientific as the advice treatise.   The reverse is also true: the advice treatise could be romanticized so that its "real" location – the knowable Holy Land – could become instead a less easily identified "experienced" geography.

The term "geography" itself is misleading when discussing fourteenth-century French understanding of the physical location of the Holy Land, and Jerusalem in particular. Cultural geographers today practice a multivalent science, which emphasizes not only topography, cartography, and geology, but also politics, economics, and genealogy.[16] Focusing on the people who both inhabit and construe the landscape and their perceptions of place, rather than the landscape itself, the field has incorporated the analysis of visual material. Separating "space" from "place," it is the latter that distinguishes cultural and historical geography from anthropology. It is this sense of place that is the primary concern of the makers of Royal 19 D I.[17]

Writing, 400-1600, (Ithaca and London, 1988); and Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*, (New York, 2003).

[16] There are any number of introductions to cultural geography that serve well as general guides to the field. I found especially helpful the numerous essays in James Duncan and David Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation*, (London, 1993). For the use of traditional geographical approaches in medieval studies, see Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, (Oxford, 2007), especially Chapter 1. See also Kauffman, (2004), for a bibliography that provides not only an essential view on art and geography, but an overview of contemporary geographical methodologies.

[17] The distinguishing of space and place first found its popularity in John Kirtland Wright's seminal lecture at the Association of American Geographers annual meeting in 1946, "Terrae Incognitae: The Place of Imagination in Geography," published in *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 37, (1947), 1-5. Wright emphasized a subjective approach to the science of geography, encouraging scholars to investigate the personalized experience of space. In other words, Wright declared that a place was an experienced location, while space was simply the physical area in which the experience occurred. The idea that individuals have an awareness of the difference between space and place can be found in Tuan, (1977), 8-18 and 136-148; and Edward S. Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena," in Stephen Feld and Keith H. Basso, eds., *Senses of Place*, (Santa Fe, 1996), 13-52.

Crusaders had "mapped" the Holy Land and Jerusalem long before the fourteenth century crusade project and these maps were often replicated in manuscripts such as those listed above.[18] When analyzed through the lens of cultural geography, it becomes clear that these maps often functioned less as navigational devices or as a means of how to get from one place to another than as a chorographic view of a distant land. In addition to locating various sites or places with a defined area, they included anecdotal information about unusual appearances, behaviors and practices of the inhabitants of these distant lands.[19] For example, within the image of the simplified cityscape of Jerusalem in a thirteenth-century picture bible (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76 F 5, f. 1), an attempt was made to identify visitable sites. Notable are the rotunda form of the Holy Sepulchre and the site of Golgatha indicated by a circle topped by a cross. **(fig. 1)** The medieval geographical tradition evinced here emphasized the actions

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[18] The primary resource for historical mapmaking is the multivolume H.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, (Chicago, 1987). For this project, volume 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* was most useful. See also Daniel K. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *Art Bulletin*, 81/4 (December 1999), 598-622; P.D.A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys*, (London, 1980); John F. Moffitt, "Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy's *Chorographia*," *Gesta*, 32/1 (1993), 59-68; and R.V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers*, (New York, 1987).

[19] John Kirtland Wright, *Geographical Lore on the Time of the Crusades: A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe*, (New York, 1925), provides a venerable, yet still comprehensive study of ancient and medieval writers and their approaches to their world. Most helpful is the section on "regional geography" in which Wright identifies simultaneous interests in "geography of tradition" and "geography of observation." Chorography, a term made popular among seventeenth-century physical scientists, is a predecessor to modern cultural geography and is an amalgam of topographic analysis and chronological anecdotes tied to a particular location. This term is most popular with scholars of Early Modern European geography. For a definition of chorography, see Lesley B. Cormack, "Good Fences Make Good Neighbors: Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England," *Isis*, 82/4 (1991), 639-661.
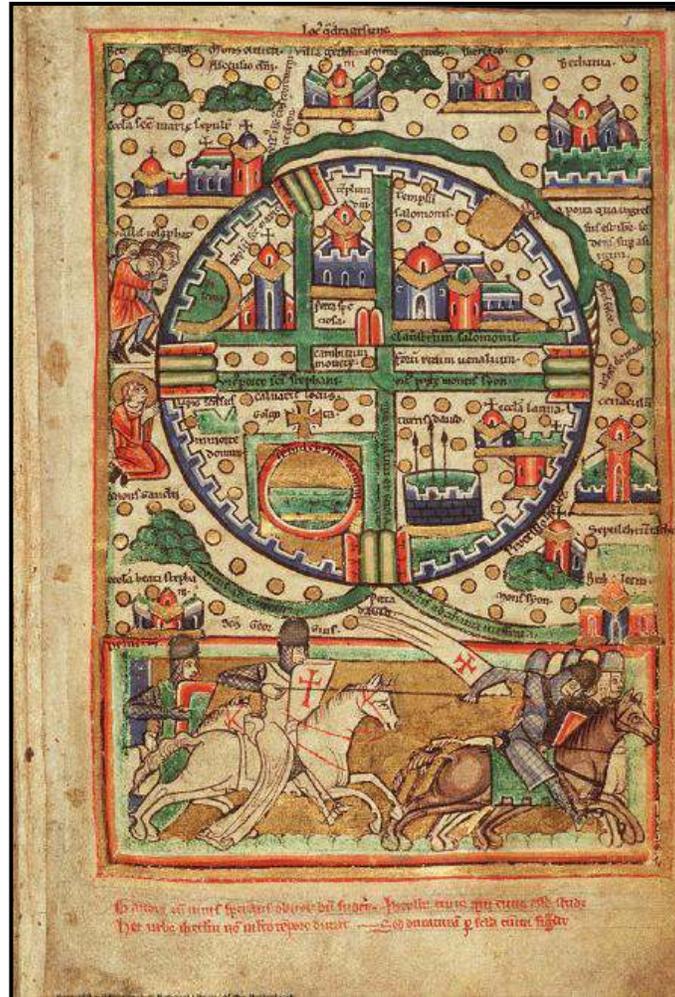
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Figure 1 The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 76 F 5, f. 1
Picture Bible, Map of Jerusalem, *c*. 1200. After

of the pilgrims, martyrs, and crusaders, who are seen traveling, praying and battling in the

margins surrounding the traditional T and O shape of the map. The result is an amalgam of a

Fodor's travel guide, which tells a reader what to do upon arrival at a distant locale, and a Rand-

McNally map, which is a measured accounting of geo-spatial relationships.

By the fourteenth century this tradition had changed – or at least new options existed for

the medieval cartographer. Crusaders did have a sort of Rand-McNally in the form of Portolan

charts. These developed from the compass readings of shipping navigators and were known in

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the west from around 1300.[20] One of these, the portolan world map by Pietro Vesconte (London,

British Library, Add. Ms. 27376, f. 187v-188), was used by the Italian crusading activist Marino

Sanudo to illustrate his important call to arms, the *Liber secretorum fidelium cruces*, of around

1320.[21] **(fig. 2)** Sanudo was later called upon by the council organizing Philip's crusade for his

knowledge of the practicalities of scientific cartography. His maps make it clear that the

physical location of the Holy Land was not a mystery. The up-to-date fourteenth-century court

of France knew where to find the Holy Land and how to get there. Although there are a few

distortions of size and relative location, the Sanudo portolan resembles nothing less than

a modern view of the earth from space with Jerusalem as the focal point at the center of the

image. In other words, *where* was not the issue.

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[20] For further reading on portolan charts, see T. Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in Harley and Woodward, (1987), vol. 1; Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Mapping the Silk Road and Beyond: 2000 Years of Exploring the East*, (London, 2004); Edward Stevenson, *Portolan Charts: Their Origin and Characteristics: With a Descriptive List of Those Belonging to the Hispanic Society of America*, (New York, 1911); and David Woodward, "Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75/4, (1985), 510-521.

[21] For Vesconte's portolano-mappamundi, of which multiple copies remain, see Anna-Dorothee van den Brincken, "Das geographische Weltbild um 1300," in Peter Moraw, ed., *Das geographische Weltbild um 1300. Politik im Spannungsfeld von Wissen, Mythos und Fiktion* (Berlin, 1989), 25; and Marcel Destombes, ed., *Mappemondes A.D. 1200-1500. Catalogue préparé par la Commission des Cartes Anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale* (Amsterdam, 1964), 54.4.

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Figure 2 London, BL Add. Ms. 27376, ff. 187v-188 *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Marino Sanudo)
Pietro Vesconte's Portolan World Map *c*. 1320-1325. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=009107&imagex=1&searchnum=4

The makers of Royal 19 D I, however, did not choose to incorporate any type of scientific chart into their compilation that could define where the presumed crusading audience could find the Holy Land. Notably missing from this "crusade" compilation is the popular Sanudo text and Vesconte map.[22] This manuscript seems, with its strong romantic underpinnings, more interested with what and whom the crusaders would come into contact as they made their journey.[23] As

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[22] For the catalog of images and texts, see again Warner and Gilson, (1921), vol. 2.

[23] See Ross (1952), 64; and Rouse and Rouse (2000), 1:245. The Rouses distinguish their interpretation of the compilation as a "preparation and justification for going on crusade" intended for the already-dedicated king from Ross's argument that the manuscript served as a "recruiting poster" intended to inspire the desire to crusade in members of the court. I fall more comfortably onto the side of the Rouses, although their suggestion that either Philip VI himself or his wife Jeanne of Burgundy commissioned the manuscript stands on rather less solid ground. Circumstantial evidence certainly allows this argument, although I am more comfortable with the idea that a more junior member of the crusade committee commissioned the manuscript. I don't hesitate to agree, however, with the

such we can say that Royal 19 D I provided geography of observation and experience of foreign lands, rather than mere directions. But how did it accomplish this visually?

With 164 miniatures spread unevenly throughout the 267 folios of this compilation, it is possible to follow through both the popular texts and the new, a visual story of foreign travel and battle, although where that travel and battle take place is left solely to the text to define. Each text and translation included in the compilation is illustrated to some extent. The Prose Alexander includes 102 of the 164 miniatures, the Marco Polo 38, the *Chronique* 11 and the *Directoire* 8, the *Bible historiale* 2, and the remaining texts 1 each.[24] Each text includes a frontispiece image, even if that image is the sole representation. When examining the body of images it quickly becomes clear that while the pace of the images was heavily weighted toward the popular romances, the style of representation remains consistent throughout: simple scenes took place in small one- to two-column miniatures in front of a diapered background. While there were rare exceptions to the rule when dealing with seascapes, a small greenish-blue register representing the earth provided a sort of unsubtle "grounding" to the nascent space. Place, on the other hand, was identified by the physical activities of the inhabitants of the miniatures.

There is one scene, however, where space and place combine -- the first image in the manuscript is the frontispiece to the Alexander romance (BL Royal 19 D I, f.1).**(fig.3)**

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conjecture that the king may have been the intended recipient. I have discussed this idea in an unpublished paper, presented at the College Art Association Annual Meeting in 2007, "Crusade History at the Court of Philip VI of Valois: British Library Royal ms. 19 D I."

[24] I have addressed the issue of the program's visual inconsistency in a presentation in Quigley (CAA 2007) and am currently completing an essay on the topic. Codicological analysis shows that the manuscript was assembled in a single campaign and the observation of the numerous illustrator's marginal guides – Ross has noted sketches and erasures next to 132 of the 164 miniatures – makes it apparent that the visual program illustrating the disparate texts was likewise conceived within a single workshop. This disparity makes the inconsistency in the attitude toward illustrating the various texts all the more obvious.
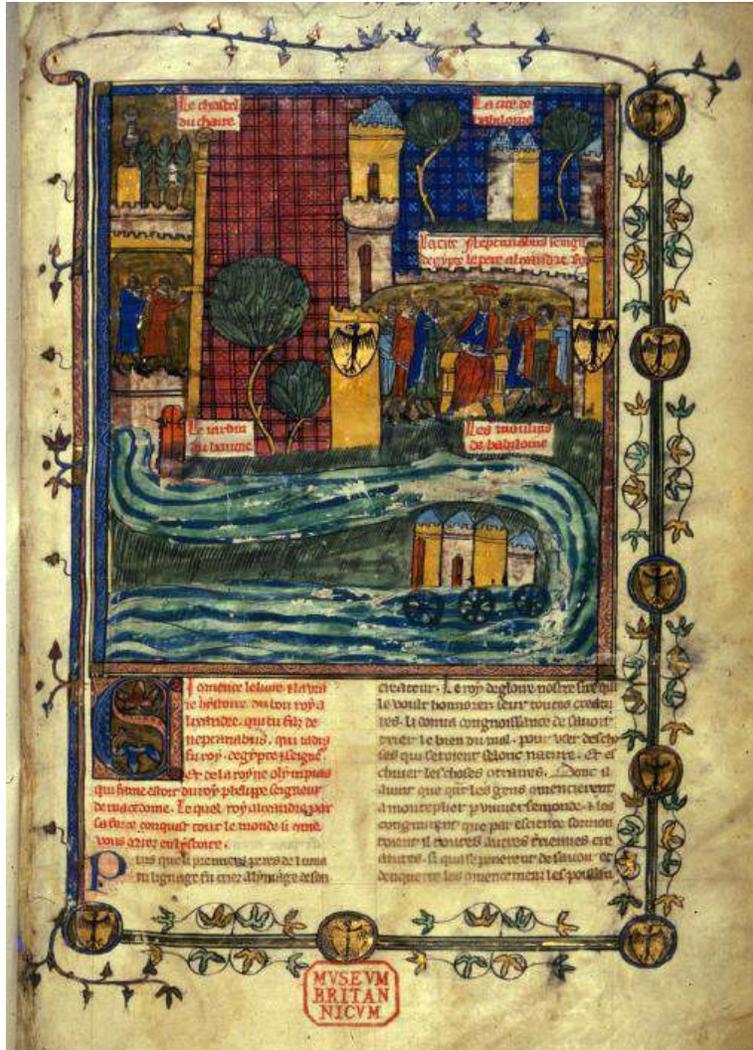
Figure 3 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f.1 *La vraie hystoire du bon roy Alixandre*, Frontispiece (View of   Cairo) *c*.1333-1337

Like the above-mentioned map of Jerusalem, this image functioned as a visitor's guide to Cairo.

As one city "overseas," Cairo was a site of great interest to crusaders. In D.J.A. Ross's analysis

of a series of Alexander romances with the same opening scene, he showed that the topographic

elements within these images played to an interest in exotic travel on the part of the courtly

audience of these stories.[25] The viewer is shown all of the great tourist spots of the ancient city,

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[25] D.J.A. Ross, "Nectanebus in His Palace: A Problem of Alexander Iconography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 15 (1952), 67-87.

interestingly omitting the pyramids at nearby Giza, but including the city's castle, the famous balsam garden, and the mills. The topography of the cityscape, with the sinuous Nile becoming a veritable U-bend, is clearly stylized to emphasize points of interest over physical accuracy.

As the story progresses, even such basic and stylized topography disappears from the visual program of this manuscript. The tangible and visitable place highlighted in the Cairo frontispiece is replaced by observable *people* within a landscape. In the shift in focus from place to inhabited landscape, the illustrators moved from specific topographic elements of individual locations to simplified features. In the case of Baghdad, described by Marco Polo as a city situated between two rivers, a stone tower in front of a gold background hovers over a series of vertically stacked wavy lines representing a body of water (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 64). **(fig. 4)** That the inhabitants of Baghdad are seen waving "hello" is the only sign of life or individuality in the image. In many cases, even the simplified elements or architecture or land were removed, and the viewer was left with representations of human actions without reference to a visitable place.

The same strategy can be seen at play in the frontispiece of Marco Polo's story of his visit to the Great Khan where the brothers Niccolo and Maffeo Polo are seen preparing to leave for the East. They are shown seeking permission from the western authorities of Pope and Emperor before departing from Venice. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 58)
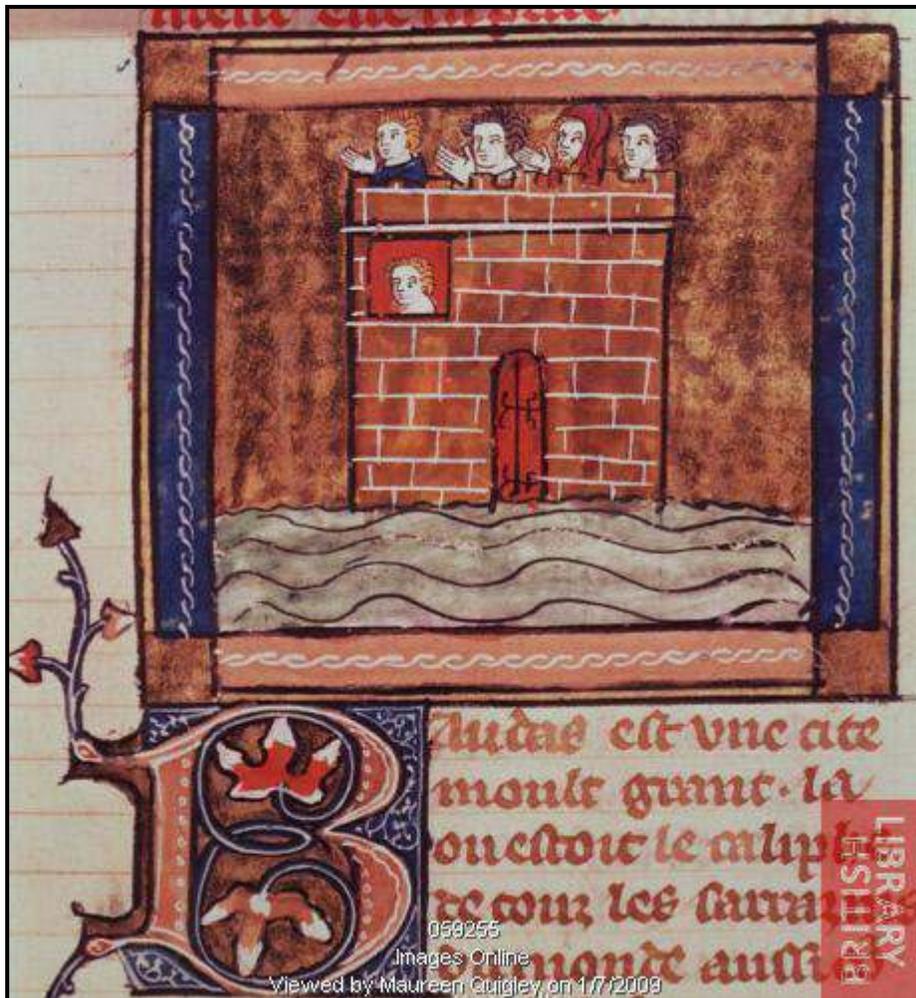
Figure 4 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 64 *Li livres du Grant Caam*, Baghdad *c*.1333-1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=5&searchnum=0009&image=059255

Like Baghdad, Venice is represented as a series of towers next to a body of water. **(fig. 5)** Here,
rather than an emphasis on the location or even the physical appearance of Venice, the
illustrators have depicted the concept of departure and journeying, anticipating arrival at an
unknown future port of call. The journeying is implied in the leaving.
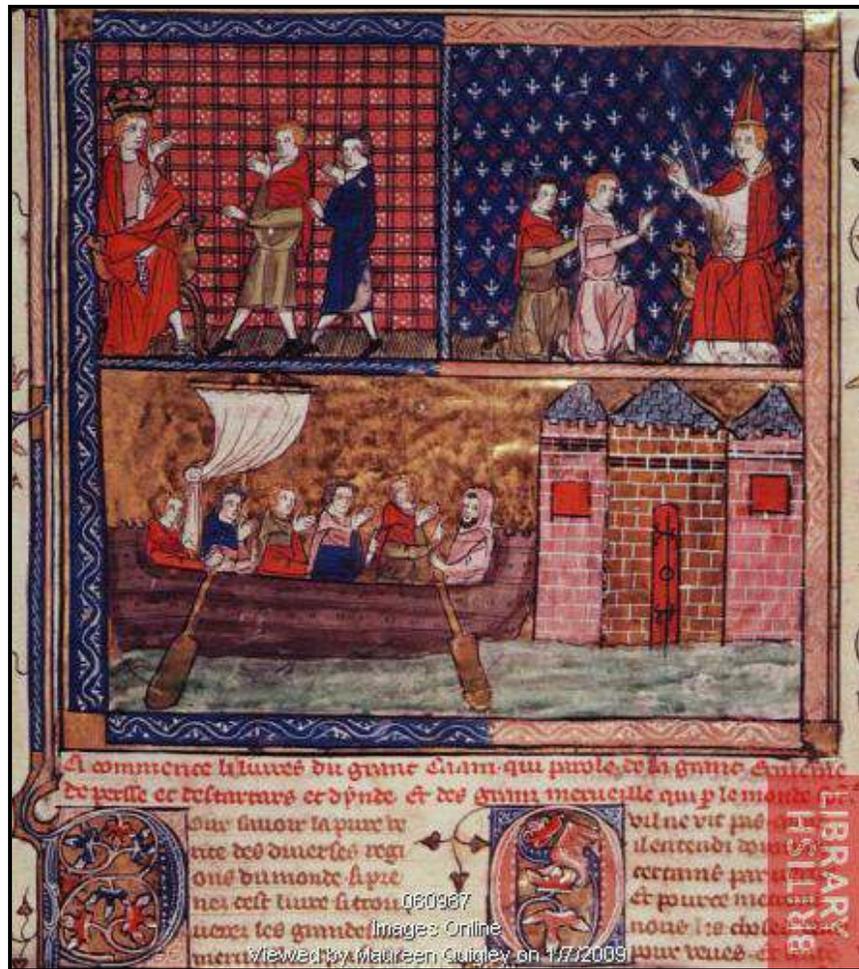
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Figure 5 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 58 *Li livres du Grant Caam*, Frontispiece *c*.1333-1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=8&searchnum=0009&image=060967

In the following journeys to overseas lands specific locations are even further simplified.

The travels of Odoric of Pordenone and his companions are indicated by simply placing the

protagonists in a boat on an unidentified body of water. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 136) **(fig. 6)**

Representation of place is removed completely. The same can be said for an image from the

Directoire, in which an unnamed king of France crosses yet another unidentified body of water

in what should be considered a *future* passage to the Holy Land – the implication is that this is

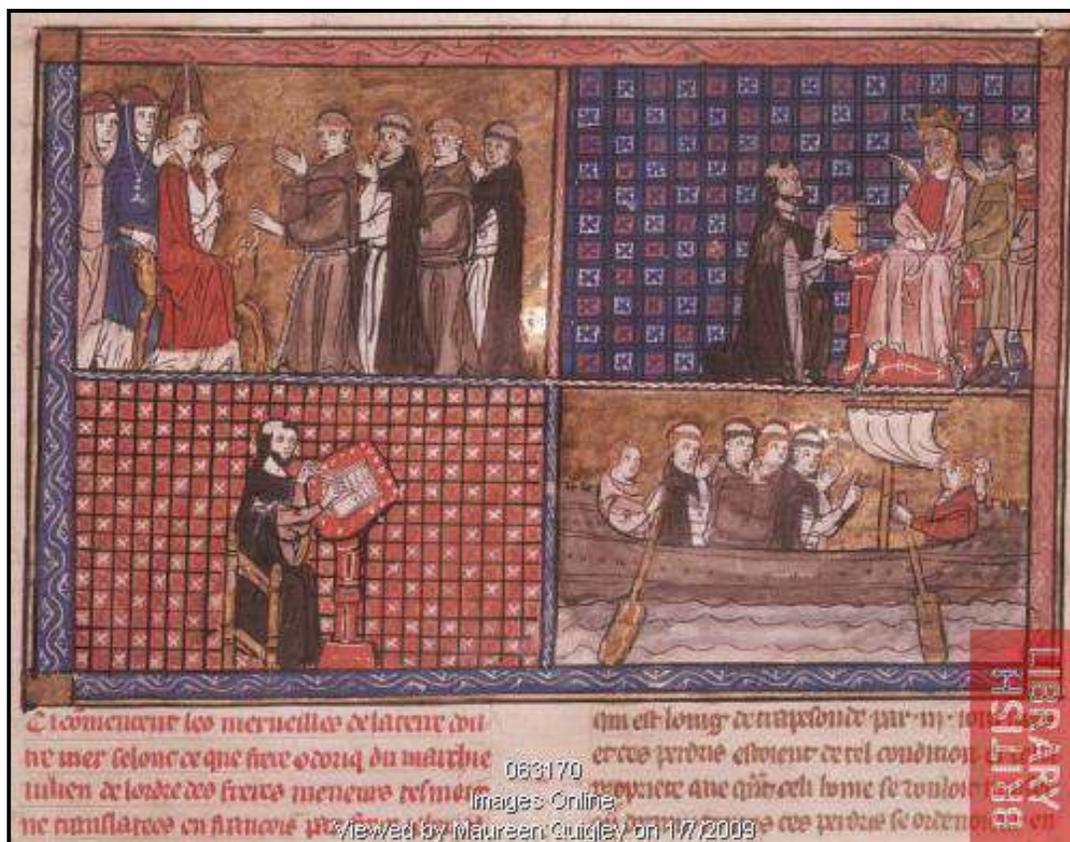Philip VI himself – as the *Directoire* is the only

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Figure 6 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 136 *Merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer* (Odoric of Pordenone) Frontispiece, *c*. 1333-1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=12&searchnum=0010&image=063170

text included in Royal 19 D I that makes reference to the king's proposed crusade project. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 187v) **(fig. 7)**

Implied in the travelers' journeys was the direct experience of foreign lands. The famous scene from the Alexander romance depicting the Hellenistic leader in his glass submarine being lowered into the ocean provides an extraordinary example of a traveler observing an alien landscape. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 37v) **(fig. 8)** His direct observation of a land not exactly "over the sea," but under it, makes the experience of a now knowable place immediate for the

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manuscript's readers and allows for this "romantic" and possibly fictive geography to become an

"experienced" geography.[26]

Figure 7 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 187v *Le Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*
Frontispiece, *c*. 1333-1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=3&searchnum=0010&image=024095

A primary component of this experiential geography is observation. It is a theme repeated

multiple times throughout Royal 19 D I's miniatures and is depicted as either involving direct

vision on the part of the protagonists or simply focusing on the things observed. This is

especially visible in the illustrations of the manuscript's most famous texts – the Alexander

Romance and Marco Polo's voyages. In scenes from the two texts, the observed Other appears

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[26] For the idea of the fantastic Other become a known or experienced reality (even if only vicariously experienced through second-hand reading and viewing), see Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600,* (Cornell, 1991), esp. 47-121; and Tuan, (1977), 85-100.

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in the form of monstrous races. This is the place where one-eyed giants (corrected by the illuminator into two-eyed giants, because one-eyed giants were just too weird!)[27], blemmyae, and cow-beasts and oddly hairy Tibetans coexist. (BL

Figure 8 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 37v *La vrais hystoire du bon roy Alixandre* Alexander in his "submarine," *c*. 1333-1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=014495&imagex=2&searchnum=10

Royal 19 D I, f. 98v) **(fig. 9)** There is a point, though, where observation of things foreign becomes intertwined with things previously experienced by the western audience. For example, in the coronation of Mangalay Khan, the reader sees not a foreign Other as one might expect in this distant location, but rather a recognizable westernized coronation ritual complete with Christian ecclesiasts. Likewise, when the observation involved the alien worshipping of golden

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[27] Ross, "Methods of Book-Production," 66, was the first to note the changes made to the two-eyed "Cyclops."

idols by the people of Campison, the protagonists were replaced by the persona of a recently

experienced non-Christian Other. Here the dark skinned, head-covered inhabitants of Campison

would have been readily recognizable to

Figure 9 London BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f.98v *Li livres du Grant Caam* Tibetans in skins, *c*.1333-1337.
After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=073108&imagex=14&searchnum=6

a fourteenth-century reader as Saracens. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 76 and f. 97) **(figs. 10 and 11)**

Rather than "place," the foreign locations where Mangalay's coronation ritual and the worship of

pagan idols occur are given "person."[28] As such, there is a conflation of the distant lands with

experiences recognizable to the manuscript's readers.[29]

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[28] For the idea of the Other as a subjective identity, see Heng, (2003), 239-305; and Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture*, (London, 2000), 14-35.

[29] Ross, "Methods of Book-Production, 68-69, likewise notes the "curious tendency to identify the Grand Khan with 'our side' in any struggle which may occur, and so to assimilate him, not merely to any European monarch, but
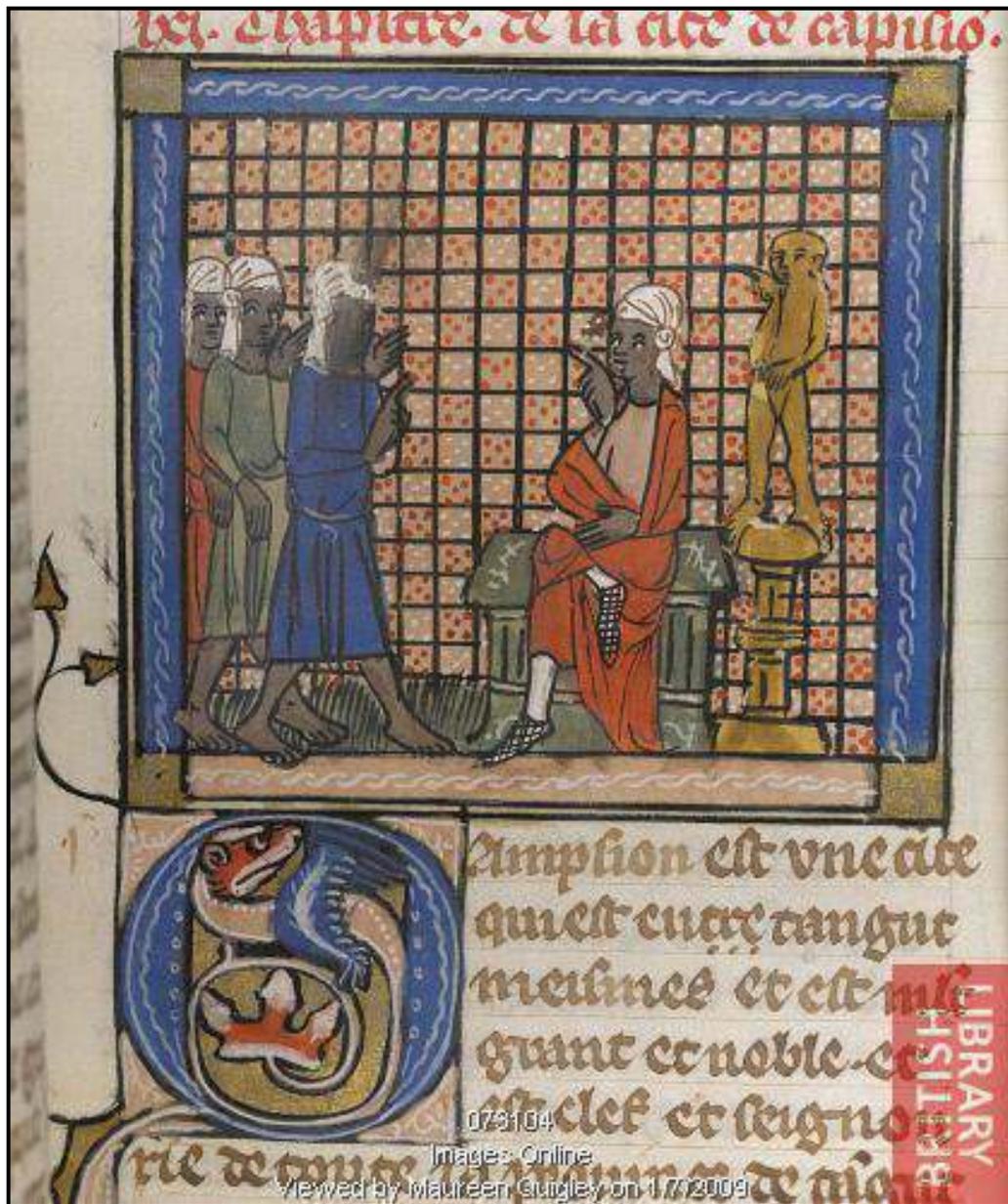
Figure 10 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 76 *Li livres du Grant Caam* The idols of Campison, *c*. 1333- 1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=11&searchnum=0009&image=073104

specifically to the king of France, while his enemies are shown as conventional Saracens." Clearly my own ideas develop from this original observation, although here I discuss place rather than person.

Figure 11 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 97 *Li livres du Grant Caam* Coronation of Mangalay Khan, *c*.   1333-1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=17&searchnum=0010&image=073107

With this conflation, a connection between the romantic geography of the orient and

Philip VI's crusade project may be made. A scene from Marco Polo's travel narrative may be

directly compared to one from the seemingly more immediately practical *Directoire*. (BL Royal

19 D I, f. 111 and f. 187v) **(figs. 12 and 7)** In both, groups of western knights confront three

dark-skinned foreigners who inhabit the

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Figure 12 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 111 *Li livres du Grant Caam* Siege of Saianfu, *c*. 1333-1337. After
http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=024726&imagex=4&searchnum=9

expected tower. The Marco Polo scene depicts the siege of Saianfu, during which the army of

the Great Khan, pictured as light-skinned soldiers wearing western armor, attacks the city using a

war machine designed by the Polo brothers. While Saianfu is identified in the text, the visual

representation of the city as a simple tower is as generic as can be. The Khan's warriors are

shown as light skinned, westernized knights on horseback and the inhabitants of Saianfu are dark

skinned and resemble the typical representation of the Saracen, lacking only the white headscarf.

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Similarly in the *Directoire* we have our unnamed king who, again, I suggest should be read as Philip VI, approaching a Saracen fortress by ship. Here the headscarf on the foreign Other is visible and, although the text does not directly identify the city, the implication is that this is one of those cities "overseas" in the Holy Land.

In these texts the desire to romanticize encounters with the little known foreign Other resembles quite closely the desire to represent what a modern viewer might expect from a National Geographic article – *sans* maps. Yet we do not get accurate pictures of foreign lands and their inhabitants, we get fantasy. It is clear that Philip VI and his potential crusaders knew scientifically where the Holy Land was located and factually who the Saracen enemy was. Yet, by conflating the identity of romantically envisioned foreigners and by simplifying topography out of any functional existence, the makers of Royal 19 D I created a geography of experience that allowed its readers to observe not only romantic encounters with marvelous oddities, but also to envision their own future foreign experience.