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THE CHRIST FIGURE IN BURGUNDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT  
AT THE TIME OF PHILIP THE GOOD

I. INTRODUCTION

The Christ figure is prevalent in medieval political thought. He mainly appears in three forms: 1. as a historical body in the Bible, 2. as flesh offered to believers during the Eucharist, and 3. as a spiritual or mystical body assimilated to Christianity and later, as Agostino Paravicini Bagliani emphasized, to the Church (*Corpus Ecclesiae*) and to the pope himself (*Vicarius Christi*)<sup>1</sup>. Using the words of saint Paul («For just as the body is one and has many members, [...] so it is with Christ» I Cor. 12, 12-27), the Christ's body became a political metaphor used to underline the relationship between Christians, their institutions and their rulers, thereby equating the image of the Christian society with the body of Jesus Christ. This comparison was later used as a weapon by both the pope and the emperor at the time of the Investiture Controversy. Is it the pope or the emperor who has the right to head of this mystical body and to rule over it<sup>2</sup>? Later, Christian kings took inspiration from the body of Christ to legitimate their own power and to gain autonomy. Given that they were anointed with holy oil (Chrism), French and English kings, for instance, were considered to have become «Christ[s] of the Lord» («sanctus enim et christus Domini est») and, thus, sacred and untouchable. With their anointment, they also received the healing powers of the Christ himself<sup>3</sup>. The king is a *Rex imago Dei*, first in the sense of God the Father: a god of authority and wrath. Then in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, his title gains the meaning of Son of God, Jesus Christ:

1. A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Le corps du pape*, trans. C. Dalarun Mitrovitsa, Paris 1997, pp. 76-91. See also J.-L. Solère, *Corporéité*, in *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, ed. Cl. Gauvard - A. de Libera - M. Zink, Paris 2002, pp. 343-47 (here 345).

2. *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, c. 1350-c. 1450, ed. J. H. Burns, Cambridge 1988, pp. 253-55.

3. M. Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, new ed., Paris 1983, pp. 41-42, 54, 70.

a god made human and, therefore, humbled and submitted to terrestrial laws. The latter significance of the kingly title is at the core of the so-called juridical theory of the king's two bodies, one human and mortal and the other public and immortal<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, the association between a royal territory and the Christ's figure justifies the consecration of the kingdom. The royal domain (*fiscus*) is assimilated with the Christ's body in order to highlight its permanence and inviolability<sup>5</sup>. In other words, the Christ's figure is at the core of the juridical and political discourses which participated in the formation of princely states in Late Middle Ages Europe.

The dukes of Burgundy of the House of Valois and their close councilors are impregnated by this conception of kingship, particularly because of the juridical and philosophical Parisian tradition. The reign of Philip the Good (r. 1419-67) coincides with an unprecedented territorial and institutional transformation of the House of Burgundy. Philip gradually becomes more and more independent from France and creates his own «state». Historians that study institutions and politics give different forms and names to this «state»: centralized state<sup>6</sup>, dynastic state, weakly integrated great principality<sup>7</sup> or composite state<sup>8</sup>. However, they all agree that this «state» possessed specific characteristics which made it different from its neighbors. For example, its vivid urban life exerted influence on many aspects of the princely institutions (urban institutions, spatial distribution of power, literary and symbolic forms). Any collaboration or opposition between dukes and cities were therefore a source of political innovation. The nobility played a key role in the promotion of a non-centralized state. Furthermore, the court of Burgundy, as an interface between noble, princely and urban cultures, served to integrate new lands, and in turn also had a fundamental role in the state<sup>9</sup>.

4. M. Senellart, *Les arts de gouverner. Du regimen médiéval au concept de gouvernement*, Paris 1995, pp. 148-51; E. H. Kantorowicz, *Les Deux corps du roi. Essai sur la théologie politique au Moyen Âge*, in Id., *Œuvres*, trad. fr., Paris 2000, pp. 793-842; *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* cit., pp. 549-51.

5. Kantorowicz, *Les Deux corps du roi* cit., pp. 776-92.

6. B. Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon, 1363-1477*, Paris 1999.

7. É. Lecuppre-Desjardin, *Le royaume inachevé des ducs de Bourgogne (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 2016.

8. R. Stein, *Magnanimous dukes and rising states: the unification of the Burgundian Netherlands 1380-1480*, English trans., Oxford 2017; J.-M. Cauchies, *Philippe le Beau. Le dernier duc de Bourgogne*, Turnhout 2003.

9. The bibliography on the Burgundian «states» is extensive, and it is impossible to quote here all the items which would constitute a perfect bibliographical synthesis. On representative institutions, see the fundamental W. P. Blockmans, *A Typology of Representative Institutions in Late Medieval Europe*, in «Journal of Medieval History», 4

From this approach to the creation of institutions, the dukes developed a discourse in which the Christ's figure was used to legitimate their actions. Several clues in literature reveal the importance of this thematic in Burgundian documents. David Wrisley for example has shown how Jean Wauquelin compared the duke to the Christ, while Malte Prietzel has demonstrated the same with regards to Guillaume Fillastre<sup>10</sup>. This theme even exceeds the reign of Philip the Good. Werner Paravicini found it in the *Parchment of Montpellier* written under the reign of Charles the Bold (r. 1467-1477)<sup>11</sup>, while Éric Bousmar, Susie Speakman Sutch and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene spot it in relation to Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian of Habsburg, and Philip the Fair<sup>12</sup>. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask what is the place of the Christ's figure in the Burgundian state culture, particularly under the reign of Philip the Good? How does the Christ's figure participate in the elaboration of a ducal political discourse in the Low Countries?

Given the aforementioned points, this contribution will focus on a coherent corpus of documents written for and around Philip the Good. Its

(1978), pp. 189-215. On spatial distribution of power in the city, see M. Howell - W. Simons, *Fertile Spaces: the Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe*, in «Journal of Interdisciplinary History», 32 (2002), pp. 517-22. For the literary and symbolic urban cultures, see A.-L. Van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)*, Amsterdam 2008; P. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Medieval Ghent*, London 1996. The collaboration/opposition between the prince and his cities is well studied in M. Boone - H. Porfyriou, *Markets, Squares, Streets: Urban Space, a Tool for Cultural Exchange*, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. D. Calabi - S. Turk Christensen, Cambridge 2007, vol. 2, pp. 227-53; J. Dumolyn - J. Haemers, *Patterns of Urban Rebellion in Medieval Flanders*, in «Journal of Medieval History», 31/4 (2005), 369-93. On the contribution of the nobility and the court to the construction of the state, see F. Buylaert, *Eeuwen van ambitie. De adel in laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen*, Brussels 2010; *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe. Le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel*, ed. W. Paravicini, Ostfildern 2013.

10. D. J. Wrisley, *Burgundian Ideologies and Jehan Wauquelin's Prose Translations*, in *The Ideology of Burgundy. The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565*, ed. D'A. J. Dacre Boulton - J. R. Veenstra, Leiden-Boston 2006, pp. 131-50 (here p. 149); M. Prietzel, *Rhetoric, politics and Propaganda. Guillaume Fillastre's speeches*, in *The Ideology of Burgundy* cit., pp. 117-29 (here p. 124).

11. W. Paravicini, *Le parchemin de Montpellier, une image troublante du règne de Charles le Téméraire*, in «Journal des Savants», 2 (2010), pp. 301-70.

12. É. Bousmar, *Duchesse de Bourgogne ou «povre desolée pucelle»? Marie face à Louis XI dans les chapitres 45 et 46 des Chroniques de Jean Molinet*; S. Speakman Sutch - A. L. Van Bruaene, *La dévotion des Sept Douleurs de la Vierge Marie aux Pays-Bas: propagande princière et sensibilité urbaine*, in *Jean Molinet et son temps. Actes des rencontres internationales de Dunkerque, Lille et Gand (8-10 novembre 2007)*, ed. J. Devaux - E. Doudet - É. Lecuppre-Desjardin, Turnhout 2013, pp. 45-57 (here 49-50), 97-113 (here 106).

main purpose will be to highlight several characteristics of the political use of the Christ's figure during the reign of Philip the Good. The core of this corpus contains political speeches and treatises written by Philip's close councilors, who were specifically chosen because the Christ's figure was a central image in their argumentation. First, we shall look at the *Traictie du commencement de seigneurie et de diversite d'Estas* (1428), a translation and adaptation of a Latin text of Durand de Saint-Pourçain (ca. 1275-1334) by Laurent Pignon (1368-1449), Philip the Good's confessor<sup>13</sup>. This text is quite unique in that it may be one of the only Burgundian texts written in French which directly deals with political theories. Two other documents that will be studied in this paper are classical treatise relating to princely education: 1) the *Liber de Virtutibus Philippi Burgundiae Ducis* (1452) offered to Charles of Charolais, Philip's son and heir, by Jean Germain (ca. 1400-60), bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône and first chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece<sup>14</sup>, and 2) the *Instruction d'un jeune prince* (ca. 1450) written by Hughes de Lannoy (1384-1456), lord of Santes<sup>15</sup>. This corpus is completed by political

13. D. de Saint-Pourçain - L. Pignon, *Le traictie du commencement de seigneurie et de diversite d'Estas*, in A. J. Vanderjagt - L. Pignon, OP, *Confessor of Philip the Good. Ideas on Jurisdiction and the Estates. Including the Texts of his Treatises and Durand of St. Pourçain's De origine iurisdictionum*, Groningen 1981, pp. 145-90. On Pignon and his treaty, see G. Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne. Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire*, new ed., Geneva 1970, p. 302; Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon* cit., pp. 5-34, 135-44; J. R. Veenstra, *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France: Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's Contre les devineurs* (1411), Leiden 1998, pp. 28-34.

14. J. Germain, *Liber de virtutibus Philippi Burgundiae Ducis*, in *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. J. B. M. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels 1876, vol. 3, pp. 1-115. On Germain and his text, see F. de Gruben, *Les chapitres de la Toison d'Or à l'époque bourguignonne, 1430-1477*, Leuven 1997, pp. 263 (249-70 on the chapter of 1451); Y. Lacaze, Art. *Jean Germain*, in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge* (= D.L.F. M.Â.), ed. G. Grente - R. Bossuat - L. Pichard - G. Raynaud de Lage - G. Hasenohr - M. Zink, Paris 1992, pp. 781-82; J. Paviot, *Jean Germain, évêque de Nevers et de Chalon-sur-Saône, chancelier de l'ordre de la Toison d'or*, in «Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes», 50 (2010), pp. 109-27; D. Wrisley, *Translating Power and Knowledge at the Fifteenth-Century Court of Burgundy*, in *The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Âge*, ed. J. Jenkins - O. Bertrand, Turnhout 2007, pp. 349-63.

15. H. de Lannoy, *L'Instruction d'un jeune prince*, in G. de Lannoy, *Œuvres*, ed. C. Potvin, Leuven 1878, pp. 289-439. On the attribution of the *Instruction* to Hughes de Lannoy, see B. Sterchi, *Hugues de Lannoy, auteur de l'Enseignement de vraie noblesse, de l'Instruction d'un jeune prince et des Enseignements paternels*, in «Le Moyen Âge», 110 (2004), pp. 79-117; L. Visser-Fuchs, Livia, *The Manuscript of the Enseignement de vraie noblesse made for Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in 1464*, in *Medieval Manuscripts in Transition. Tradition and Creative Recycling*, ed. G. H. M. Claassens - W. Verbeke, Leuven

speeches delivered by ducal councilors, one of which was pronounced by Jean Jouffroy (ca. 1412-73), Philip the Good's chaplain, to Pope Nicolas V in the name of Philip the Good (1448)<sup>16</sup>, the other by Guillaume Fillastre (ca. 1400-73), bishop of Tournai and second chancellor of the Golden Fleece. The latter was delivered to justify the arrival in the Low Countries of Louis, dauphin of France, to the French embassy in Brussels (1459)<sup>17</sup>. Besides these important texts, we will also use several Burgundian chronicles, such as a document written in 1455 by the «indiciaire» (official chronicler) of Burgundy George Chastelain (1405/15-75) relating to Philip the Good's entire reign and the beginning of Charles'<sup>18</sup>. We shall also use such literary pieces as *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople* (1448-67) by Jean Wauquelin (ca. 1400-52), Philip the Good's chronicler and translator<sup>19</sup>.

Based on this corpus, it is possible to divide the Christ's figure into three general categories: Christ as a moral authority, Christ as part of a Burgundian historiographical discourse, and Christ in relation to kingship and the common good.

## II. JESUS CHRIST AS A MORAL FIGURE

The Christ's figure was commonly used in moral and educational literature from the Late Middle Ages, notably in the Low Countries where German mysticism was particularly influential. Imitating Christ's life was considered to be the key to salvation. Numerous manuscripts exist on this topic in the Burgundian library, including the *Heures de la passion Nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ* and *La revelation du nombre des plaies de Nostre seigneur Jesu Crist* (1451), or *Vita Christi* (1461) by Jean Aubert, councilor and master of

2006, pp. 337-62. On Lannoy's biography, see B. de Lannoy, *Hugues de Lannoy, le bon seigneur de Santes, 1384-1456*, Brussels 1957.

16. On Jouffroy, see mainly the studies of Cl. Märkl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy († 1473). Leben und Werk*, Sigmaringen 1996; Ch. Fierville, *Le cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps (1412-1473). Étude historique*, Paris 1874.

17. The more complete biography of Fillastre is M. Prietzel's, *Guillaume Fillastre der Jüngere, 1400/07-1473. Kirchenfürst und herzoglich-burgundischer Rat*, Stuttgart 2001.

18. On Chastelain's chronicles see J. C. Delclos, *Le témoignage de Georges Chastelain, historiographe de Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, Geneva 1980; E. Doudet, *Un cristal nucié en un coffre. Poétique de George Chastelain (1415-1475)*, Paris 2005; G. Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy. Political and Historical Culture at the Court in the Fifteenth Century*, Woodbridge 1997.

19. J. Wauquelin, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, ed. M.-C. de Crécy, Geneva 2002. See also Doutrepoint, *La littérature française* cit., pp. 38, 414-18; S. Lefèvre, *Jean Wauquelin*, in *D.L.F. M.À* cit., pp. 860-61; C. Roussel, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople. Chanson de geste du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Geneva 1995; Wrisley, *Translating power* cit.

the «Chambre des comptes» of Dijon and subsequently that of Lille<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless these manuscripts do not directly participate in the construction of Burgundian political discourse.

Another category of texts, the Mirrors of Princes, yield a better understanding of the Christ as a moral figure in the political discourse of the Low Countries. These treatises regarding the moral education of the (future) ruler originate in the Carolingian tradition. However, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Burgundian court, they are associated to a tradition from the later part of the Middle Ages, which attributes its origin to the French court. This is particularly exhibited in the *De regimine principum* (1279) of Gilles of Rome. The Mirrors of Princes tell the ruler, usually in common language (namely in French), to respect a moral code of government that is based on the four cardinal virtues (Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice)<sup>21</sup>.

In the Burgundian Mirrors of Princes, the duke, more specifically his virtues, is compared to Christ. In her *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ordered by Philip the Fair, Philip the Good's grandfather (1404)<sup>22</sup>, Christine de Pizan discusses the reasons behind the need for a prince to spend a part of his time on his own moral education («un petit de temps souffrir l'exercitacion et labour d'estude»)<sup>23</sup>. By discussing Jesus' childhood, she shows that even at a very young age Jesus was already well-educated and wise. She argues the following: it is necessary to teach young children as early as possible in order to quickly make them wise and not to wait until they become adults<sup>24</sup>. Pizan's treatise is important for two rea-

20. Doutrepoint, *La littérature française* cit., pp. 215, 219.

21. The specificities of Late Middle Ages French and Burgundian Mirrors of princes (such as a strong tendency to translate content into common language that was usually reserved to Latin and restricted to a scholarly public, the central role of the king of France and the princes of blood as political figures, and the invention of an entire French political lexicon) were examined in J. Devaux, *Introduction*, in *Le Prince en son «miroir»*. *Littérature et politique sous les premiers Valois*, ed. Id. - A. Marchandise, Brussels 2010, pp. 533-43. See also J. Krynen, *L'Empire du roi. Idées et croyances politiques en France, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1993, especially pp. 191-95, 205-6, 225-39.

22. Chr. de Pizan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. S. Solente, Paris 1936, vol. 1, pp. XXVI-XXX.

23. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 17.

24. «(...) si me passeray de son enfance [the Christ's one] assez legierement, par l'exemple, que nous veons es escriptures de tous les plus notables passez n'estre escript de leur jeune aage fors choses apocriphes et sanz grant foy; mesmement de l'enfance et adolescence de Jhesu Crist pou traite l'Euvangille; de laquelle chose, comme il fust tout sapient pareillement ou cours de sa vie, peut-estre que ainsi lui plot estre fait, pour moustrer que la perfection du sens humain ne doit estre prise fors en aage de discrecion, ouquel temps homme est appellé "vir". Si n'en diray autre chose excepté que la sage

sons: the first, its widespread popularity throughout Europe; the second, its translation into French of the *Imitatio Christi* principles, as the courtly public was not accustomed to it.

The idea that Christ must also be followed because he leads the prince on the path of faith was also promoted at the time of Philip the Good. In his *Liber de Virtutibus*, Jean Germain presents Philip the Good as a model for his son Charles. In the first chapter of the treatise («Primum caput. De religione Philippi Burgundiae Ducis»)²⁵, Germain discusses the dukes' faith and piety. Thereby, drawing a very strong parallel between Philip and both God the Father and his son Jesus Christ. Charles is invited to mimic the religious fervor of his father («paternam religionem imitandam exhortamur»)²⁶, which is exhibited by Philip's actions: participating in the war of Sigismund of Luxembourg against the Hussite (1428-29)²⁷, sending an expedition against the Turks (1444-48) and bringing his support to the city of Rhodes, when it was besieged by the Mamelukes (1444)²⁸. According to Germain, Philip's piety and his acts that promote the Christian faith are also visible in his own lands. He fights against blasphemy and enjoins the clergy to respect their vows²⁹, and he is considered to be an instrument of

administracion du père le fist introduire en lettres moult souffisement, et tant que competement entendoit son latin et souffisamment sçavoit les rigles de grammaire. Laquelle chose pleust à Dieu que ainsi fust acoustumé entre les princes!» Ibid., vol. 1, p. 16. The influence of Gilles of Rome is clear for S. Solente (Ibid., vol. 1, pp. XXX, XXXVI), notably in *De regimine principum*, II, 2, 5-9.

25. Germain, *Liber de virtutibus* cit., pp. 5-6.

26. Ibid., p. 5.

27. «Pio namque affectu pro sancta religione christiana cum a Martino papa, ut vicem ageret pugnaturus adversus Boëmios, qui ab haeresi damnabantur, promptum se exhibuit, et quaecumque huic rei accommoda pro munimentis bellicis coaptavit, ut nihil deesset huic operi, quod voluntas principis, parata militia et belli armamenta supplere non valerent». Ibid., p. 5. See also J. Paviot, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris 2003, pp. 68-70; Y. Lacaze, *Philippe le Bon et le problème hussite. Un projet de croisade bourguignon en 1428-1429*, in «Revue historique», 93 (1969), pp. 69-98.

28. «Nec tacuerim quod ab imperatore Constantinopolitano pro auxilio impetitus, galeas armatas transmisit, ac per plures annos cum militia per mare fluctuantes, ad quaeque sua placita mancipavit; quibus fuere, adeo fortunae gratiae ut cum forti manu et pugna gravi Aegyptiorumque lacrymabili exitio ab obsidione qua Roddum vallaverant, machinis infractis disruptaque sua acie, turpiter victi Mauri desisterent et in suas paratas galeas sese cum suorum tumultuoso exercitu conferrent, nichil amplius suo soldano nisi gemitum aut turpem fugam reportantes». Germain, *Liber de virtutibus* cit., p. 5. On these expeditions, see Paviot, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* cit., pp. 93-109.

29. Blasphemy: «Ob inde erga Deum tanta religione se devovit, ut neque ab eo aut ore suorum, juria aut perjuria et minus execrabiles Dei blasphemiae usquequaque audirentur, potius sui Deum tanta pietate colunt ut et in missis audiendis (...)». Germain,

the faith and «Chose publique» of the Christians («pro sanctissima fide et republica christianorum corpus»)<sup>30</sup>. Jean Germain concludes his treatise by presenting Philip the Good as a prince who follows the path drawn out for him by Jesus. He presents this conclusion as the ultimate life lesson for young Charles («Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum, patrem vestrum et creatorem Deum per omnia sequi vacetis»)<sup>31</sup>.

In Burgundian political thought, the Christ's figure is sometimes also compatible with that of God the Father, a character of wrath and vengeance. In the *Instruction d'un jeune prince*, Hughes de Lannoy insists on the fear of God the Father («Crémir Dieu est le premier commandement de sapience»)<sup>32</sup> as this is what prevents princes and other powerful men from behaving badly and it brings them back to the path of reason and justice («[fear is] le frain et la bride qui retient princes et tous puissans hommes de mal faire et les ramaine au chemin de raison et de justice»)<sup>33</sup>. The Christ figure reappears when Lannoy presents the Four Cardinal Virtues. Christ is the way for the prince to learn the virtues and to clean his soul of his sins before his judgement before God the Father:

Ung prince, qui souverainement tend à bonne renommée et à la gloire de paradis en fin, doit rendre paine d'avoir en luy les quatre vertus cardinaulx: c'est assavoir prudence, justice, continence et force, que aulcuns nomment magnanimité, haultesse de cœur ou force de courage. Par le moyen desquelles vertus et de vraye foy en Jhésucrist la créature poeut rendre à Dieu son âme pure et nette ainsi qu'il luy a prestée, et acquérir bonne renommée en ce monde<sup>34</sup>.

Lannoy's treatise clearly depicts a certain degree of collaboration between God the Father and the Christ in the education of prince. One exists to frighten him, while the other to quietly lead him on the path of virtue.

In the *Mirrors of Princes*, the Christ is specifically used to describe the virtue of Prudence. In accordance to the *Mirrors of Princes*' tradition, Prudence is defined by Germain as the first and the most important virtue, the one that yields a «sens parfait ou cler entendement de congnoissance que

*Liber de virtutibus* cit., p. 6; Ecclesiastic vows: «Quod et testatur ejus singularis cura quod domum, quae fuerat ad palatium presbiterio composito et ecclesiasticis viris ordinatis, claustrum et non palatium computares, inibi juge sacrificium, cantorum laus, verbum Dei ad publicum adpensum, divinatorum mysteriorum varius in celebritatibus ordo, easque tanto ab eo frequentari affectu, ut quem duces profitebaris, pontificem cerneris». Ibid., p. 6.

30. Ibid., p. 5.

31. Ibid., p. 114.

32. Lannoy, *L'instruction d'un jeune prince* cit., p. 349.

33. Ibid., p. 351.

34. Ibid., p. 354.

Jhésucrist est vray Dieu, tout puissant et parfait, et en qui l'en doit croire et obéir à ses sains commandemens, doctrines et église cristienne»<sup>35</sup>. Prudence fosters the attainment of a fundamental knowledge, a dogma of the Catholic Church that the Christ is both man and god. In this sense, the virtue of Justice is also associated to balance which is controlled by Christ. It is he who gives everyone what he/she fairly deserves based on his/her social position and merits:

C'est la balance juste, qui jamais ne fault, dont nostre bon createur Jhésucrist tient le cordon en sa main. Elle pose, balance, mesure et départ toutes choses à juste et droite équité et donne et rend à un chascun ce qu'il doit avoir ou qu'il a desservi<sup>36</sup>.

Based on the argument that the balance provided by Christ preserves peace and order in the world, Justice is a virtue which chiefly belongs to the princes, as they are the principal rulers in the world («[Justice] appartient par espécial aux princes qui ont le peuple à gouverne plus que à nulz aultres»)<sup>37</sup>. Jesus is offered to them as a model to equilibrate social forces. By providing «good justice to everyone», which means justice based on social status, the prince acts as Christ's steward named to maintain order in the world. Hughes de Lannoy preserves the complementary relationship between God the Father, who intimidates the prince and prevents him from becoming a tyrant, and Jesus Christ, who teaches him virtues of good government, which helps him remain a good ruler.

As a moral figure, Jesus Christ is at the center of the discourse that aims to at least partially convince the listener of the correctness of the duke of Burgundy's policy. In this context, the Christ's figure is used in rhetorical arguments. In his speech pronounced in 1459 before the ambassador of the king of France, Guillaume Fillastre used an argument based on the supposed close family lineage between Charles VII and Philip the Good<sup>38</sup>. Fillastre

35. Ibid., p. 354.

36. Ibid., p. 355.

37. Ibid., p. 356. On the virtue of Prudence and the correlation between it and balance, see J. Kaye, *A History of Balance 1250-1375. The Emergence of a New Model of Equilibrium and its Impact on Thought*, Cambridge 2014; Krynen, *L'Empire du roi* cit., pp. 217-24.

38. In a recent publication, É. Lecuppre-Desjardin recalls how the language of kinship structured the Burgundian political discourse throughout the reign of Philip the Good (Lecuppre-Desjardin, *Le royaume inachevé* cit., pp. 139-56). More generally, this language considerably influenced Late Middle Ages political thought. Princes and noblemen are always inscribed in a house and define their relations in terms of kinship. See A. Guerreau-Jalabert, *Sur les structures de la parenté dans l'Europe médiévale*, in «Annales ESC», 36 (1981), pp. 1028-49; M. Nassiet, *Parenté, noblesse et États dynastiques (XV<sup>e</sup>-*

referred to them as father (Charles) and son (Philip), thereby comparing their relationship to that of God the Father and Jesus Christ. He continues with the *Parable of Prodigal Son* (Lc 15) in which, out of love and loyalty, a son reproaches his own behavior in front of his father, in the same way that Philip criticized Charles VII's conduct towards the dauphin Louis<sup>39</sup>. Later in his discourse, Fillastre enjoins Charles VII to do what paternal love requires («ce que amour paternelle requiert») and to be merciful with the dauphin («user de sa clemence envers [...] le daulphin son filz»). Fillastre concludes with the example of Christ on the cross, a means used by God the Father to forgive mankind of Original Sin:

L'exemple nous en monstra nostre père et sauveur Jhesu Crist qui pour nous sauver a voulu morir, qui *mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit*<sup>40</sup>.

By using the Christ figure in his argument, Fillastre puts the duke into the same familial lineage as the dauphin and his father. Given that the Christ symbolizes filial love, Fillastre inscribes Philip, Charles VII and the dauphin Louis in a triangle of mutual love, which translates into Philip's loyalty and Charles' clemency. Fillastre argues that it is out of loyalty that Philip criticized the king, and it is because of clemency that Charles must forgive his son. This way, Fillastre rhetorically minimizes the diplomatic and political reasons behind Philip's welcoming of the dauphin into the Low Countries. He also justifies Philip's very tough reproach of the king and the very complicated diplomatic position that he adopted towards the French Crown. By welcoming the fleeing dauphin, Philip the Good interfered in the Crown's affairs because he clearly hoped to use the dauphin against his father in order to gain political favors from Louis, the future king of France<sup>41</sup>.

XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles), Paris 2000; P. Bourdieu, *Sur l'État. Cours au Collège de France (1989-1992)*, ed. P. Champagne - R. Lenoir - Fr. Poupeau - M.-Chr. Rivière, Paris 2012, pp. 417-26.

39. «Pour ce veult monseigneur le duc honorer le roy ainsi qu'il doit. Et si n'a fait la, dieu, mercy, ne n'a entencion de faire le contraire et si le veult tant honnorer, comme filz peut faire, le père. Et congnoit le roy representant le pere, car il descent de l'aisné filz, mondit seigneur representant le filz, pour ce qu'il descent de l'aisné frere, et luy peult dire a la verité, comme Jhesus Christ dit a son père: *Pater, nunquam mandatum tuum preterivi*». G. Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke. Mit einer Edition der Kreuzzugsbulle Pius' II. «Ezechielis prophete»*, ed. M. Prietzel, Ostfildern 2003, p. 118.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

41. It should be noted that the dauphin's fleeing to the ducal lands (1456-61) is central to the degradation of relationship between the French and the Burgundians in the middle of 15<sup>th</sup> century (Lecuppre-Desjardin, *Le royaume inachevé* cit., p. 142; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State*, new ed., Woodbridge 2002, pp. 353-54).

## III. THE CHRIST AND BURGUNDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

In addition to being a moral figure at the time of Philip the Good, the Christ was also used to construct a historiographic discourse about the «state(s)» occupied by the duke of Burgundy. As Georges Doutrepoint highlights, the shaping of the dukes of Burgundy's power coincided with the appearance of a specific historiography. He furthers that one of its purposes was to create a feeling of adhesion to ducal projects, at the very least among the curial and noble elite<sup>42</sup>. To this end, the dukes kept partially or fully paid servants dedicated to writing historiographic works. The reign of Philip the Good coincides with an increased interest in history, which is furthered by the creation of the official position of historiographer: the «indiciaire» of Burgundy, a position firstly held by George Chastelain.

The Christ's figure has its place in Burgundian historiographical discourses and, particularly, in argumentation insisting on the antiquity of Christianity in the lands of Philip the Good. Its purpose is to challenge French historiography, which argues that the kingdom of France is the most ancient christianised territory in Europe and its king the most Christian king<sup>43</sup>. In his speech before Pope Nicolas V in 1448, Jean Jouffroy recalls that faith in the Christ («Christi fidem») is an ancient belief in Burgundy (in the sense of kingdom of Burgundy), which dates back to the conversion of Clovis to christianity because he was evangelized by his wife, the Burgundian princess Clotilde<sup>44</sup>. Jouffroy uses the mythical origins of the French

42. Doutrepoint's work (Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*) generated emulators who continue to explore Burgundian historiography, they include: J. Lemaire, *La conception de l'histoire chez les chroniqueurs bourguignons d'après les prologues de leurs œuvres*, in *Histoire et littérature au Moyen Âge*, ed. D. Buschinger, Göttingen 1991, pp. 235-49; E. Moody, *Historical Identity in the Burgundian Netherlands: The Role of Manuscript*, Hamburger-Korteweg 2006; B. Sterchi, *Über dem Umgang mit Lob und Tadel. Normative Adelsliteratur und politische Kommunikation im burgundischen Hofadel, 1430-1506*, Turnhout 2005; *Littérature et culture historique à la cour de Bourgognes à la cour de Bourgogne*, ed. J. Devaux - A. Marchandisse, Brussels 2006. Burgundian historiography is integrated in a process of historiographical production common to the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern dynastic and princely states (B. Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, 1980; *Les Princes et l'histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. C. Grell - W. Paravicini - J. Voß, Bonn 1998).

43. The origins of the legend is described in C. Beaune, *Naissance de la Nation France*, Paris 1985, pp. 83-125.

44. «Totius autem Gallie Burgundia prima Christi fidem suscepit; ut Clodoveus primus Francorum christianus rex baptisaretur una Burgunda sancta Clotildis effecit; ad christianissimum Francie regnum Burgundia leges sacras fudit et transtulit». J. Jouffroy, *Ad, instinctu Divinitatis, omnium patrem Nicolaum Papam quintum, Oratio Ioannis Ioffrifi de Luxovio, decani de Vergeio, incipit*, in C. Fierville, *Le cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps (1412-1473)*. *Étude historique*, Paris 1874, p. 252.

monarchy (marriage of Clovis with Clotilde, baptism and unction of the king in Reims by saint Remy) to promote the pre-eminence of the House of Burgundy: the historical movement that resulted in the conversion of Clovis originated in Burgundy. The Low Countries (the Northern part of the Burgundian countries) are also integrated into this history of Christianity. In *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, Jean Wauquelin recounts that Flanders («[a] paÿs que maintenant on appelle Flandres») converted to Jesus Christ's faith («converty à la foy de Jhesucrist») as a result of a joint action of two fictional Roman emperors, Henry and Anthony<sup>45</sup>. Once again the antiquity of Christianity in the ducal lands (this time in Flanders) is emphasized, which, in turn, enhances the prestige and honorability of the duke of Burgundy and his lands.

The Christ's figure was also used to interpret the recent history of the House of Burgundy. The death of John the Fearless at Montereau-Fault-Yonne (10 September 1419) aroused a number of reenactments at the time, which transformed his death into a martyrdom. This allowed for parallels between Duke John and the Christ's figure to be made<sup>46</sup>. According to Guillaume Fillastre, John the Fearless staunchly defended the faith in the name of Jesus Christ («du glorieux nom de Jhesu Crist») and of the kingdom of France. He sacrificed his life for their protection<sup>47</sup>. George Chastelain describes the death of John the Fearless as a moment of redemption incorporated into his martyrdom. Chastelain furthers that John the Fearless' murderers endured divine wrath because they broke the peace that they had previously sworn, on the holy body of Jesus Christ, to protect («[the] saint vray précieux corps de Jésus-Crist») <sup>48</sup>. In a long chapter of his *Liber de vir-*

45. Wauquelin, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople* cit., p. 88.

46. More generally, C. Emerson, *The Bridge at Montereau: Assassination as Urban Spectacle*, in *Performance, Drama and Spectacle in the Medieval City. Essays in Honour of Alan Hindley*, ed. Id. - A. P. Tudor - M. Longtin, Leuven 2011, pp. 163-79, has analyzed the dramatization of the murder in the historiography of the time. On the murder itself, see B. Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur. Le prince meurtrier*, Paris 2005, pp. 671-710.

47. «Ainsy fut la fin du tres illustre et tres magnanime prince, le duc Jehan, le quel, comme on poeut piteusement croire, dieu voulut couronner de le auriole des martirs, attendu sa sainte intention et la vertueuse magnanimité qu'il monstra d'ardeur de foy avoir eue a la deffence de ycelle et du glorieux nom de Jhesu Crist quant il fut fait chevalier contre les Thurs comme dit est, et aussy a la deffence du royaume, a qu'oy il s'aprestoit». Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* cit., p. 273.

48. «Et Dieu, pour sa repentance, avec le bon vouloir où il s'estoit mis, en a aboly le péché sous la souffrance de son martire et mort; glorieux martir, tramis en paradis, que vous mains scandalisées et planées du livre de vie, ont cuydé déchasser en enfer, à la perpétuelle malédiction de vous-mesmes, les acteurs infracteurs de telle paix jurée, promise et confirmée par communication du saint vray précieux corps de Jésus-Crist».

*tutibus*, Jean Germain develops the greatest amount of imagery relating to the martyrdom of John the Fearless. He dedicates several chapters to recount the murder of the duke and the retrieval of his body by young Philip the Good<sup>49</sup>. According to Germain, John the Fearless is a martyr of God («*Dei martyrem*»). He describes the duke's body in a way that evokes the description of saints' body in hagiography («*plagas et prurientes cicatrices*»), and he insists on the emotional and psychological impact of the discovery of the mutilated body by Philip and his men; their pain and tears strengthen the ties between them («*et caeteris cum ejulatu grandi et lacrymarum torrente, tantum nephas horrentibus depressis oculis conspicitur*»)<sup>50</sup>.

The Christ's figure often serves as justification for Philip the Good's political choices. For instance, after the election of Pope Nicolas V (6 March 1447), Philip rallied his camp against his opponent Felix V (Amadeus VIII of Savoy), who was supported by France. Philip's rallying gained him the recognition of the new Pope as the legitimate ruler of his lands<sup>51</sup>. Jean Jouffroy describes Philip's choice of obedience to Rome and not to Avignon, as the duke's recognition of the obvious: Nicolas V is the only Vicar of Christ on earth<sup>52</sup>. By using the Christ's figure, Jouffroy places this event into the spiritual realm, thereby partially erasing its political nature and giving it a superior purpose. This use of the Christ's figure is fairly common in documents of that time. In 1451, during the conflict between Philip the Good and the Flemish cities, specifically Ghent (1449-53), Flemish deputies travelled to Brussels in order to negotiate with the duke. The chronicler Adrien De But (1457-88), abbot of Ten Duinen abbey of Koksijde, underlines that this event happened on a Sunday, the day Jesus Christ saved mankind («*die veneris qua Reaemptor noster Christus Jhesus in cruce salvavit nos*»)<sup>53</sup>.

G. Chastelain, *Chroniques, livre 1*, in Id., *Œuvres*, ed. J. B. M. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels 1863, vol. 1, p. 35.

49. Germain, *Liber de virtutibus* cit., pp. 13-16.

50. Ibid., p. 14.

51. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* cit., pp. 215-16; J. Toussaint, *Les relations diplomatiques de Philippe le Bon avec le concile de Bâle (1431-1449)*, Louvain-Leuven, 1942, pp. 198-202.

52. «*Ergo, cum Aristoteles homines sensu et intellectu ingentes aliorum natura duces, dominos esse confirmat, Princeps Noster, ut seniores in Apocalipsi sarta sua offerunt Agno, sic Christi vicario tibi fidem, obsequium, operam, bona, fortunas, arma, viros, ampla dominia, se ipsum denique humili corde pollicetur et offert*». Jouffroy, *Ad, instinctu Divinitatis* cit., p. 251.

53. A. de But, *Chronique complétée par les additions du même auteur*, in *Chroniques relatives à l'Histoire de Belgique*, ed. J. B. M. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels 1870, vol. 1, pp. 211-717 (here p. 327). On De But's biography and work, see T. Sniijders, *But, Adrian de*, in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy, Leiden-Boston 2010, pp. 228-29; S. Vanderputten, *Wetenschap en cultureel kapitaal aan het einde van de*

Using a *topos* of monastic historiography, De But implies that this meeting, organized by the duke to bring about peace, is placed under the protection of Jesus Christ.

Philip the Good's politics regarding the crusades is certainly the political affair which is justified the most by the Christ's figure<sup>54</sup>. Jean Germain dedicates an important part of his *Liber de virtutibus* to demonstrate that Philip the Good deeply cared about the crusades, but that he was prevented to undertake any expeditions of his own by the king of France and the Flemish cities. Germain reproduces a call to a crusade that Philip the Good pronounced in 1452 during a diplomatic mission to the Christian princes, notably, to the king of France<sup>55</sup>. Philip the Good used rhetoric that was commonly used in calls for crusades since the end of 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>56</sup>. This, according to Germain, placed the duke's endeavours in a more global and glorious standing: the history of the crusades. Germain notably deploys a set of images in relation to Jesus Christ's Blood<sup>57</sup>. This Holy Blood is seen as bringing salvation («saltem animabus Christi sanguine redemptis»)<sup>58</sup> and peace to the Christians («durissimum cor et contumacem animum ad sanguinem Christi deliniatis»)<sup>59</sup>. In this sense, the crusade is led not by the duke, but by Jesus Christ himself («pro Domino Jesu Christo voluntarie suscipere»; «ad manus Christi regendos suppliciter committant»)<sup>60</sup>. Ac-

*vijftiende eeuw. Een onderzoek naar de handschriften van Aegidius de Roya's Compendium Historiae Universalis*, in «Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis», 140 (2003), pp. 42-65. On the war between Philip the Good and the Flemish Cities, see Vaughan, *Philip the Good* cit., pp. 303-33; and especially, J. Haemers, *De Gentse opstand (1449-1453). Se strijd tussen rivaliserende netwerken om het stedelijke kapitaal*, Kortrijk 2004.

54. From Philip the Fair to Philip the Good, the dukes of Burgundy actively pursued a diplomatic and military crusade policy against the Turks and the Mamelukes (Paviot, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* cit., pp. 15-177).

55. «Caput Quinquagesimum. Epistola Joannis, episcopi Cabiloniorum, auctoris hujus libri, publice pronunciata ad finem praedictum, diversis principibus transmissa». Germain, *Liber de Virtutibus* cit., pp. 79-96.

56. The construction of these discourses between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries is described by J. Flori, *Guerre sainte, jihad, croisade. Violence et religion dans le christianisme et l'islam*, Paris 2002, essentially parts 3 and 4 (pp. 139-205, 209-69).

57. Christ's Blood is considered as the «fourth red» in the medieval description of colors: a red blood bringing salvation and sanctification. It is promoted through the cult of the Holy Blood and the exaltation of the Bloody Body of Jesus-Christ (M. Pastoureau, *Ceci est mon sang. Le christianisme médiéval et la couleur sang*, in *Le Pressoir mystique. Actes du colloque de Recluses (1989)*, ed. D. Alexandre-Bidon, Paris 1990, pp. 43-56). The cult of the Holy Blood is particularly developed in the Low Countries, especially in Bruges where the Noble Congregation of the Holy Blood honored a relic of Holy Blood.

58. Germain, *Liber de Virtutibus* cit., p. 89.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

cordingly, the duke's projects for a crusade are not only military expeditions, but further Jesus Christ's cause to bring salvation to mankind.

#### IV. THE CHRIST, KINGSHIP, AND THE COMMON GOOD

The Christ's figure has a central place in Burgundian political discussions about the notion of kingship and that of the common good. These two political concepts were integrated into Philip the Good's discourse in order to justify both his gradual acquisition of political independence from France and the creation of central institutions in his lands<sup>61</sup>.

The Christ's figure was initially used in the debate that occurred at the time of the Investiture Controversy and it was still employed in 15<sup>th</sup> century to justify the superiority that the clerics had over lay people in managing the affairs of Christendom. *Le traictie du commencement de seigneurie et de diversite d'Estas* of Laurent Pignon discusses this debate. Pignon marks a clear limit between spiritual and terrestrial power. He insists that since the Church was instituted by Jesus Christ («instituee de Jhesucrist»), it is more legitimate than any temporal institution which was created by usurpation («usurpee par force et violence»)<sup>62</sup>. Therefrom Pignon develops several considerations on the Christ's dual kingship: celestial and terrestrial. He particularly emphasizes that Christ never resigned his temporal kingship<sup>63</sup> and insists on the Christ's donation of this dual kingship to the Church («Jhesucrist [a] commist a saint Pierre les drois d'empire du ciel et de la terre»)<sup>64</sup>. He states that while the Christ had been asked to rule over the Jewish people, he refused this request, not because he was not king on Earth, but be-

61. On this process at the time of Philip the Good and his son Charles the Bold, see W. Blockmans, «Crisme de leze magesté». *Les idées politiques de Charles le Téméraire*, in *Les Pays-Bas bourguignons. Histoire et Institutions. Mélanges André Uytendaele*, ed. J.-M. Duvosquel - J. Nazet - A. Vanrie, Brussels 1996, pp. 74-75; J. Dumolyn, *Justice, Equity and the Common Good. The State Ideology of the Councillors of the Burgundian States*, in *The Ideology of Burgundy* cit., pp. 1-20 (here pp. 6-11); A. J. Vanderjagt, *Qui sa vertu anoblist. The Concepts of Noblesse and Chose Publicque in Burgundian Political Thought (Including Fifteenth Century French Translations of Giovanni Aurispa, Buonaccorso da Montemagno, and Diego de Valera)*, Groningen 1981, pp. 45-76.

62. Saint-Pourçain - Pignon, *Le traictie du commencement de seigneurie* cit., pp. 79-81.

63. «Quant au tiers argument, par lequel estoit dit que Jhesucrist renonca et du tout bouta arriere toute juridiction temporelle, il est a dire que quilconques veult dire que Jhesucrist n'eust toute puissance temporelle et espirituelle, il contredit par exprez a la saincte evangille de saint Mathieu en la fin ou Jhesucrist parla et dist: "Toute puissance m'est donnee en ciel et en terre", et au commencement de l'Apocalice il se appelle "Prince des roys de la terre"». *Ibid.*, p. 107.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

cause he was not from the Earth. In this sense, Pignon defends the traditional papal argumentation concerning the Emperor in order to defend the position of the ecclesiastics (and therefore his own position) in the court of Philip the Good<sup>65</sup>. In doing so, Pignon develops certain ideas about the nature of princely power which he sees as similar to that of Jesus Christ: both celestial and terrestrial. He opens a Burgundian discussion on kingship in which the Christ has a prominent role.

Several decades following Pignon's treatise, more specifically at the end of Philip the Good's reign and during Charles the Bold's rule, this type of discourse became a very important feature in Burgundian political texts. For instance, the transportation of Philip's body from Bruges to the ducal necropolis of Champmol near Dijon in 1474 generates numerous discussions on Christ's kingship<sup>66</sup>. On the Grand Place of Dijon there was a lodge on which stood a character representing the Christ. This figure was dressed in royal colors (a vermillion dress, «chappe vermeille»). He was surrounded by two angels holding tablets with verses from Isaiah («Quis est iste qui venit. Ysaie, LXIII») and «Iste formosus in stola sua gradiens in multitudine fortitudinis sue. Ysaie, LXIII»). Next to the Christ there was another tablet on which it was written: «Ego qui loquor justitiam et propugnator sum ad salvandum. Ysaie, LXIII»). Behind him were figures symbolising the deputies of the Three Estates. Each Estate was depicted by a character. The one representing the Church held a tablet that said «Bene dictus qui venit in nomine Domini», while the figure that embodied the Nobility held one with the words «Omnes gentes Reges terrarum desiderabant videre faciem Salomonis vel Exulta satis filia Syon. Ecce Rex tuus venit tibi. Zacharie, IX»). The character that symbolised the Third Estate held the last tablet, which said «Ecce venit desideratus cunctis gentibus. Aggée, II»). Lastly, there was a final figure that embodied the Three Estates. This last figure held a tablet with the inscription «Ecce Domine respice populum tuum

65. «[When Christ said:] "Mon royaulme n'est pas de ce monde", il ne nye pas qu'il ne soit roy (...); et ne dit point, "Mon royaume n'est point en ce monde" car il estoit roy en ciel et en terre; mais il dist, "Mon royaume n'est point de ce monde", pour congnoistre ne que par ellection mundaine, ne par succession humaine il estoit roy mais par l'union bienheuree de nature humaine a nature divine». Ibid., pp. 109-11.

66. Traditionally, the king's or the prince's entrance into one of his city is compared to Jesus Christ's entrance into Jerusalem (Mt 21, 1-9; Mc 11, 1-10; Lc 19, 28-40; Jn 12, 12-15). On the French royal entries of the kings, see B. Guenée - Fr. Lehoux, *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, Paris 1968; the specificities of Burgundian entries, especially in the urban context of the Low Countries, are described by É. Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies. Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons*, Turnhout 2004.

omnes nos. Ysaie, LXIII»<sup>67</sup>. Not only does the central role of Christ's figure serve as remembrance of his entrance into Jerusalem, it depicts the royal symbolism found in this biblical event. The references to Isaiah 63 and 64 create royal parallels between the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem and that of Philip's body into Dijon (the vermillion color used to symbolize justice and the voluntary submission of the people to Jesus's/Philip's body). The reference from Zachary 9 makes this even clearer: it invites the people of Dijon to delight in the arrival of their prince's body. Here the Christ's figure is part of a global plan designed by Charles the Bold. After his meeting with the Emperor Frederick in Trier (1473), Charles hoped to receive a royal crown from the Emperor's hand. However, his expectations were not met, and he returned to Dijon without his crown. The translation of his father's remains and their entrance into Dijon were perceived as part of a grandiose coronation ceremony. In this context, the references to Jesus and Philip as kings clearly take on different meaning<sup>68</sup>.

If the purpose of the use of the Christ figure in Burgundian political thought at the time was to provide a definition of a good king and, in turn, to establish ducal claims to kingship, by contrast, his person also served to define the figure of a tyrant king. Thomas Basin (1412-91), bishop of Lisieux and close friend to David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht and bastard son of Philip the Good, develops various considerations in relation to the King of France, Louis XI. Basin was very hostile toward Louis XI because of a personal conflict between him and the king, which forced him to seek the protection of Philip the Good. In his *Apologie* (1471-75), Basin gives the people reason to rise up against their tyrant king. He argues that, if Christians must respect a king who got his power from God (Rm 13, 1-2)<sup>69</sup>, they must resist

67. *L'entrée et les funérailles*, in H. Chabeuf, *Charles le Téméraire à Dijon en janvier 1474. Relations officielles, avec introduction*, Dijon 1903, pp. 259-61.

68. See P. and A.-M. Bonenfant, *Le projet d'érection des États bourguignons en royaume, en 1477*, in «Le Moyen Âge», 45 (1935), pp. 10-23; P. Bonenfant, *Les projets d'érections des Pays-Bas en royaume, du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in «Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles», 41 (1935-1936), pp. 151-69; R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold. The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, new ed., Woodbridge 2002, pp. 139-155; J. R. Veenstra, *Le prince que se veult faire de nouvel roy. Literature and Ideology of Burgundian Self-determination*, in *The Ideology of Burgundy* cit., pp. 195-221.

69. «Nam quod principum mandatis atque potestatum pareri precipitur, intelligendum est quando principes legitime et cum recto ordine suam, quam ad hoc accepit a Deo, exequitur potestatem. Tunc enim tali parendum est, et habet locum quod Paulus apostolus ad Romanos, 13, ait: "Qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit". Unde licet forsitan aliis subjaceant viciis, tamen dum accepta a Deo legitime sua utuntur potestate, in eo quod tamquam legitimi principes imperant, est eisdem obediendum, et per hoc non tantum bonis et modestis, sed etiam discolis et alias malis et viciosis est

him when he loses his divine mandate, Basin furthers this claim by recalling the insult pronounced by saint Paul against the Great Priest of the Temple of Jerusalem (Apostles 23, 3). He argues that Saint Paul demonstrated that the sanctity of the Great Priest's rabbinate was abolished by the new priesthood introduced by Jesus Christ. Therefore, the Great Priest lost his divine mandate and thus, became a tyrant<sup>70</sup>.

Aside from serving to define kingship imagery, the Christ's figure was also used to demonstrate the necessity to create Burgundian institutions by arguing that they work for the common good. The tax institution is particularly interesting from this perspective. In the political culture of the Late Middle Ages, taxes are considered as extraordinary granted by the people. According to the kings and princes, and their institutions, their subjects would pay them out of love for their king or prince. However, over time taxes became more and more regular and this aroused anger from the people. Certain political actors, such as John the Fearless, used this anger. They promised to reduce taxes in order to get the people's support<sup>71</sup>. The dukes of Burgundy inherited this tension caused by two opposing needs: the requisite for constant taxes and the need to appease the people by a low tax policy. They used the former in their lands against the Flemish cities, and the latter in France. In Paris, for example, they presented themselves as supporters of the urban population<sup>72</sup>. This situation can be discovered in our corpus. In the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, Christine de Pizan insists on the necessity for subjects to consent to the prince's tax system because it ensures the security of their lands («laquelle chose est d'ancien droit et coustume en toutes terres pour tel usage, c'est assavoir, pour armées faire sus les anemis de la contrée»). She furthers that the prince should not hesitate to raise taxes for fear of being hated by his subjects because even the Christ was not loved by all («Jhesu-Crist tout parfait ne fu

obediencia exhibenda, ut ex auctoritate beati Petri apostoli inducta satis apparet». Th. Basin, *Apologie ou plaidoyer pour moi-même*, ed. and trans. C. Samaran - G. de Groër, Paris 1974, pp. 171-72.

70. «(...) quamquam eciam, eo quod dignitas legalis sacerdocii per Christi sacerdotum jam cessasset et evacuata esset, recte dixerit nescisse eum summum sacerdotem. Hunc autem intellectum habuisse Apostolum quod tunc principi sit parendum, cum accepta a Deo legitime utitur potestate, idem Apostolus, in dicto capitulo epistole sue ad Romanos, satis liquido ostendit». Ibid., pp. 173-74.

71. Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur* cit., pp. 568-69. General considerations on French tax ideology can be found in L. Scordia, *Le roi doit vivre du sien. La théorie de l'impôt en France (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 2005.

72. Dumolyn, *Justice, Equity and the Common Good* cit., p. 9; Lecuppre-Desjardin, *Le royaume inachevé* cit., pp. 130-31.

mie à touz agreable»)73. In contrast Hughes de Lannoy asserted that Philip should learn to live within his own means. Lannoy particularly insisted on the fact that a man who fears God and knows his Commandments should not raise taxes on his subjects:

*Item, au tiers point faisant mencion des finances et despences de mondit seigneur, tout homme de raison qui craint Dieu et a cognoissance de ses sains commandemens, doit contendre à vivre du sein (...)74.*

Another major Burgundian institution justified by the Christ's figure is the Order of the Golden Fleece created by Philip the Good in 1430. The Order had multiple purposes: to enhance the duke's reputation, to surround him with the finest noblemen of his lands in order to integrate them into a «state» culture and, more specifically, to control them75. Given the important role that the Order played in establishing the duke's power, it was necessary to justify its creation through venerable figures such as Jesus Christ. Even though the primary patron saint of the Order was Saint Andrew and its mythical origins were said to have been found in the story of Jason and the Argonauts, the Golden Fleece maintained strong connections with the Christ through Gideon, a biblical character. In the Old Testament, Gideon restores the bond between the Jewish people and God by using a golden fleece (Jg 6, 36-40). It is for this reason that in medieval culture, Gideon is considered to be one of Jesus Christ's predecessors. This connection is explicitly mentioned in the reports of the Chapters of the Golden Fleece:

Et a reduit par exemple icellui ordre a l'arbre de Gedeon soubz laquelle ledit Gedeon avoit fait sacrifice a Dieu tout puissant, comparant ladite arbre a la Saint Croix, a laquelle Nostre benoit Sauveur Jhesu Crist a fait sacrifice a Dieu souverain, son père tout puissant, pour la redempcion de l'umain lignaige76.

73. Pizan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs* cit., p. 149.

74. Lannoy, *L'instruction d'un jeune prince* cit., p. 305.

75. On the dynamics of honor and reputation in the Order of the Golden Fleece, and also on the control of nobility through the Order, see G. Melville, *Rituelle Ostentation und pragmatische Inquisition. Zur Institutionalität des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, in *Im Spannungsfeld von Recht und Ritual. Soziale Kommunikation in Mittelalter und früherer Neuzeit*, ed. H. Duchhardt - G. Melville, Cologne 1997, pp. 215-72; H. Müller, *Fasanenfest und Orden vom Goldenen Vlies. Neuerscheinungen zur burgundischen Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung*, in «Zeitschrift für historische Forschung», 27 (2000), pp. 203-27; B. Sterchi, *The Importance of reputation in the Theory and Practice of Burgundian Chivalry. Jean de Lannoy, the Croÿs, and the Order of the Golden Fleece*, in *The Ideology of Burgundy* cit., pp. 98-115.

76. *Die Protokollbücher des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, ed. S. Dünnebeil, Ostfildern 2003, vol. 3, p. 129. Guillaume Fillastre also describes the Order in the same way (Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* cit., pp. 255-56).

In this sense, the Order of the Golden Fleece, through Gideon, has a particular connection with the Christ. This connection strengthens its legitimacy as an organ of control of the Burgundian nobility.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

In the context of Burgundian political thought at the time of Philip the Good, the Christ's figure seems to be highly polymorphic. In the *Mirrors of Princes*, written at the Burgundian court, the dual image of the God the Father and the Christ is used to show the prince the moral path of government that he must follow in order to be a good ruler. The kinship between God the Father and Jesus Christ is used to describe the relationship between Philip the Good and Charles VII and to argue that as any good son, Philip's duty is to criticize his father, the king of France, whenever necessary.

Burgundian historiography also recuperates the Christ's figure in order to construct the history of the ducal lands. Challenging French royal historiography, the chroniclers depict the Burgundian «state(s)» as being well-established in the Christian faith for centuries and as even being at the origins Christianity in the West. However, in these historiographical discourses, Jesus Christ is used in a more polemic way, which allows the chroniclers to give the ducal history a more exalted purpose. Consequently, ducal actions were to follow a divine purpose which was set out by Jesus Christ. This is why the death of John the Fearless was compared to a martyrdom and the rally of Philip the Good in front of Pope Nicolas V and his ducal crusade policy were both described through the prism of a Christ semantic (for example, the Holy Blood).

Finally, the dual nature of Christ's kingship, celestial and terrestrial, helped to build a concept of Burgundian power. It fed on a discussion about kingship that began during the time of Philip the Good. This discourse served to demonstrate the righteous independence of the duke from the Crown of France. At the same time, the Christ's figure justified the creation of centralized Burgundian institutions and organs of control, such as the tax institution and the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Clearly the Christ's figure was an essential rhetorical argument in the tool-box of the Burgundian courtly writers whose primary purpose was to build ducal legitimacy. Mobilizing the Christ's figure meant mobilizing a highly positive imagery based on words like goodness, love, loyalty, and salvation. In the three contexts examined above (*Mirrors of Princes*, historiographical discourses, and theories of kingship and the common good), the appearance of Jesus Christ constitutes a key moment in the argumen-

tation on the duke's legitimacy. Jesus is the ultimate argument that is used to convince readers or listeners of the merits of ducal policy. In other words, Jesus Christ is a crucial reference in the slow and patient accumulation of symbolic capital<sup>77</sup> which is at the core of the state building process in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times.

77. On the concept of symbolic capital and its connection with the history of state, particularly in relation to the other forms of capital (military, financial, and juridical), see Bourdieu, *Sur l'État* cit., particularly pp. 118-21, 218-31, 240-49, 277-80, 288-90, 293-97, 319-30, 363-64, 380-90, 528-32, 550-51, 567-73.

ABSTRACT

At the time of Philip the Good, the Christ's figure is used by courtly writers as the ultimate argument to convince of the merits of ducal policy. In the Burgundian Mirrors of Princes, Jesus shows the moral path of government that the duke must follow in order to be considered as a good ruler. In the historiography, he helps to demonstrate that the ducal policy serves a very saint and Christian purpose. In political treatises, he justifies the Burgundian power and, most of all, the duke's institutions. In other words, Jesus Christ is a crucial reference in a process of accumulation of legitimacy for the state built by Philip the Good at the very end of Middle Ages.

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