

# HERACLIUS, EMPEROR OF BYZANTIUM

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**Resumen:** Este estudio iconográfico se centra en la representación del emperador Heraclio (ca. 575-641) en Europa occidental entre los siglos XI-XIII. En 614, los persas –liderados por el rey Cosroes II– invadieron Palestina, conquistaron la Ciudad Santa de Jerusalén y robaron la reliquia de la Vera Cruz. En un contraataque exitoso, Heraclio derrotó a los sasánidas, recuperó Tierra Santa y llevó triunfalmente la reliquia de regreso a Jerusalén (630). Desde una perspectiva mítico-religiosa, la historia alcanza su punto culminante cuando Heraclio llega a la entrada de la Ciudad Santa. De repente, unas piedras bloquearon la Puerta Dorada y un ángel apareció por encima de ella. Este mensajero enviado por Dios le dice al emperador que debería desmontar de su caballo y quitarse sus vestiduras imperiales para entrar en la Ciudad Santa, siguiendo el ejemplo de Cristo. Al reconocer su pecado, el soberano se humilla en una *imitatio Christi*, solo después de la cual devuelve la reliquia al Santo Sepulcro. El renombre del *basileus* en la sociedad medieval se vincula directamente a la recuperación de la Vera Cruz, la *Restitutio Crucis*. En el Occidente medieval, los hechos de Heraclio cobraron unos perfiles míticos, con caracterizaciones que oscilaron entre la soberbia y la humildad, del triunfante emperador al *imitator Christi* en busca de la *Restitutio Crucis*. Simultáneamente al análisis iconográfico, vamos a estudiar las características del texto fundacional de esta tradición, la *Reversio Sanctae Crucis*, que sirvió de inspiración para los artistas medievales.

**Palabras-clave:** Heraclio; iconografía medieval; soberbia; humildad; *imitator Christi*.

**Abstract:** This iconographic study focuses on the representation of Emperor Heraclius (ca. 575-641) in Western Europe between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. In 614, the Persians – led by King Chosroes II – invaded Palestine, conquering the Holy City of Jerusalem and stealing the relic of the True Cross. In a successful counterattack, Heraclius defeated the Sassanids, retook the Holy Land and triumphantly escorted the relic back to Jerusalem (630). From a mythical-religious perspective, the story comes to its climax when Heraclius reaches the entrance of the Holy City – suddenly, stones block the Golden Gate and an angel appears above it. This is a messenger sent from God to tell the emperor he should dismount his horse and remove his imperial dress to enter Jerusalem, following the example of Christ. Upon recognizing his sin, the sovereign humbles himself in an *imitatio Christi*, only after which does he return the relic to the Holy Sepulcher. The renown of the *basileus* in western medieval society roots itself directly in the recovery of the True Cross, the *Restitutio Crucis*. In the Medieval West, Heraclius’ deeds took on a mythical flavor, with characterizations swinging between pride and humility – from the triumphant emperor to the *imitator Christi* in search of the *Restitutio Crucis*. In addition to this iconographic study, we will examine the qualities of this tradition’s founding text, the *Reversio Sanctae Crucis*, which served as inspiration for medieval artists.

**Keywords:** Heraclius; medieval iconography; pride; humility; *imitator Christi*.

## ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY

In 614, the Persians – led by King Chosroes II – invaded Palestine, conquering the Holy City of Jerusalem and stealing the relic of the True Cross. In a successful

counterattack, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (ca. 575-641) defeated the Sassanids, retook the Holy Land and triumphantly escorted the relic back to Jerusalem (630)<sup>1</sup>. From a mythical-religious perspective, the story comes to its climax when Heraclius reaches the entrance of the Holy City – suddenly, stones block the Golden Gate and an angel appears above it. This is a messenger sent from God to tell the emperor he should dismount his horse and remove his imperial dress to enter Jerusalem, following the example of Christ. Upon recognizing his sin, the sovereign humbles himself in an *imitatio Christi*, only after which does he return the relic to the Holy Sepulcher. The renown of the *basileus* in western medieval society roots itself directly in the recovery of the True Cross, the *Restitutio Crucis*.

From the eleventh century on, we see a popularization of the myth of Heraclius in Western Europe, its first known iconography appearing in the famous sanctuary at Mont Saint-Michel (ca. 1060), in Normandy (France). The growing popularity of this legend was linked to the consolidation of an intensely apocalyptic-eschatological movement: the Crusades. The two campaigns shared the common goal of recovering the *Hereditas Christi* (the Holy Land). Heraclius' deeds were used as a way to encourage Christians to retake the Holy City for *Christianitas*<sup>2</sup>. According to Geoffrey Regan:

“For Christian warriors of the Middle Ages Heraclius was the ‘first crusader’. For medieval writers he was a paladin, one of the heroes of Christianity along Roland, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon and Richard Couer de Lion. [...] None of the paladins of chivalry contributed quite so much to the movement as Heraclius: he reconquered the Holy Land and returned the True Cross of Jesus to Jerusalem – thereby adding the Feast of the Holy Cross to the Christian calendar on 14 September”<sup>3</sup>.

Furthermore, Heraclius personified at that time the “eschatological emperor” who won the battle against the *Antichrist* Chosroes<sup>4</sup>. This myth also entertains a parallel symbolism in the messianic figure of the “Last World Emperor” who battles the *Antichrist* and puts the True Cross back in its proper place<sup>5</sup>. It is the intent of this brief work of research to map and analyze some of the images of Heraclius produced in Western Christendom between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries<sup>6</sup>.

### Attributes and types of representation

Heraclius' iconography in the High Middle Ages appeared as independent scenes and iconographic cycles. In the first case, we have an illuminated manuscript in the *Book of Pericopes from St. Erentrud* (ca. 1140); in the second, the sequence of imagery found in

<sup>1</sup> FROLOW, Anatole (1953). On Heraclius' reigning, see KAEGI, Walter Emil (2003).

<sup>2</sup> The importance of the myth of Heraclius in Medieval West appeared in the academic literature of the nineteenth century. See DRAPEYRON, Ludovic (1869), p. 412. On the Holy Cross legend, see MORRIS, Richard (1871).

<sup>3</sup> REGAN, Geoffrey (2003): p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> BAERT, Barbara (1999a).

<sup>5</sup> ALEXANDER, Paul J. (1978).

<sup>6</sup> Some syntheses of Heraclius' iconography in Western medieval culture can also be found in BAERT, Barbara (1999a); TORP, Hjalmar (2006); and LEPRI, Nicoletta (2008).

the stained glass work at the Sainte-Chapelle (ca. 1243-1248) in Paris. The principal types of imagery were (a) *single combat* between the *basileus* and the son of Chosroes on a bridge over the Danube<sup>7</sup>; (b) the decapitation of King Chosroes by Heraclius inside the Persian palace; (c) the prideful arrival of Heraclius in Jerusalem carrying the True Cross, with its accompanying angelic apparition; and (d) Heraclius' *humilitas* and *imitatio Christi*, and the *Restitutio Crucis* inside the Holy City. In order to represent these scenes, medieval artists based themselves mainly on the narrative that gave birth to this tradition, the sermon known as *Reversio Sanctae Crucis* (BHL 4178).

In the *single combat* scene, taking place on a bridge over the Danube, Heraclius appears as a warrior in armor, wielding shield and sword. This equipment is maintained in part in Chosroes' decapitation scene, in which the *basileus* has the Persian king by the hair. In the representations of Heraclius' arrival in Jerusalem carrying the True Cross, the ruler – accompanied by a host – rides forth on horseback in imperial dress and a crown. The Golden Gate of Jerusalem lies closed, and above it, one can see an angel admonishing him. Finally, in the *Restitutio Crucis* scene, the emperor performs an *imitatio Christi*, appearing beside his horse, barefoot, without luxurious attire.

The most popular reproduction portrays the decisive moment of the narrative, i.e., the entrance of Heraclius with the True Cross in Jerusalem, when he forsakes his pride in favor of humility. In the case of this image, Christ's arrival in the Holy City on Palm Sunday was a source of inspiration. The angel is another important element in this iconography. Even though this entity never reveals its name, it possesses the traits of Michael, the angelic figure of the *Second Coming* who will appear at the end of times (Dan 12, 1). In the *Book of Pericopes from St. Erentrud*, the angel that appears over the Golden Gate holds a sword in a similar manner, a characteristic of Michael. It was not by coincidence that the first Western iconography of Heraclius appears in the sanctuary at Mont Saint-Michel, a renowned pilgrimage center consecrated to the angel. As Baert declared, Saint Michael, the “founding angel” of the Norman abbey, had “an important part in the Heraclius story, which might account for the increased interest in this iconographic motif”<sup>8</sup>.

## Primary Sources

The *Reversio Sanctae Crucis* was – up to the end of the thirteenth century – the text most used to propagate the myth of Heraclius in Western Europe. The author of this sermon was traditionally thought to be the Carolingian monk Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 784-856), an identity sustained by the *Patrologia Latina (Homily LXX)* and by many studies dedicated to Heraclius' iconography<sup>9</sup>. However, even with Edmond Faral becoming suspicious of the association in 1920<sup>10</sup>, alternative interpretations have only surfaced since the beginning of the twenty first century. In 2008, for example, Alexander Schilling

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be a form of imaginary transposition, since the Sassanid expansion never reached the margins of the Danube. This is an example of the frontier function this river had since Antiquity.

<sup>8</sup> Respectively, BAERT, Barbara (2008): p. 16; BAERT, Barbara (2004): p. 164; BAERT, Barbara (2005).

<sup>9</sup> In 1999, for instance, Baert believed that Hrabanus Maurus was the author of the *Reversio*, and that does not occur in an article of 2008, when she recommends the use of the term “Pseudo-Hrabanus”. See, respectively, BAERT, Barbara (1999a): p. 150, and BAERT, Barbara (2008): pp. 6-7.

<sup>10</sup> FARAL, Edmond (1920): pp. 516-520.

analyzed Italian manuscripts of the text and brought to light the name of a probable author, “Nicephorus”<sup>11</sup>. Stephan Borgehammar, however, was the author of the study that clarified the issue, when, in 2009, he dated and translated the *Reversio* to the English language. As stated by the Swedish professor, an anonymous author from the Italian Peninsula wrote the sermon somewhere between the end of the seventh century and the year 750, based on some Greek or Eastern sources from the 630 decade<sup>12</sup>.

According to the *Bollandist Catalogue*, the text of the *Reversio* is preserved in 146 manuscripts. Actually, it is presumed that there still exist between 200 and 300 copies, since this list does not include libraries in England or the greater part of Germany. The number of these manuscripts gradually increased during the period between the eighth and twelfth centuries, and then began to decline as the result of three main causes, mentioned by Borgehammar: “historical criticism of the received text, the popularity of the new version in the *Legenda Aurea*, and the increasing use of breviaries with drastically shortened legends”<sup>13</sup>. In truth, after the end of the thirteenth century, the myth of Heraclius was spread primarily by the *Legenda Aurea* (ca. 1260), by Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1230-1298)<sup>14</sup>.

Finally, let us see how the *Reversio Sanctae Crucis* presents the angel’s criticism of the emperor’s hauteur, the narrative many medieval artists drew upon for understanding before attempting to portray the event:

“Quando rex caelorum, Dominus totius mundi, passionis sacramenta per hunc aditum completurus introiit, non se purpuratum nec diademate nitentem exhibuit aut equi potentis uehiculum requisiiit, sed humilis aselli terga insidens cultoribus suis humilitatis exempla reliquit”.

“When the King of the heavens, the Lord of all the earth, entered through this gate on his way to fulfilling the mysteries of the passion, he did not appear in purple or shining diadem, nor did he ask for a strong horse to carry him, but sitting on the back of a humble donkey he left his servants a paradigm of humility”<sup>15</sup>.

Heraclius, therefore, would have to perform an *imitatio Christi*, which in this case means to remove all imperial insignia and dismount his horse in a gesture of sincere humility:

“Tunc imperator gaudens in Domino de uisitu angelico, depositis imperii insignibus discalciatus protinus, linea tantum zona praecinctus, crucem Domini manu suscipiens, perfusus facie lacrimis, ad caelum oculos erigens properabat, ad portam usque progrediens”.

“Then the Emperor rejoiced in the Lord because of the angelic visit, and having removed the tokens of imperial rank he proceeded without shoes, girded only with a

<sup>11</sup> SCHILLING, Alexander Markus (2008): p. 313.

<sup>12</sup> BORGEHAMMAR, Stephan (2009): p. 159.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 146, footnote 6.

<sup>14</sup> This most popular work, quickly translated into several vernacular languages, had its diffusion favored by the invention of the Printing Press on the fifteenth century, and is preserved in 1100 manuscripts.

<sup>15</sup> PSEUDO-HRABANUS (2009): pp. 186-189.

linen belt, took the Cross of the Lord in his hands and hastened forward, face covered in tears and eyes raised to the sky, making his way to the gate”<sup>16</sup>.

This work will present only the images inspired by the narrative of the *Reversio Sanctae Crucis*. After spreading throughout the Carolingian world in the form of liturgical manuscripts, the figure of Heraclius as the “restorer of the Cross” was expressed iconographically in Western Europe only in the eleventh century. We see it in the aforementioned image (miniature) in the sanctuary at Mont Saint-Michel, which, based on the *Reversio*, served as illustration of the text for the day September 14 (*veneranda eodem die exaltatio crucis*)<sup>17</sup>.

### Geographical and chronological framework

The spatial and temporal span of Heraclius’ iconography follows *pari passu* the diffusion of the *Reversio* manuscripts. The diffusion of this sermon amidst the monks was intensified due to the annexation of the *Regnum Italicum* by Charlemagne (774) and to the Carolingian Renaissance, for they accelerated the copying of manuscripts and transmitted the Roman liturgy (adopted by the Franks) to the recently annexed regions. The fact that the Carolingians formed a “civilization of liturgy” also contributed to the popularization of the *Reversio* and the corresponding iconography, first in the north of the Alps and then West.

Thus, many images were produced in France, in the Italian Peninsula, and in the Holy Roman Empire in the High Middle Ages, as we can observe in the imagery selection found at the end of the text. There is a hypothesis that the partially lost lower portion of the famous *Tapiz de la Creación* (ca. 1100) of the Girona Cathedral (Catalonia) presented an image of Heraclius, but that is still under debate among specialists<sup>18</sup>.

### Artistic media and techniques

One can find many images of Heraclius, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, executed in different media and techniques, such as in illuminated manuscripts and miniatures, stained glass, wall paintings, and enamel over gilt copper (*champlevé*). It was an important iconography, found not only in liturgical books, but also, for instance, in the magnificent stained glass work at the Sainte-Chappelle in Paris, with a representation of the *Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis* that was inspired by the “Heraclius-crusader king” model<sup>19</sup>. The Crusades gave popularity to the iconography of the *basileus*, so much so that there was a (now lost) mosaic in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (twelfth century) where the crusaders represented Heraclius and Saint Helen beside the True Cross<sup>20</sup>.

### Precedents, transformation and projection

Western European iconography on Heraclius has a probable Byzantine origin, as said by Hjalmar Torp, who consulted western and eastern sources, like the lintel of the

<sup>16</sup> PSEUDO-HRABANUS (2009): pp. 188-189.

<sup>17</sup> BAERT, Barbara (2008): p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Identification sustained by BAERT, Barbara (1999b) and criticized by CASTIÑEIRAS (2011): pp. 72-75.

<sup>19</sup> KÜHNEL, Gustav (2004): p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> KÜHNEL, Gustav (2004): pp. 66-68; FOLDA, Jaroslav (1995): p. 239.

northern portal of the Armenian Cathedral of Mren (seventh century)<sup>21</sup>. Torp, however, did not entirely solve the interpretive problems presented by the lintel, nor compared it to the tradition of the *Reversio*, a gap filled by Christina Maranci. According to this author, this lintel presents two main elements of the Pseudo-Hrabanus' narrative: Heraclius, without his imperial garments, and his dismounted horse. The researcher further declares – if her theory is correct – that the lintel forms one of the oldest representations of the humble entry of Heraclius in Jerusalem<sup>22</sup>, a scene that appears only later in western iconography, as we have seen.

There is in fact a dual perception of Heraclius in the *Reversio* and in the iconography which it has inspired: on one hand, we see him as a triumphant warrior, and on the other as a humble sovereign in an attitude of poverty and penitence<sup>23</sup>. The elemental *humilitas* reveals a ready connection between the *basileus* and Christ, and we find the basis of this association in an object: the Cross. Through it, Jesus triumphed over death and attained new life; through it, Heraclius triumphed over his adversaries and preserved rulership of the Empire<sup>24</sup>.

From the end of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance on, the images of Heraclius begin to be fundamentally influenced by the *Legenda Aurea* and by breviaries. At that time, the iconography on the *single combat* between Heraclius and Chosroes' son, sparse in the High Middle Ages, flourished in quantity and quality. A famous Renaissance example of this duel can be found in the wall painting of Saint Francis Basilica, in Arezzo (Italy), made by Piero della Francesca (1415-1492). However, not all the representations of the myth of Heraclius from the end of the Middle Ages are based on *Legenda Aurea* and the breviaries, and such is the case of the altar frontal of the Norwegian church of Nedstryn (first quarter of the fourteenth century), with its elaborate iconography still inspired by a version of the *Reversio*.

The breviaries from the end of the Middle Ages registered another version of the myth of Heraclius that – even though inspired by the *Reversio* – removed the miraculous aspects of the story, like the apparition of the angel. Instead of the angel, Patriarch Zacharias reprehends the pride of the emperor (*lectio* 6). It is a typical work of revision that liturgical texts suffered, being rewritten to become more plausible in the eyes of Renaissance scholars. This new narrative was gathered in the *Breviarium Romanum* (1568), based on humanistic historiography<sup>25</sup>. That might explain the decline in popularity of the iconography of Heraclius after the sixteenth century.

### Typology and related themes

A crucial moment of the narrative of the myth of Heraclius, the *humilitas* and the *imitatio Christi*, finds typological parallels in the Bible. To reprehend the emperor for his “wrong” choice, the angel made use of the episode of the *humilitas* of Jesus, i.e., the way in which the Messiah entered Jerusalem. Consequently, the entrance of the *basileus* had to

<sup>21</sup> TORP, Hjalmar (2006).

<sup>22</sup> MARANCI, Christina (2008-2009): p. 170.

<sup>23</sup> BAERT, Barbara (2008): p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> DRIJVERS, Jan Willem (2002): p. 186.

<sup>25</sup> SOMMERLECHNER, Andrea (2003): p. 338.

be Christianized. It had to follow the New Testament, which had its foundations in the Old: “Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion, shout for joy, O daughter of Jerusalem: BEHOLD THY KING will come to thee, the just and savior: he is poor, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass” (Zech 9, 9)<sup>26</sup>. The New Testament appointed Jesus as the Messiah – the “Messianic King” who would enter humbly in the Holy City, as described, for instance, in the *Gospel of John* (12, 12-15)<sup>27</sup>. As soon as Heraclius, *Imitator Christi*, humbly approached the Golden Gate, the rocks that blocked the passage were raised, allowing him to enter Jerusalem. This *imitatio Christi* was related to the *humilitas*, the *sine qua non* condition of any “good Christian”.

At the time of the Crusades, the arrival of Heraclius in Jerusalem was a source of inspiration for Christian leaders. For instance, the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres (ca. 1059-1127) related that King Baldwin II (ca. 1058-1131), while he was in Antioch, sent the True Cross to Jerusalem: afterwards, the men of the procession conducting the relic “entered the Holy City rejoicing, on the day when they celebrated the festival of its exaltation, as the Emperor Heraclius had done when he brought it back [the Cross] from Persia”<sup>28</sup>.

### Selection of works of art

- North portal lintel at Mren (modern eastern Turkey), ca. 639-640. According to the drawing produced by Jean-Michel and Nicole Thierry [THIERRY, Jean-Michel; THIERRY, Nicole (1971): p. 70], the two biggest figures are Heraclius, to the left beside his horse, and Modestus, Patriarch of Jerusalem to the right, receiving the True Cross. The great tree to the right would represent Celestial Paradise, while the smaller figure in the center would be a priest with the True Cross.
- Heraclius restores the Cross to Jerusalem. Sacramentary of Mont Saint-Michel, France (ca. 1060). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 641, fol. 155v.
- Heraclius restores the Cross to Jerusalem. Book of Pericopes from St. Erentrud, Salzburg (Austria), ca. 1140. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15903, fol. 86v.
- Heraclius carrying the Cross. Homiliary of Le Cateau (France), ca. 1150. Le Cateau, Biblio-thèque Municipale, Ms. 528, fol. 195.
- Heraclius receiving the submission of Chosroes II. Plaque from a cross, Meuse Valley (1160-1170). Champlévé enamel over gilt copper. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MRR 245.
- Heraclius carrying the Cross. Calendar (September), Psalter of Saint Elizabeth, Thuringia (Germany), early 13<sup>th</sup> century. National Archaeological Museum of Cividale del Friuli (Italy).

<sup>26</sup> Traditionally, the “princes of Israel” rode in “asses” (Judg 5, 10).

<sup>27</sup> “And on the next day, a great multitude that was come to the festival day, when they had heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees and went forth to meet him and cried ‘Hosanna. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel’. And Jesus found a young ass and sat upon it, as it is written: ‘Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold thy king cometh, sitting on an ass’s colt’”.

<sup>28</sup> FULCHER OF CHARTRES (1973): p. 230.

- Heraclius and Chosroes' eldest son in single combat on the bridge over the Danube. Wall painting, Cathedral of St. Blaise, Brunswick (Germany), south aisle, 1240-1250.
- Heraclius fights against Chosroes' son. Sainte-Chapelle, Paris (France), Window A, ca. 1243-1248.
- Heraclius before the miraculous sealed gate at Jerusalem. Sainte-Chapelle, Paris (France), Window A, ca. 1243-1248.
- Heraclius carrying the Cross. Gradual of Fontevrault, Paris (France), ca. 1250-1260. Limoges, Biblio-thèque Municipale, Ms. 2, fol. 191v.
- Heraclius restores the Cross in humility. *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, Alexander of Bremen (†1271), Lower Saxony, last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Mm.5.31, fol. 81v.

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◀ North portal lintel at Mren (modern eastern Turkey), ca. 639-640.

Photo by Richard A. Elbrecht and Anne Elizabeth Elbrecht (2006). [http://www.virtualani.org/mren/img\\_4487b.jpg](http://www.virtualani.org/mren/img_4487b.jpg) [Last Access, May 10, 2015]



North portal lintel at Mren. Drawing by Jean-Michel Thierry and Nicole Thierry.

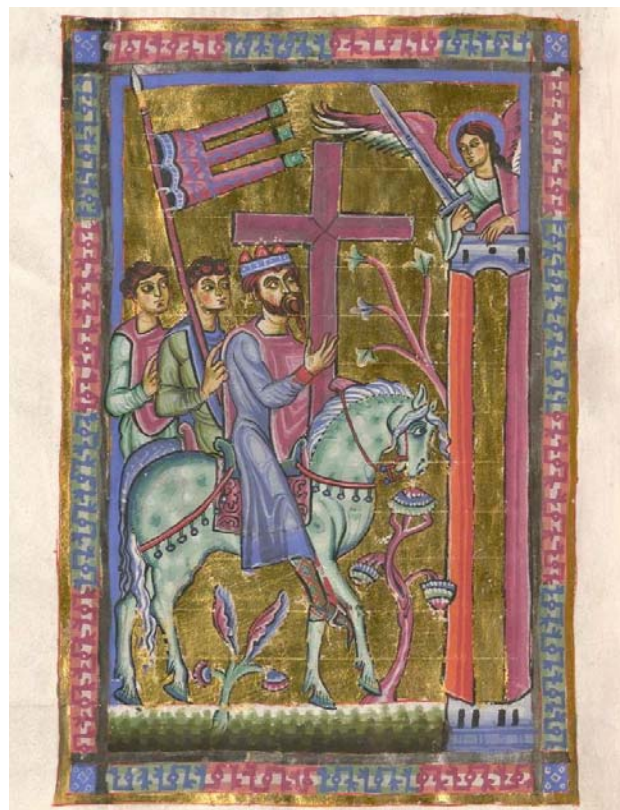
[Image: THIERRY, Jean-Michel; THIERRY, Nicole (1971): p. 70, fig. 29]



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Heraclius restores the Cross to Jerusalem. Sacramentary of Mont Saint-Michel, France (ca. 1060). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 641, fol. 155v.

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Heraclius restores the Cross to Jerusalem. Book of Pericopes from St. Erentrud, Salzburg (Austria), ca. 1140. Munich Bayerische Staatbibliothek, Clm. 15903, fol. 86v.

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▲ Heraclius carrying the Cross. Homiliary of Le Cateau (France), ca. 1150. Le Cateau, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 528, fol. 195.

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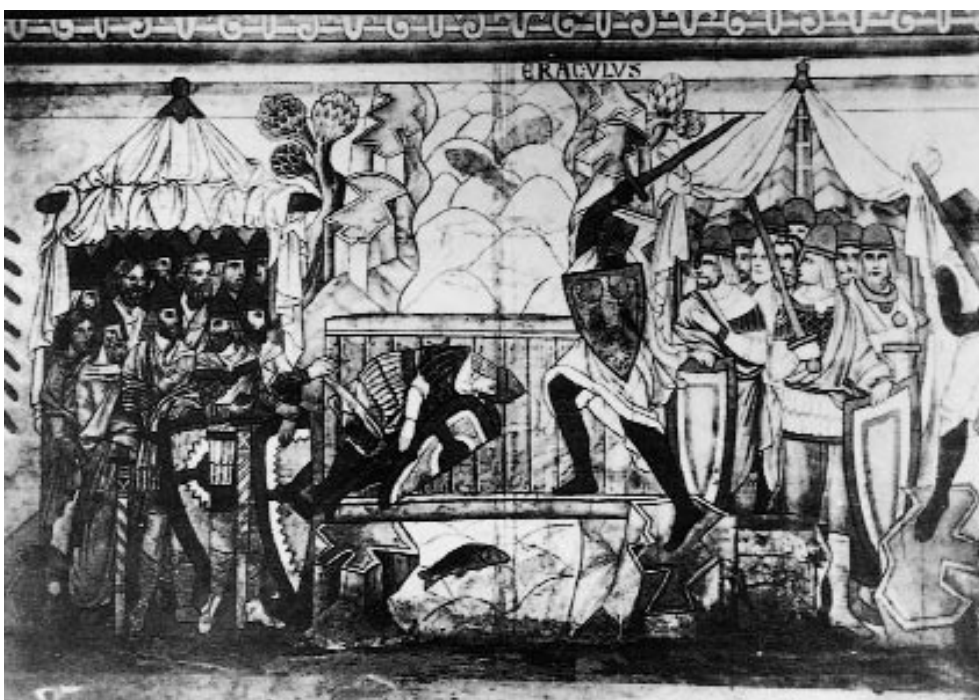
► Heraclius carrying the Cross. Calendar (September), Psalter of Saint Elizabeth, Thuringia (Germany), early 13<sup>th</sup> century. National Archaeological Museum of Cividale del Friuli (Italy).

<http://images.fineartamerica.com/images-medium-large-5/psalter-of-saint-elizabeth-1200s-everett.jpg> [Last Access, May 10, 2015]



▲ Heraclius receiving the submission of Chosroes II. Plaque from a cross, Meuse Valley (1160-1170). Champlévé enamel over gilt copper. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MRR 245.

[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/54/Cherub\\_plaque\\_Louvre\\_MRR245.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/54/Cherub_plaque_Louvre_MRR245.jpg) [Last Access, May 10, 2015]



◀ Heraclius and Chosroes' eldest son in single combat on the bridge over the Danube. Wall painting, Cathedral of St. Blaise, Brunswick (Germany), south aisle, 1240-1250.

[Image: BAERT, Barbara (1999a): p. 170]

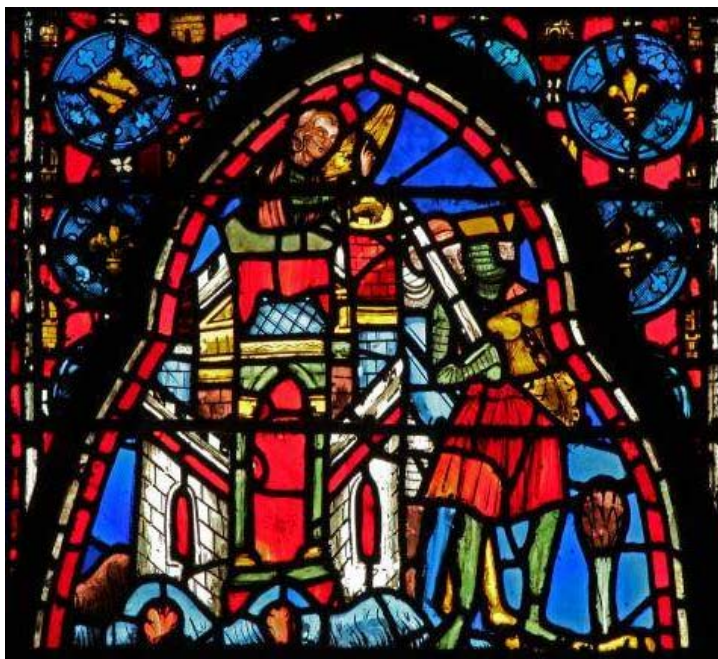


◀ Heraclius fights against Chosroes' son. Sainte-Chapelle, Paris (France), Window A, ca. 1243-1248.

[http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/StChapelle/images/w15-131-IMG\\_9194.JPG](http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/StChapelle/images/w15-131-IMG_9194.JPG) [Last Access, May 10, 2015]

▼ Heraclius carrying the Cross. Gradual of Fontevrault, Paris (France), ca. 1250-1260. Limoges, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2, fol. 191v.

[http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/Wave/savimage/enlumine/irht1/IRHT\\_043535-p.jpg](http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/Wave/savimage/enlumine/irht1/IRHT_043535-p.jpg) [Last Access, May 10, 2015]



▲ Heraclius before the miraculous sealed gate at Jerusalem. Sainte-Chapelle, Paris (France), Window A, ca. 1243-1248.

[http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/StChapelle/images/w15-124-IMG\\_9141.JPG](http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/StChapelle/images/w15-124-IMG_9141.JPG) [Last Access, May 10, 2015]

▼ Heraclius restores the Cross in humility. *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, Alexander of Bremen (†1271), Lower Saxony, last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Mm.5.31, fol. 81v.

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