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Half-title: roundel of Edward I, MS Bodley Rolls 3

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THE IMAGE OF ST LOUIS

Martin Kauffmann
Bodleian Library, Oxford

The earliest surviving full pictorial cycle of the Life of St Louis, probably dating from the early years of the fourteenth century, is found in the Lady Chapel of the Benedictine abbey church of the Trinity at Fécamp in Normandy.[1] The interest of this glass lies not only in the early witness it bears to the cult of St Louis, who was canonized in 1297, but also in the company it keeps. The glass in the chapel also includes a cycle of the Life of Edward the Confessor, the English royal saint canonized in 1161.[2] Edward had spent his youth in exile at Fécamp, and was commemorated in the liturgy of the abbey. Whilst this may be sufficient in itself to explain Edward's presence here, the juxtaposition of Edward and Louis may also reflect the marriage in 1308 of Edward II of England to Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV of France. Whatever the circumstances, it may help us to examine the cult of St Louis in the light of his English counterpart. This essay will focus on some of the tensions and contradictions inherent in the image of these royal saints. The essential contradiction arises from the combination of religious virtue—whether monastic, as in the case of Edward, or mendicant, as in Louis' case—and the exercise of power. The tensions have more to

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1 J. Lafond, 'La plus ancienne Vie de Saint Louis en images', in *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp 658–1958* (Fécamp, 1959), pp. 105–7; *La France de Saint Louis*, edited by J.-P. Babelon, F. Avril and J. Lafond (Paris, 1970), no. 94. The building of the chapel was probably substantially complete by 1307.

2 M. Harrison, 'A Life of St Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI (1963), 22–37.

do with the specific social and political circumstances in which the cults of these particular royal saints grew up. In each case the cult was nurtured by royal successors who, in the midst of political difficulties, sought to enhance their own status by identifying themselves with their saintly predecessors. But the promotion of royal hagiography established standards of behaviour against which the present incumbents could be judged and found wanting. Joinville was well aware of the way in which Louis' canonization might rebound on his successors:

> At this there was joy, and rightly so, throughout the whole kingdom of France. It has brought, moreover, great honour to those of the good king's line who are like him in doing well, and equal dishonour to those descendants of his who will not follow him in good works. Great dishonour, I repeat, to those of his line who choose to do evil; for men will point a finger at them and say that the saintly king, from whom they have sprung, would have shrunk from acting so ill.[3]

The cults of Edward and of Louis were not monolithic: they were battle-grounds in which opposing groups attempted to appropriate the same vocabulary for their own ends.

In England such a process is particularly visible in the reign of Henry III. The rebuilding of Westminster Abbey was merely the most visible sign of the allegiance of the King to St Edward. The abbey on which Henry lavished such enormous sums was at once the *ecclesia beati Edwardi* and the coronation church, the shrine of the saint and the centre of royal ceremony. But in England national sentiment had very largely crystallized in opposition to the crown. In the

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[3] Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, translated by M. R. B. Shaw (London, 1963), p. 351. 'Dont grans joie fu et doit estre à tout le royaume de France, et grans honours à toute sa lignie qui à li vourront retraire de bien faire, et grans deshonours à touz ceus de son lignaige qui par bones oevres ne le vourront ensuivre; grans deshonours, di-je, à son lignaige qui mal voudront faire; car on les mousterra au doi, et dira l'on que li sains roys dont il sont estrait, feist envis une tel mauvestié': Jean, sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis, Credo et Lettre à Louis X*, edited by N. de Wailly, 2nd edn (Paris, 1874), p. 408.

light of the legal reforms and administrative growth of the second half of the twelfth century, changes popularly imagined to have their roots in the introduction of written government at the time of the Norman Conquest, the reign of the Confessor was nostalgically identified as a golden age of justice and freedom. This vision found its formal embodiment in the *Leges Edwardi*, and the idea of a return to the laws and customs of the Confessor made Edward a champion of ancient liberties against the encroachments of royal authority. It was the ambiguity of the cult which gave scope for the fresh articulation of an opposition already deeply embedded in English political life.[4]

Something like the same tension can be identified in France surrounding the cult of St Louis. Philip the Fair actively promoted Louis' canonization as part of the construction of a heroic royal past; to the same end he set up a gallery of kings at the Palais de la Cité as an illustration of French dynastic continuity.[5] Philip reissued his grandfather's *Ordonnances*, cited his customs as precedents, and translated his head to the Sainte-Chapelle.[6] After his death Philip's heart was kept at the abbey of Poissy, which he had founded at Louis' birthplace.[7] But for the participants in the Noble Leagues of 1314–16, Louis was their guardian against excessive monarchical authority; their agenda of political reform sought a return to the ways

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4 J. C. Parsons, 'Legitimacy, Literature, and Law: The Plantagenets, 1216–1307', 25th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, 1990. I am most grateful to Dr. Parsons for allowing me to see a typescript copy of this paper.

5 E. Hallam, 'Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis', in *Religion and National Identity*, edited by S. Mews, *Studies in Church History*, 18 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 201–14; U. Bennert, 'Art et propagande politique sous Philippe IV le Bel: le cycle des rois de France dans la Grand'salle du Palais de la Cité', *Revue de l'Art*, XCVII (1992), 46–59.

6 C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology. Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, translated by S. R. Huston (Berkeley/Los Angeles/ Oxford), pp. 104–5; E. A. R. Brown, 'Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XCV–VI (1980), 175–87.

7 A. Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La Priorale Saint-Louis de Poissy', *Bulletin Monumental*, CXXIX (1971), 85–112.

of St Louis.[8] Louis was the ruler who had lived off his own resources; the devaluations of the coinage under Philip the Fair and his successors were greeted by calls for a return to the 'good money of the king's predecessors'. Secondly, Louis stood for freedom from taxation, or at least from new exceptional revenues. The Norman Charter of 1316 declared that 'Only the old taxes are to be collected, as they used to be in the time of King Louis'.[9] And finally, Louis was the ruler who had dispensed justice impartially, and had surrounded himself with good officials, never leasing offices for money.

Thus the memory of Louis was a double-edged sword. But there were even more deep-rooted contradictions in the Life of any royal saint. The principal Life of the Confessor, composed soon after the canonization by the Cistercian Ailred of Rievaulx, is sensitive to the fundamental difficulty:

> I am lost in admiration as I ponder why he [Edward] should merit a greater gift of spiritual insight at a time when he was more ostentatious in his royal authority, more authoritarian when surrounded by his nobles, more generous (as those who attended deemed) in lavish banquets: but man looks at appearances, God sees into the heart. Certainly he carried a sword, but it was his duty. He enjoyed royal pomp, but that was part of the sacrament of kingship. He walked about accompanied by a numerous guard, but that was out of necessity. He took the first place at banquets, but that was what was expected of him. He was lucky to be able to use all these things without abusing them, to give his body over to earthly concerns while his spirit communed with heaven.[10]

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8 Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 104–17.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

10 *The Life of Saint Edward King and Confessor by Blessed Aelred Abbot of Rievaulx*, translated by J. Bertram (Guildford, 1990), p. 91. 'Non satis admirari possum quænam fuerit causa quod eo tempore quo cultu regio clarior, quo procerum circumfusus comitatu severior, quo lautioribus epulis intuentium æstimatione videbatur effusior, abundantiorem spiritualium revelationum gratiam meruerit; sed nimirum homo in facie, Deus autem videt in corde. Portabat certe gladium, sed pro officio; utebatur regalibus, sed pro sacramento; multo stipatus milite incedebat, sed pro necessitate; sublimis in

The most significant literary manifestation of the cult of Edward in the thirteenth century, the illustrated Anglo-Norman versification of Ailred's *Vita*, which may or may not have anything to do with Matthew Paris, but which was certainly dedicated to Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, translates its source into the language of the religious and political sensibilities of its time.[11] But the fundamental contradiction is simply ignored. It blithely recounts the story of the thief who three times steals money from the royal chest in the King's chamber, thinking the King to be asleep, before being warned by Edward (who has, of course, observed everything) of the imminent approach of the royal chamberlain;[12] there is no pause for thought to consider whether the story, which is ultimately derived from the Lives of the Desert Fathers, provides a helpful model for the running of the royal finances.[13] Equally, Edward's capitulation to his barons' desire that he should marry in order to safeguard the succession to the kingdom is totally undermined by the vow of chastity he takes with his wife on their wedding night; but the contradiction goes unremarked.[14]

In the case of St Louis it was the mendicant orders which had the determinative effect on the official image of the saint.[15] Louis had enjoyed close links with them in his life, although his failure to become formally affiliated was remedied only in 1547, when he was

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convivio residebat, sed pro consuetudine. Felix qui his omnibus sic usus est ut non sit abusus, corpus tradens terrenis et coelestibus spiritum miscens': Ailred of Rievaulx, *Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis*, edited by J.-P. Migne, *PL*, CXCV (Paris, 1855), col. 767.

11 P. Binski, 'Reflections on *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*: Hagiography and Kingship in Thirteenth-Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, XVI (1990), 333–50.

12 *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei, Attributed to Matthew Paris*, edited by K. Y. Wallace, Anglo-Norman Texts, XLI (London, 1983), lines 980–1057.

13 Related episodes feature amongst the tinted drawings of hermit saints added to the Rothschild Canticles: J. F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles. Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven and London, 1990), p. 147 and figs 69, 79.

14 *Estoire de Seint Aedward*, ed. Wallace, lines 1058–1278.

15 D. O'Connell and J. Le Goff, *Les Propos de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1974).

finally enrolled as a member of the Franciscan Third Order.[16] Most of those who conducted the canonization inquiries were Franciscans,[17] and Franciscans composed most of the liturgical material which followed.[18] Almost all the early biographers were friars, including the Dominican Geoffroy de Beaulieu, Louis' confessor,[19] and the Franciscan Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, whose Life, modelled on the canonization documents, was commissioned by Louis' daughter Blanche, herself a Franciscan tertiary.[20] Guillaume's Life is arranged in chapters, each of which discusses a particular virtue. These include piety, love for the poor, charity, humility, patience, penitence, and continence. The Gospel programme is evident throughout. In all the mendicant biographies these themes recur, along with the hatred of blasphemy (which was forbidden by royal ordinances in memory of St Louis into the fifteenth century), the abandonment of courtly dress, the submission of the patient crusader to his tormentors, and the ultimate sacrifice of his own life, often referred to as a species of martyrdom.

The exception to this mendicant image is of course the Life by Joinville, commissioned originally by Jeanne I de Navarre, the wife of Philip the Fair, but presented after her death to her son, the future Louis X. The central part of the work consists of an account of Louis' first Crusade, on which Joinville had accompanied him. This account is sandwiched between shorter sections concerning Louis' qualities and behaviour. Here we meet the values not of the mendicants but of a seneschal of Champagne. Moreover, Joinville is himself aware of the conflict of values, and he describes his own conver-

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16 Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 93, 99–104.

17 L. Carolus-Barré, 'Les Enquêtes pour la Canonisation de Saint Louis', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, LVII (1971), 19–31.

18 R. Folz, 'La Sainteté de Saint Louis d'après les Textes Liturgiques', *ibid.*, pp. 31–45.

19 *Sancti Ludovici... Vita et Conversatio* (Paris, 1617).

20 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, edited by H.-F. Delaborde (Paris, 1899); Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, edited by P. B. Fay (Paris, 1931). The text was written some time between 1302 and 1307.

sations with Louis on the theme of this conflict. He reports a series of questions the King asked him on one occasion.

> 'Now I ask you', he continued, 'which you would prefer: to be a leper or to have committed some mortal sin?' And I, who had never lied to him, replied that I would rather have committed thirty mortal sins than become a leper.[21]

Louis reproves him:

> 'You spoke without thinking, and like a fool', he said. 'You ought to know there is no leprosy so foul as being in a state of mortal sin.'[22]

Death cures the one but not the other. Joinville continues:

> At another time King Louis asked me if I washed the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday. 'Your Majesty,' I exclaimed, 'what a terrible idea! I will never wash the feet of such low fellows.' 'Really,' said he, 'that is a very wrong thing to say; for you should never scorn to do what our Lord Himself did as an example for us.'[23]

When Louis asks whether a *prud'homme* is preferable to a friar, the nature of the conflict is made explicit.[24] The ideal of the *prud'homme* involved a balance between being a man of the world and being a true Christian: it shunned the fanaticism of the *dévot*.

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21 Joinville, transl. Shaw, p. 169. '"Or vous demant-je", fist-il, "lequel vous ameriés miex, ou que vous fussiés mesiaus, ou que vous eussiés fait un pechié mortal?" Et je, qui onques ne li menti, li respondi que je en ameroie miex avoir fait trente que estre mesiaus': Joinville, ed. de Wailly, p. 14.

22 Joinville, transl. Shaw, p. 169. 'Vous deistes comme hastis musarz; car vous devez savoir que nulle si laide mezelerie n'est comme d'estre en pechié mortel': Joinville, ed. de Wailly, p. 14.

23 Joinville, transl. Shaw, p. 169. 'Il me demanda se je lavoie les piez aus povres le jour dou grant jeudi: "Sire, dis-je, en maleur! les piez de ces vilains ne laverai-je jà."—"Vraiement, fist-il, ce fu mal dit; car vous ne devez mie avoir en desdaing ce que Diex fist pour nostre enseignement"': Joinville, ed. de Wailly, p. 16.

24 For a fuller analysis of Joinville's history as chivalric code, see P. Archambault, *Seven French Chroniclers: Witnesses to History* (Syracuse, New York, 1974), pp. 41–57.

The friar should follow in Christ's footsteps and do things which are contrary to the social order, but for the *prud'homme*, the courageous warrior and honourable courtier, it is worse to exclude oneself from society by touching a leper than to commit a mortal sin. Joinville's Louis is not always on the same side of this divide; indeed, one has the sense that Louis was able to play with a variety of images in a way that sometimes baffled his friend. Louis tells Thibault II of Navarre that he should beware of spending too much on building a Dominican house without first satisfying the just claims made of him,[25] and he enjoins his courtiers to wear fine clothes so that their wives will love them and their followers honour them.[26] And despite the mendicant austerity of his own dress after his return from the Holy Land, we are still told that he preferred a good, honest conversation at table to listening to the reading of a friar.[27] But when Louis is advised by his nobles to let neighbouring princes go on fighting each other so that they will pose no threat to France, he responds with the beatitude, 'Benoit soient tuit li apaiseour'—though he goes on to explain how the policy will work to his advantage.[28] Nor is Joinville afraid to criticize his master and friend:

> During all the five years I had been with the king he had never once spoken to me of his wife and children, nor, so far as I know, to anyone else. In my opinion it does not seem right and proper for a man to be so detached from his own family.[29]

Joinville refused to join Louis' second crusade, arguing that the expedition would be to the detriment of the kingdom.

So what happened when Louis' life was shown in pictures? At some time probably in the 1330s, two closely related manuscripts

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25 Joinville, ed. de Wailly, p. 18.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 20–22.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 368.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 376–8.

29 Joinville, transl. Shaw, p. 313. 'J'avoie jà estei cinq ans entour li, que encore ne m'avoit-il parlei de la royne ne de ses enfans, que je oïsse, ne à autrui; et ce n'estoit pas bone maniere, si comme il me semble, d'estre estrange de sa femme et de ses enfans': Joinville, ed. de Wailly, p. 326.

were produced, one of the Life by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, the other of Joinville's. They are now both in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS fr. 5716 and 13568 respectively.[30] Both are too late to be the original copies of their texts.[31] Their patronage is uncertain, but by 1373 both books were in the library of King Charles V in the Louvre.[32] On the dedication page of the Joinville (p. 1: see pl. 9) we see a miniature of the author presenting his book to Louis of Navarre, the future Louis X. In the equivalent scene in the Saint-Pathus manuscript (p. 1) we see, not the author presenting his work to its secular patron, but John of Antioch presenting the records of the canonization enquiry, on which the Life was based, to the Pope. The bishops and clerks behind make gestures which might be interpreted as gestures of support for the canonization.

But the two manuscripts do not go on to have equivalent picture cycles. The Joinville manuscript has only one further miniature, showing an episode from the Crusade, the assault on Damietta, practically the only successful operation of the whole campaign (p. 83). In contrast, the Saint-Pathus manuscript contains a miniature for each chapter. A very high proportion show the King participating in the public liturgy or in private devotions: he kneels barefoot in church whilst a cleric reads at a lectern before the altar (p. 24); he attends the Eucharist (p. 47: see pl. 10; p. 62); he says his prayers even whilst journeying on horseback (p. 48); he kneels in veneration before relics (p. 67); he reads Holy Scripture and hears it read to him

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30 For Guillaume: *Saint Louis à la Sainte Chapelle*, edited by J.-P. Babelon (Paris, 1960), no. 199; *La France de Saint Louis*, no. 214; *Les Fastes du Gothique. Le Siècle de Charles V*, edited by B. Donzet and C. Siret (Paris, 1981), no. 247, with further bibliography. For Joinville: *La France de Saint Louis*, no. 215; *Les Fastes du Gothique*, no. 265, with further bibliography. Size, format, and script are very similar, and the decoration of the two books is attributed to the same arist, identified by Avril as the 'Mahiet' who received payments from Pucelle.

31 There are two manuscripts of Guillaume's text lacking narrative illustration which are probably earlier: BN MSS. fr. 4976 and 5722.

32 L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1907), I, 318–9; *La Librairie de Charles V*, edited by F. Avril and J. Lafaurie (Paris, 1968), nos. 152, 192.

(p. 86); he makes his confession (p. 222). His attitude is one of humility, as witnessed by his serving of the poor (pp. 137, 181, 213). The crusading scenes depicted are far from martial, intended as they are to illustrate the King's compassion (p. 128), his clemency (p. 275), and his patience (p. 199). In the second half of the book the posthumous miracles are fully illustrated. These, of course, are not found in Joinville's text at all.

The Saint-Pathus manuscript stands alone in being the only surviving fully-illustrated text of the Life of St Louis from the fourteenth century. It is to other contexts, both miniature and monumental, that we must look for further pictorial cycles. What is striking is their homogeneity. They were mostly produced in the two generations after Louis' canonization, and almost all for royal consumption in Paris. Pictorially speaking, there is little evidence for a widespread cult, a situation analogous to that of Edward the Confessor. Fécamp, in both cases, is the exception. The version found there concentrates on Louis as a crusader: there are three scenes of Louis' captivity in the Holy Land, one of the capture of Damietta, and another of the King collecting the bones of the crusaders at Sidon. Two panels show Louis on horseback; one of these, in which he approaches a fortified gate at the head of a troop of knights, may represent his return to France. Three more show Louis in a boat, and in another he attends Mass. More clearly identifiable as specific episodes are the scenes in which the King presents the Crown of Thorns to the bishop of Paris, feeds the leprous monk of Royaumont, and dies. Several panels show the subsequent treatment of the body and funeral procession. The Louis cycle at Fécamp may pre-date the creation of the repertoire which was to dominate the iconography of the saint into the reign of Charles V; or it may simply stand outside the tightly-knit circles of royal influence in which the authoritative recension was created. The cycle which was subsequently to gain currency presented Louis outside his historical context, in mendicant mode.

Artistically speaking, the most eloquent expression of this recension is found in the illustrations to the Office of St Louis in the Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux, wife of Charles IV (New York,

Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2).[33] Thanks to Jeanne's will, this tiny book can be securely attributed to Pucelle and dated to between 1325 and 1328.[34] Each of the eight canonical hours is preceded by a miniature. The first opening (fols. 102v–103r) shows the frontispiece to the whole cycle on the left and the miniature for Matins on the right. The frontispiece, showing Jeanne at the tomb of St Louis, makes reference to the Resurrection of Christ by the life-like effigy, the soldiers guarding the shrine, and the sarcophagus-type of tomb.[35] But this daring composition was a Pucellian addition to the canon, which begins with the scene opposite of Louis receiving chastisement at his bedside from his Dominican confessor Geoffroy de Beaulieu. At Lauds (fol. 123v: see pl. 11) Louis is shown feeding a leprous monk at his foundation of Royaumont. Saint-Pathus records that the monk lived apart from the rest of the community, but that Louis went to him and served him at table on his knees. On leaving, he asked the monk to pray for him. Thereafter, he paid the monk regular visits, but forbade any of his

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33 *The Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux, Queen of France*, edited by J. J. Rorimer (New York, 1957); *Les Fastes du Gothique*, no. 239, with bibliography.

34 In her will Jeanne, who died in 1371, bequeathed to her nephew King Charles V 'un bien petit livret d'oroisons que le roy Charles, dont Diex ait l'âme, avoit faict faire por Madame, que pucelle enlumina': see E. H. Flinn, 'A Magnificent Manuscript—a Historical Mystery', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXIX (1971), 257–60, at p. 259. Jeanne married Charles IV in 1325; he died in 1328. The manuscript measures 94 x 64 mm. It exhibits a high degree of stylistic consistency, not only in the miniatures but also in the marginal grotesques and line-endings which decorate the text pages. Flinn points out some of the uncertainties that still surround the identification of the Cloisters manuscript with the books mentioned in Jeanne's will and in the inventory of Jean, duc de Berry. Although the lack of a coat of arms means that the identification cannot be proved, it does seem likely that the surviving manuscript is the one referred to: it contains two representations of its royal owner. The absence from the calendar of St Thomas Aquinas (canonized 1323) and St Louis of Toulouse (canonized 1317) is probably a sign of the failure to update a model rather than of an earlier date.

35 J. Hoffeld, 'An Image of St. Louis and the Structuring of Devotion', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXIX (1971), 261–6.

barons to accompany him.[36] At Prime (fol. 142v) Louis is shown ministering to the sick. Again the source is Saint-Pathus.[37] He kneels next to one of two sick men in bed and feeds him. At Terce (fol. 148v: see pl. 12) we see Louis washing the feet of the poor. He washes the feet of one pauper whilst others behind receive alms from a royal attendant.

The scene shifts to the Holy Land for the office of Sext (fol. 154v: see pl. 13), which shows the miraculous return of Louis' Breviary, which had been taken away by the Saracens when Louis was taken prisoner: it is returned to him in captivity by the Holy Spirit. This story, which does not appear in Saint-Pathus, first appears in the account by Guillaume de Chartres, who was imprisoned with Louis and is the witness shown in the picture. Crist has traced the different stages in the evolution of this miracle, from Guillaume, who says merely that the Saracens brought Louis' Breviary to him in prison, to the *Grandes Chroniques*, where the Breviary is lost and then returned, which was something to be wondered at, to the sermon of Boniface VIII on the canonization, where the recovery has been transformed from 'mirandum' to 'miraculum'.[38] At None (fol. 159v: see pl. 14) we see a further episode from the crusade. Louis is burying the bones of the Christians massacred by the Saracens at Sidon. He places a skull in a sack full of them held by a masked gravedigger, who looks away, whilst Louis' companions hold their noses to avoid the stench.

Louis' death is shown for the illustration to Vespers (fol. 165v). The iconography here is fairly standardized, with the saint on his death-bed surrounded by mourning women whilst angels remove the child soul to heaven. Finally, the miniature at Compline (fol. 173v) illustrates the procession to Saint-Denis on 25 August 1298, the anniversary of Louis' death, to elevate the body of the new saint. Philip IV is seen helping to carry the reliquary.

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36 Saint-Pathus, ed. Delaborde, pp. 94–6.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 99.

38 L. A. Crist, 'The Breviary of Saint Louis: The Development of a Legendary Miracle', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII (1965), 319–23.

The selection and composition of the scenes making up this cycle were not inspired solely by the text of the Office, which refers to events in a devotional context but does not tell the stories as such.[39] Nor do the miniatures necessarily occur at the Hour suggested by the text of the Office: the reference to the miraculous return of the Breviary occurs at Vespers, whilst the illustration is found at Sext; Louis' death is shown at Vespers, although it is at Compline that the prayers are concerned with the perfect death of the saint and the supplicant's hopes of eternal life. Most of the stories illustrated are too widespread amongst the mendicant biographies for one account to be singled out as the source of them all. But their drift is clear enough. Many of the scenes associate Louis with Christ's ministry, with images of humility in feeding lepers, ministering to the sick, and washing the feet of the poor; the only available miracle of his life, apart from touching for the King's Evil, which would not qualify because it depended on the royal virtue and not the sanctity of the individual; two episodes from the crusade which suggest only suffering and martyrdom; and a scene of chastisement. This Christological pattern, so characteristic of the whole tradition of pictorial hagiography, is nevertheless not wholly in line with the confessional emphasis of the picture cycle in the illustrated Saint-Pathus manuscript.

The Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux represent iconographically the most complete and artistically the most distinguished version of the established mendicant recension of the Life of St Louis. This is not to say that the recension was created by Pucelle. It seems more likely that he recast an already-established canon into his own artistic idiom. It is almost certainly impossible now to trace this canon back to its earliest creation. One candidate is the lost series of wall paintings commissioned by Blanche (who died in 1320), Louis' daughter and the patron of the Life by Saint-Pathus, at the Franciscan convent of Lourcines, a house founded in 1289 just to the south of Paris by

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[39] L. Delisle, 'Les Heures de Blanche de France, Duchesse d'Orléans', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LXVI (1905), 489–539. The text of the Hours of St Louis, found on fols. 245r–258r of the manuscript, is printed on pp. 521–9. The same text is found in all the Books of Hours to be discussed here.

Louis' widow Marguerite.[40] Lourcines thus represents the joining of royal and mendicant forces in the diffusion of the cult. The paintings do not survive, but they were described in the seventeenth century by Peiresc.[41] Several of the scenes he described coincide with the subjects of the Évreux miniatures: the ministry to the sick; the feeding of the leprous monk at Royaumont; washing the feet of the poor; receiving chastisement from the confessor; and the miraculous return of the Breviary. What this shows is that the 'Évreux recension' was not limited to miniature cycles, and that the creation of a standardized series of scenes to represent the Life of Louis in all likelihood pre-dates the Évreux Hours itself. What it does not necessarily show is that Pucelle (as Mâle believed) derived his compositions from the Lourcines cycle. There were clearly iconographical differences between the corresponding scenes. For instance, in the scene of Louis and his confessor, Lourcines showed the King striking his own chest in penitence; and in the scene of the miraculous return of the Breviary, the book was shown in the hands of Louis' companion, not being brought by a dove. Taken together with the inherent difficulty of making comparisons based mainly on verbal descriptions, these differences should at least induce caution into any discussion of the dependence of the one cycle on the other.

Furthermore, Peiresc also saw nine other scenes at Lourcines: Louis journeying by boat to the Holy Land; the ransoming of the King; the conversion of the Saracens; Louis' return from Crusade; Louis direcing the building of churches; feeding the nun at Vernon; feeding the poor at table; and distributing alms. The convent cycle was thus larger and more diffuse than the concentrated selection which made its way into the Évreux Hours. Although Lourcines' combination of royal and mendicant patronage does represent the type of milieu from which the mendicant recension is most likely to have emerged, it does not seem central enough, either culturally or

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[40] E. Mâle, 'La Vie de Saint Louis dans l'art français au commencement du XIVe siècle', in *Mélanges Bertaux. Recueil de travaux dédié à la mémoire d'Émile Bertaux* (Paris, 1924), pp. 193–204.

[41] A. Longnon, *Documents Parisiens sur l'iconographie de S. Louis, d'après un manuscrit de Peiresc conservé à la Bibliothèque de Carpentras* (Paris, 1882), pp. 13–20.

geographically, to have acted as the prime source for all subsequent versions. Possibly we should imagine a more readily accessible set of models in circulation, available at the heart of the court. Instead, therefore, of a master cycle from which all the others, including that of Pucelle, were derived, the process seems to have involved a narrowing of focus, according to which it was the most directly Christological scenes that gained the greatest currency.

However the process worked, we can observe several more manifestations of this recension, in a variety of media. It was Peiresc again who made watercolour sketches of the four scenes painted on an altar retable in the lower chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle: the miraculous return of the Breviary; washing the feet of the poor; the chastisement; and the feeding of the leprous monk.[42] Whilst the general iconographic resemblance of these scenes to their Évreux counterparts is strong, there are some differences of detail, such as the angel who delivers the Breviary, a feature independent both of Évreux and of Lourcines. The eight scenes in stained-glass in the sacristy at Saint-Denis were recorded by Montfaucon.[43] Three of these do not form part of the Évreux cycle: Louis praying for the safety of his ship; instructing his children; and pilgrims seeking healing at his tomb. The other five are familiar, but here the iconographical resemblances are less striking: the miraculous return of the Breviary (delivered by an angel, as at the Sainte-Chapelle); the chastisement; collecting the bones of the crusaders (pl. 17); the feeding of the leprous monk, which looks as if it has been amalgamated with the ministry to the sick (pl. 17); and Louis' death. This cycle shows the freedom with which the ideas and images making up the canon could be interpreted.

In addition, there are two more Books of Hours made for female members of the royal family, one of which departs radically from the mendicant recension. This is the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre in the

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42 *La France de Saint Louis*, no. 42.

43 B. de Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, qui Comprennent l'Histoire de France*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1729–33), II, pls. XXII–XXV.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 3145.[44] The manuscript, attributed to a group of artists headed by Pucelle's follower Jean le Noir, was made for Jeanne II de Navarre, the daughter of Louis X and the wife of Philip VI. Philip was the brother of Jeanne d'Évreux, and he succeeded his brother-in-law Charles IV onto the throne in 1328. The heraldry indicates that the book was made after this date, and therefore after the Hours of Jeanne's sister-in-law Jeanne d'Évreux. Jeanne de Navarre died in 1349.

The cycle begins with two images based on the account of Louis' upbringing in Saint-Pathus: his mother Blanche watching over his education (fol. 85v), and Louis attending Mass as a boy (fol. 91v).[45] The scourge held by the tutor in the education scene seems to correspond to Saint-Pathus's remark that Louis' master never had cause to discipline his pupil. But from this point on the cycle sets out on a completely different tack, with three scenes of the coronation: at Prime (fol. 97r) Louis is shown arriving at Reims in a horse-drawn litter with his mother; at Terce (fol. 99r) he is anointed; at Sext (fol. 100v: see pl. 15) the bishops and nobles touch the crown of the new King as the sign of their allegiance, whilst the service continues below. The coronation is not mentioned at all by Saint-Pathus, is barely mentioned by Joinville, and is described only briefly in the *Grandes Chroniques*, without any mention of this latter scene. After a miniature at None showing the procession in which Louis carries the relic of the Crown of Thorns to the Sainte Chapelle (fol. 102r), the cycle ends with two scenes relating to the crusade: Louis taking the crusader's cross whilst he lies ill in bed (Vespers, fol. 104r), and the papal legate preaching in support of the expedition (Compline,

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[44] *Thirty-Two Miniatures from the Book of Hours of Joan III, Queen of Navarre*, edited by H. Yates Thompson (London, 1899); M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (London, 1902), pp. 151–83 (description by S. C. Cockerell); M. Thomas, 'L'Iconographie de Saint Louis dans les Heures de Jeanne de Navarre', *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis: Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21–27 Mai 1970)* (Paris, 1976), pp. 209–31; *Les Fastes du Gothique*, no. 265, with further bibliography.

[45] Saint-Pathus, ed. Delaborde, p. 18.

fol. 106v). This is a cycle from which the virtues have largely disappeared: there is no charity here, no mortifications, no miracles, no reference to misfortune. There is piety, but not humility. If this were the only cycle produced for royalty to have survived, its focus would probably have been attributed to its royal rather than mendicant circumstances. But we have seen that the mendicant recension was intimately linked to the royal family. Philip took the cross in 1333, but this in itself would not seem a satisfactory explanation for the cycle as a whole. But it may be that the presentation of the coronation ritual and ceremony, with its emphasis on the loyalty of the leading subjects, does reflect the insecurity of the new occupants of the throne. The repeated failure of the Capetians to provide male heirs to the throne resulted in a series of crises of succession. Philippe de Valois made much of his connection with St Louis. The reassertion of English claims led to the resumption of the Hundred Years' War. St Louis was an inheritance to be fought over. Edward III, who proclaimed his own descent from Louis, posted a letter in the churches of northern France in 1340 proclaiming that he wished to return France to the 'good laws and customs which existed in the time of our ancestor and progenitor Saint Louis, King of France'.[46] The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre assert by implication the rights of Philippe de Valois as the crowned and anointed crusading successor of the royal saint.

In the third Book of Hours, made for Jeanne de Navarre's own daughter, the mendicant recension makes a comeback. The Hours of Marie de Navarre, having made its way through successive private Venetian collections, was acquired in 1974 by the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (Cod. Lat. I. 104).[47] It contains the arms of Marie, the second daughter of Philippe de Valois and Jeanne II de Navarre,

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46 A. D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image. Illustrations of the 'Grandes Chroniques de France' 1274–1422*, California Studies in the History of Art, 28 (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ Oxford, 1991), p. 63.

47 A. Saulnier-Pinsard, 'Une nouvelle oeuvre du Maître de San Marcos: le Livre d'Heures de Marie de Navarre', in *La Miniatura Italiana tra Gotico e Rinascimento. I: Atti del II Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana, Cortona 24–26 Settembre 1982*, Storia della Miniatura, Studi e Documenti, 6 (Florence, 1985), pp. 35–50.

after she had married Pedro IV of Aragon in 1338.[48] She died in 1347. In a document of 1342, Pedro enjoined Marie to send him the beautiful Book of Hours painted by Ferrer Bassa, an artist known from other sources as an Italianizing influence in Catalonia.[49] It seems that whereas in England foreign princesses were presented with illustrated Lives of Edward the Confessor when they arrived, in France the home princesses equipped themselves with Books of Hours containing pictures of St Louis when they left.[50]

The illustrations in the Hours of Marie de Navarre are in the form of historiated initials rather than miniatures. Four of the subjects also appear in the Évreux Hours: the miraculous return of the Breviary (frontispiece, fol. 178v), the feeding of the leprous monk (Lauds, fol. 186r), Louis ministering to the sick (Sext, fol. 191v), and his death (None, fol. 194r). The cycle ends at Compline with the scene of Marie kneeling in prayer before Louis (fol. 198v). The other scenes are not found in the examples of the mendicant recension we have seen: Christ appears to Louis as the King kneels before the altar at

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[48] Marie is thus a classic example of the female ambassador of culture as defined by S. G. Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, edited by J. M. Bennett et al. (Chicago, 1989), pp. 135–61.

[49] M. Trens, *Ferrer Bassa i les Pintures de Pedralbes* (Barcelona, 1936), p. 167; M. Meiss, 'Italian Style in Catalonia', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore*, IV (1941), 45–87; F. Avril, 'A propos des Heures de Marie de Navarre: quelques remarques sur le style et l'identité du Maître du Retable de Saint Marc' (unpublished typescript, 1983). I am most grateful to M. Avril for allowing me to read this.

[50] I do not discuss here the case of the Hours of Queen Joanna I of Naples, the granddaughter of Robert of Anjou (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1921), probably executed between 1346 and 1362 by Italian artists using French models, which has a miniature of St Louis feeding the leprous monk at Royaumont to accompany his suffrage (fol. 219r). The scene on fol. 218r of a king venerating relics, perhaps of the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns, may also represent Louis. See H. J. Hermann, *Die Italienischen Handschriften des Ducento und Trecento – 3. Neapolitanische und Toskanische Handschriften der Zweiten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, VIII/5 (Leipzig, 1930), no. 118.

Matins (fol. 179r); Louis feeding the poor at Prime (fol. 188v); carrying a sick man on a stretcher at Terce (fol. 190r); and pilgrims coming to the tomb at Vespers (fol. 196v). Despite the closeness to the Évreux Hours in spirit, this cycle shows considerable independence, and the common subjects do not, with the exception of the feeding of the leprous monk at Lauds, appear at the same Hours. Nor is their iconography very similar: in the scene of the return of the Breviary, for instance, we see the cell through its bars; Louis is seated frontally, his hands together in prayer, and looks to his right at the angel who holds the Breviary open for him to read; on the other side his companion witnesses the event, his hand held up in astonishment.

The *éminence grise* of the discussion so far has been the *Grandes Chroniques*. This is the French translation of the Latin histories written and updated by the monks of Saint-Denis, the official historiographers to the French kings, whose history it traced from their Trojan origins at first up to the death of Philip Augustus in 1223; with subsequent additions and rewritings it continued to chronicle the glory and achievements of the French crown. Its readership centred on the Parisian court. Most of the manuscripts, which number well over a hundred, were illustrated. Hedeman has recently demonstrated the responsiveness of both text and picture cycles to changing political circumstances.[51]

The account of Louis' reign in the *Grandes Chroniques* inevitably differs from most of the material we have been examining. It is a chronicle of the reign, not a biography of the person. It is indeed the only context in which Louis would have appeared whether he had been canonized or not. Out of one hundred and sixteen chapters covering the reign, only eleven deal with Louis' general qualities and behaviour rather than with a narrative of events, and that includes those chapters dealing with his administrative reforms.[52] The density of illustration of Louis' reign varies from manuscript to

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[51] Hedeman, *Royal Image*, *passim*.

[52] The text for Louis' reign is printed in *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, VII, edited by J. Viard (Paris, 1932), 32–282. The eleven chapters are 72–82, pp. 183–204.

manuscript, but they have this in common, that the vast majority of the miniatures—which are placed at the head of the appropriate chapter—deal with the narrative of events without acknowledgement of Louis' special status.

This was true of the copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* made for Charles V, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 2813, in its original plan, executed before 1375.[53] Indeed, there is as much emphasis on Charlemagne as on Louis, since Charles was anxious to stress the descent of the Capetians from the Carolingians and to assert the power of the French king vis-à-vis the emperor.[54] But in a later campaign of work on the book, after 1379, a frontispiece was inserted into the Life of Louis (fol. 265r: see pl. 16), which marks the last appearance, with some modifications, of the mendicant recension. The full-page miniature is divided into six scenes. The first scene is the only one we have not met before: Louis' birth. Lest the royal lineage be missed, Blanche wears her crown in bed and the coverlet is decorated with fleurs-de-lys. Next to the birth is the scene of Louis' education. Every example of this scene in the other cycles includes the figure of Blanche directing her son's education; indeed, this is how the education is described in the text of the *Grandes Chroniques* itself.[55] But here Louis is alone with his tutor. The young King wears his royal robes and is seated under a baldachin on a higher level than his teacher: his royal dignity is clearly maintained. The other four scenes all belong to the canon we know, but their compositions are independent: in the middle on the left, Louis feeds the leprous monk; on the right, wearing an apron, he washes the feet of the poor; in the bottom register on the left, he gathers up the bones of his crusaders; and on the right, he is chastised, receiving the blows on his bare back as he stares in supplication at the crucifix above the bed.

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53 *Les Fastes du Gothique*, no. 284, with bibliography; Hedeman, *Royal Image*, pp. 93–133.

54 The 116 chapters concerning St Louis are illustrated by only fourteen miniatures, including five depicting events recounted in this section but not involving the King.

55 *Grandes Chroniques*, ed. Viard, p. 34.

This is the last appearance of this recension. Just as Edward the Confessor was replaced in English affections by the more martial and chivalric figure of St George, so the Christological image of Louis was in decline.[56] In the frontispiece to the *Grandes Chroniques* we can see the infiltration of an other-worldly image of kingship into the national history book. There was little that was other-worldly about the images of Charles himself that he had added during the same campaign of work: these included no less than seventeen miniatures of the pomp and circumstance surrounding the visit of the Emperor to Paris in 1378. Louis' humility could serve the aura of the monarchy in quite a different way. For its presentation the *Grandes Chroniques* went back to a tried and trusted cycle of scenes; but the way in which Louis, whilst performing his humble deeds, does not neglect to wear his ermine-trimmed robe with its fleur-de-lys decoration, demonstrates the extraordinary sensitivity to issues such as dress which were caught up in the continuing discussion of courtly propriety. This balance is echoed in the description in the text of Louis' charitable foundations, where it is reported that some of the people in the King's household murmured about the expense of such activity. Louis replied that he would rather that great expense should go in alms for the love of God, than on the vainglories of this world. But immediately the reader is assured that Louis' court was treated with as much *largesse* as in the time of his predecessors.[57]

The scenes of Louis as saint, which mostly appear in the unambiguously religious context of church and prayer-book, were never successfully integrated with a historical account of his reign: the separation is emphasized by their physical distinctness in the secular context of this copy of the *Grandes Chroniques*. What had been held together, albeit awkwardly, in the case of the Confessor, was separated in the case of Louis. Government, in the traditional world of

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[56] Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. fr. 2829, a luxuriously illustrated Life of St Louis commissioned in *c.* 1480 by Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, and given in 1488 to Charles VIII, shows Louis in very different garb: M.-T. Gousset, F. Avril, J. Richard, *Saint Louis, Roi de France: Livre des Faits de Monseigneur Saint Louis* (Paris, 1990).

[57] *Grandes Chroniques*, ed. Viard, p. 200.

hagiography, was not so much a question of political theory as of personal morality. Despite the deep mendicant involvement in the production of mirrors for princes which assimilated elements of the new Aristotelian political theory, the image they constructed of St Louis was a hard act to follow.[58]

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58 This paper was completed before I had seen and had the chance to profit from the article by J. le Goff, 'La Sainteté de Saint Louis: sa place dans la typologie et l'evolution chronologique des rois saints', in *Les Fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental III^e–XIII^e siècle. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome 'La Sapienza', Rome, 27–29 Octobre 1988*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 149 (Rome, 1991), pp. 285–93.

9. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 13568 (Life of St Louis by Joinville), p. 1.
   Joinville presents his book to Louis of Navarre, the future Louis X.
10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 5716 (Life of St Louis by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus), p. 47.
    St Louis attends the Eucharist.
11. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2 (Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux), fols 123v–124r.
    St Louis feeds the leprous monk.
12. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2 (Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux), fols 148v–149r.
    St Louis washes the feet of the poor.
13. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2 (Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux), fols 154v–155r.
    Miraculous return of the Breviary.
14. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2 (Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux), fols 159v–160r.
    St Louis collects the bones of Crusaders.
15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 3145 (Hours of Jeanne de Navarre), fol. 100v.
    Coronation of St Louis.
16. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 2813 *(Grandes chroniques)*, fol. 265r.
    Scenes from the Life of St Louis.
17. B. de Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, qui Comprennent l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1729–33), II, pl. XXIV.
    St Louis collects the bones of the Crusaders; St Louis feeds the leprous monk.

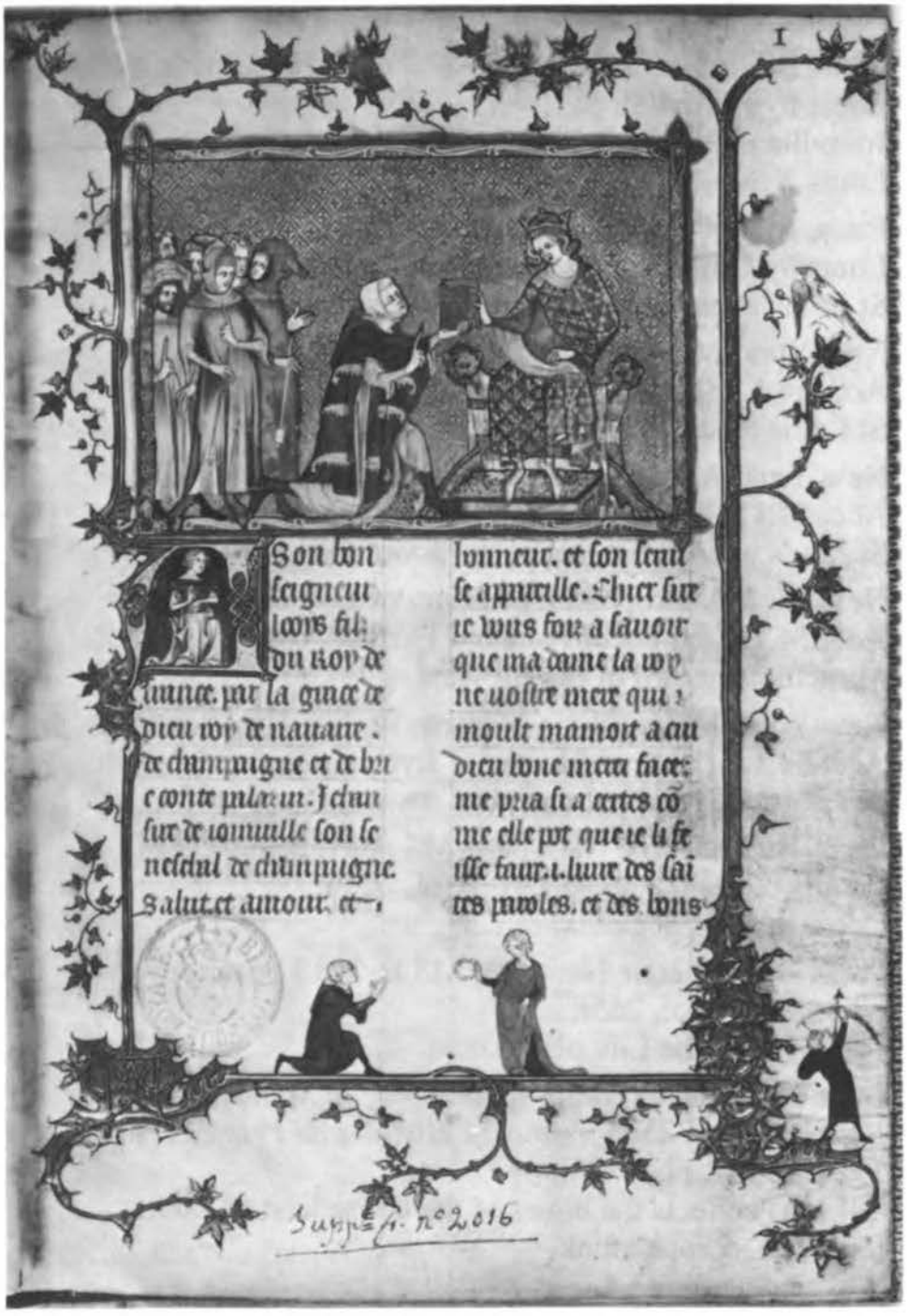

Plate 9

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 13568, p. 1.
Joinville presents his book to Louis of Navarre, the future Louis X

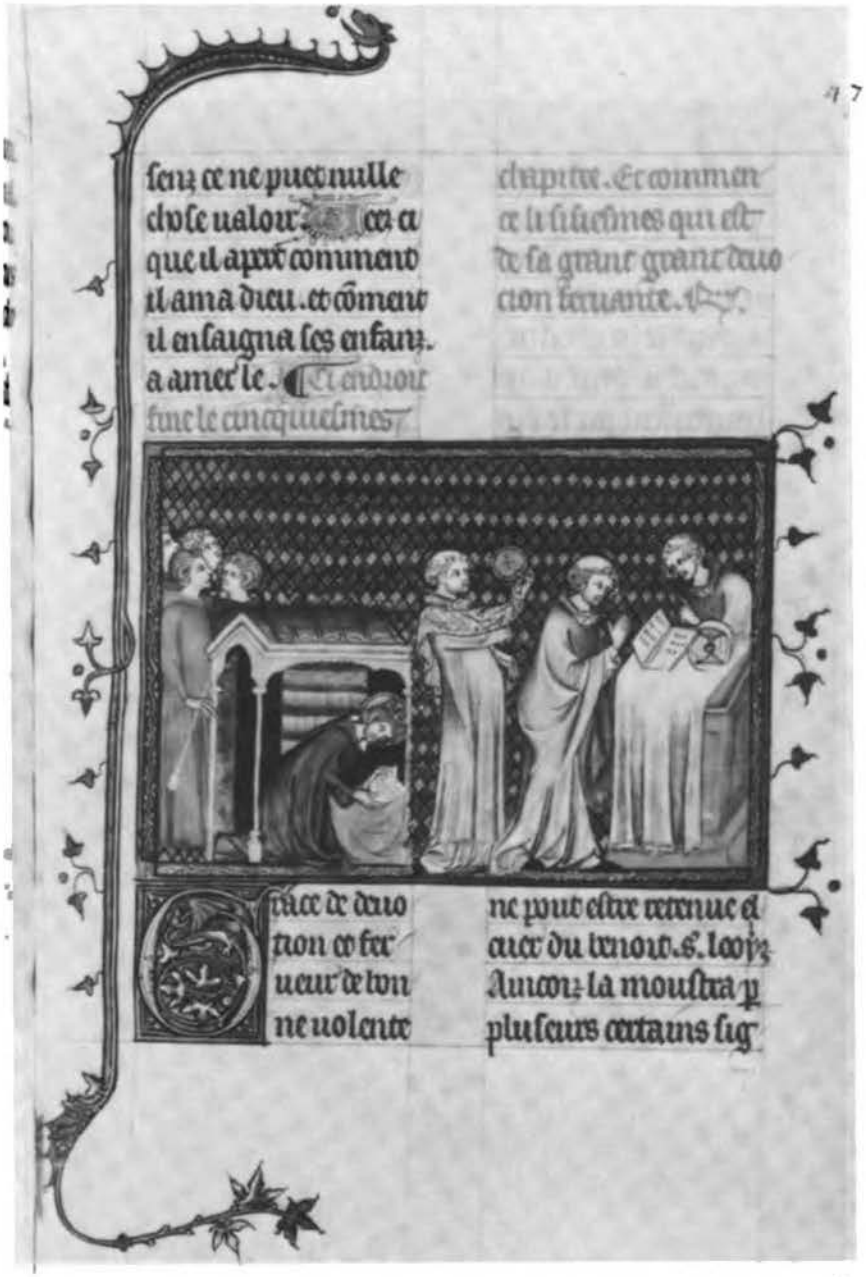

Plate 10

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 5716, p. 47.
St Louis attends the Eucharist.

Plate 11

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2, fols 123v–124r. St Louis feeds the leprous monk.

Plate 12

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2, fols 148v–149r. St Louis washes the feet of the poor.

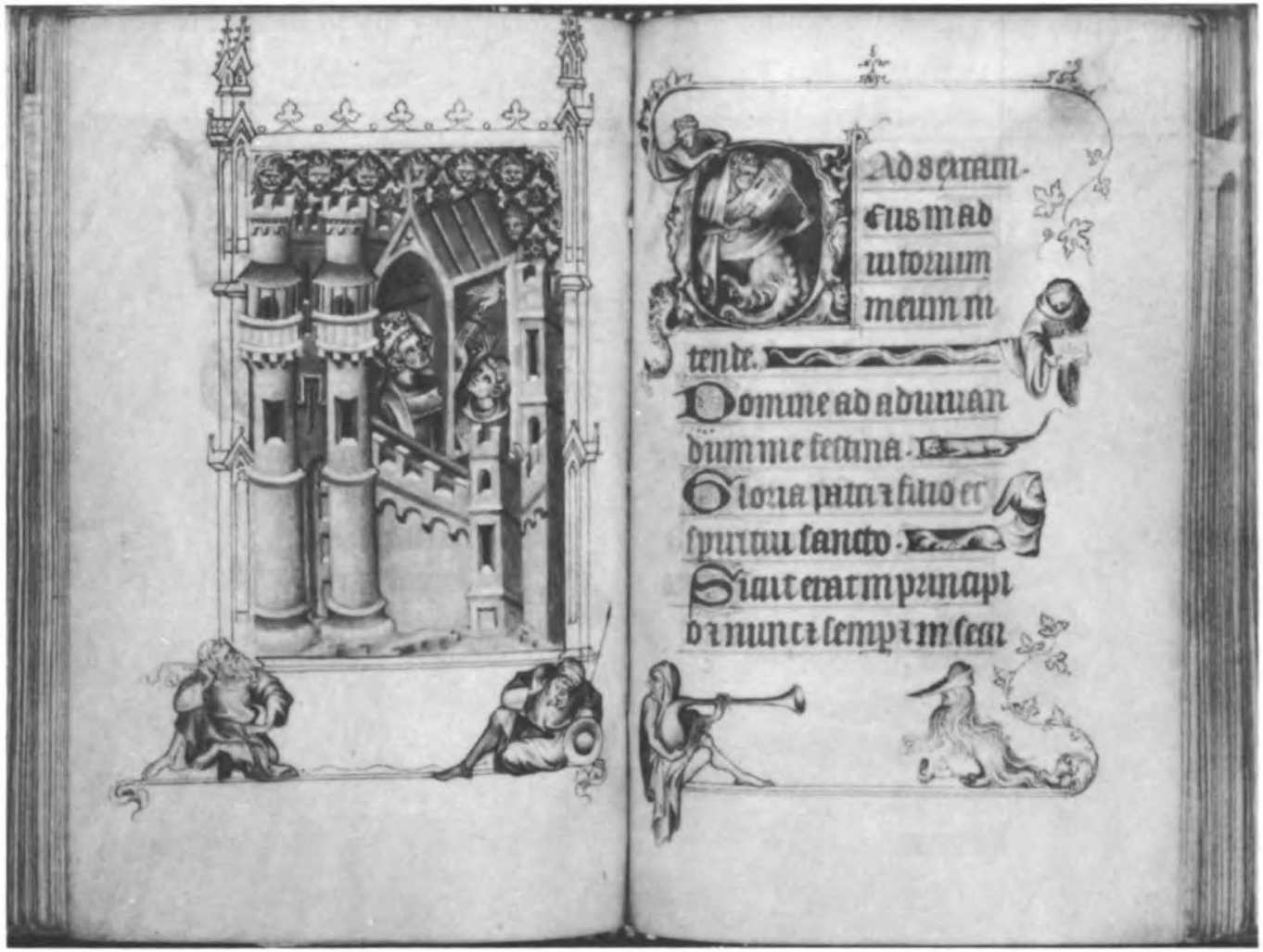

Plate 13

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2,, fols 154v–155r. Miraculous return of the Breviary.

Plate 14

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2, fols 159v–160r. St Louis collects the bones of Crusaders.

Plate 15

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 3145 fol 100v.
Coronation of St Louis.

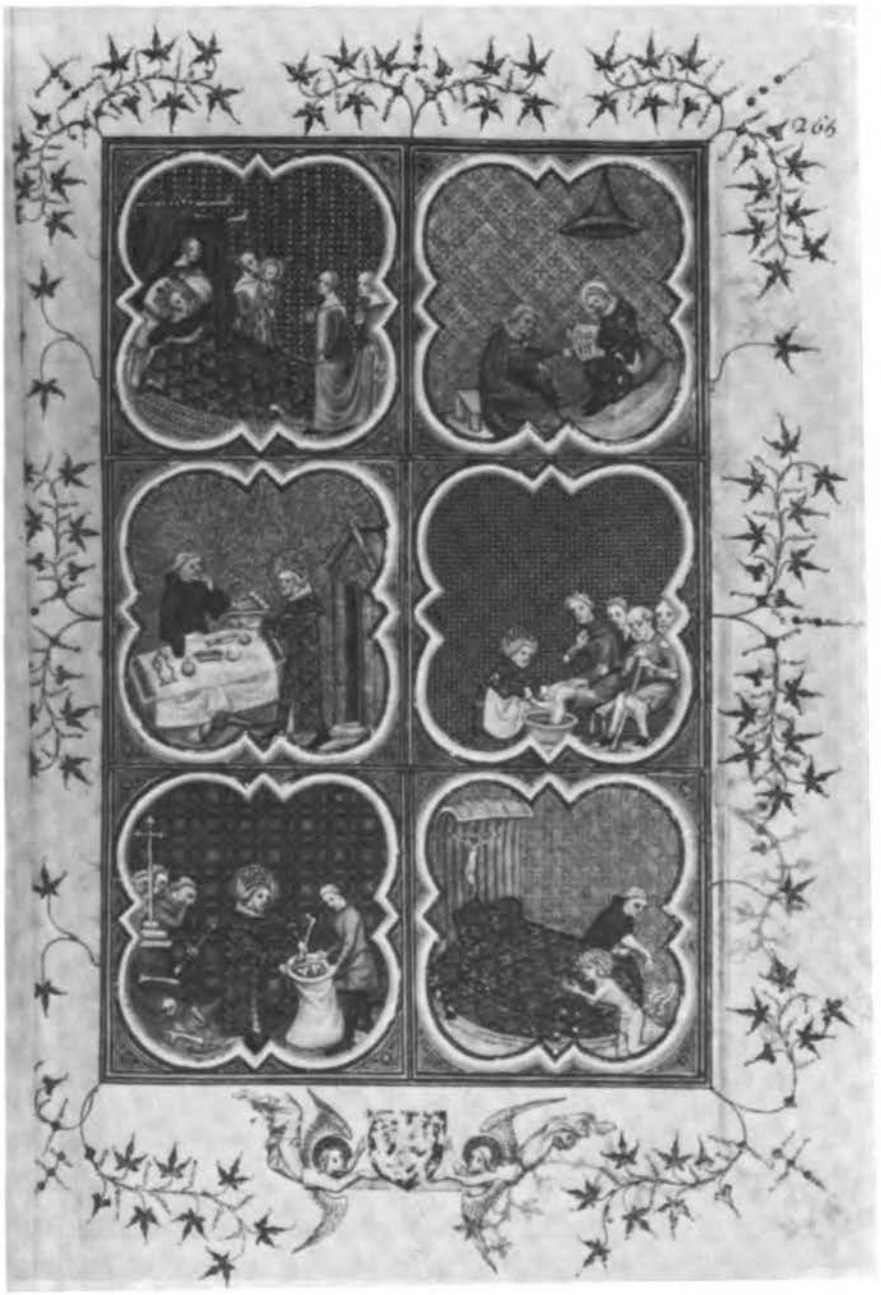

Plate 16

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 2813, fol 265r.
Scenes from the Life of St Louis.