

GENDER AND DYNASTIC SANCTITY IN LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE: *LE
LIVRE DES FAIZ MONSEIGNEUR SAINT LOYS* (PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
DE FRANCE, MS FR. 2829)

BY

SARAH ELIZABETH HOOVER

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History
with a concentration in Medieval Studies
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2012

Urbana, Illinois

Adviser:

Professor Emerita Anne D. Hedeman

Abstract

Saint Louis, or King Louis IX of France, served as a legitimizing figure for French royal dynasties during the centuries after his death in 1270. The idea of a holy lineage or *beata stirps*, in which sanctity was transmitted through blood instead of being solely an attribute of the kingly office, was well established in Europe by the end of the thirteenth century. Louis's descendents, both the monarchs themselves and others in the royal line, thus utilized his figure to validate their own claims to hereditary sanctity. In the late fifteenth century, within this dynastic context, an elaborately illuminated manuscript devoted to Saint Louis, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys* (BnF MS fr. 2829), was produced for the Bourbon family.

The text of *Le livre des faiz* merges the historical and hagiographical traditions about Saint Louis. The manuscript includes both a life of Louis and a collection of miracle accounts, but the passages in the life, although drawn from both traditions, are arranged roughly chronologically. This new textual context and the lavish size and quantity of the illuminations in the manuscript provide an opportunity for the creation of new iconography. Among the many innovative features of the visual program is an emphasis on Louis's family, including the women of his lineage in both directions—his mother, his sister, and his daughters. The images of these female family members highlight their own pious behavior and place them in a context of sanctity and dynasty, thus visually supporting the idea of the *beata stirps* for a late-fifteenth-century audience.

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Abbreviations

Beinecke	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
B.R.	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier
Castres, B.M.	Castres, Bibliothèque Municipale
Grenoble	Grenoble, Bibliothèque Hoche
Met	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Turin	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale
Venice Marciana	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

Chapter 1: Dynastic Sanctity in the Fifteenth-Century Cult of Saint Louis

Saint Louis, or King Louis IX of France, was the preeminent legitimizing dynastic figure for French monarchs in the centuries after his death. He lived from 1214 to 1270, beginning his reign in 1226 under the regency of his mother, Blanche de Castille. His reign coincided with the growing strength of the Capetian dynasty, and his quick elevation to sainthood made him an appealing figure from whom to trace ancestry and therefore legitimacy during subsequent dynastic shifts, such as the start of the Valois dynasty in 1328. Louis was known for his piety; he amassed a significant relic collection at the royal chapel that he had built, the Sainte-Chapelle, and led two crusades, the Seventh Crusade from 1248 to 1254 and the Eighth Crusade in 1270, during which he died.

Popular belief in Louis's piety and sanctity was already strong during his lifetime, and the movement for his canonization began soon after his death in 1270. The first inquest to compile evidence and testimony supporting his candidacy began in 1282 and lasted for several months.¹ The actual canonization in 1297 during the reign of his grandson, Philippe le Bel, and the pontificate of Boniface VIII, was nonetheless a politically charged event during struggles between the growing French monarchy and the weakened papacy. Louis was the first solely French royal saint, and also the last king canonized in the medieval period.²

Following his canonization, Louis was used as an ideological figure by many competing groups and interests, each constructing a different image of the saintly king that emphasized particular aspects of his character. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin explores a number of different contexts for the interpretation of Saint Louis in the early stages of his cult, including the royal

¹ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 36–7.

² *Ibid.*, 2–3.

court, monasteries, Franciscan mendicants, the nobility, and dynastic devotion.³ Colette Beaune's influential study of the formation of national ideology in late medieval France also discusses the competing constructions but focuses on two particular ones during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: that of the mendicants and that of the nobility.⁴ These, she argues, blocked and complicated the use of Louis as a political patron saint and not just a spiritual figure for the monarchy until the sixteenth century.⁵

Throughout these two centuries, however, Louis did in fact serve as an important dynastic figure for both the Capetian and the Valois kings and royal families. He could be used to serve as a model of virtue whose example instructed his descendents, a construction which was common in devotional imagery, but the propagandistic view of him as an emblem of the greater dynastic sanctity of the French monarchy was the one that ultimately prevailed.⁶ Descent from him was emphasized at dynastic shifts as part of the legitimization of the new ruler, and in royalist propaganda he provided a sanctifying authority to the French monarchy. Gaposchkin writes that Louis was "used in negotiating the politics of dynastic rupture" and "served as the anchor in a discussion of legitimacy which melded descent, virtue, sanctity, and royal authority."⁷ Numerous Valois kings referenced Louis as a model and patronized works of art featuring their ancestor and emphasizing their descent from him.⁸

However, it was not just Louis's status as a saint king that made him such a crucial figure of royal propaganda but the fact that he served as the premier example of a broader dynastic sanctity. The idea of a holy lineage or *beata stirps*, in which sanctity was transmitted through

³ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*.

⁴ Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette, trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 90–125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁶ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 237.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁸ Gaposchkin lists a variety of examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Ibid.*, 238–9.

blood instead of being solely an attribute of the kingly office, was growing throughout Europe at this period.⁹ Gábor Klaniczay, in his study of dynastic cults in Central Europe, suggests that by the end of the thirteenth century these cults and the conception of a saintly dynasty or hereditary sanctity were well established.¹⁰ Sean Field, whose work on Isabelle de France, Louis's sister, builds on these ideas, states that the symbols, legends, and actions that contributed to the idea of sacral kingship were "only part of the story.... It was not just the anointed kings who were seen as holy, but also the entire bloodline, a *beata stirps*, as André Vauchez has called it."¹¹

Field emphasizes the need to have more than one member of a family viewed as especially holy in order to justify the claims of *beata stirps*. It is in this context that he examines the cult of Isabelle de France, Louis's sister, who was also seen as a candidate for sainthood in the thirteenth century. Field argues that during this period she was "a crucial link in constructing the French 'religion of monarchy.'"¹² The importance of Isabelle is in line with Klaniczay's larger study of dynastic cults in which he concludes that during the thirteenth century females had "acquired a central role in representations of the sanctity of a royal line."¹³

Louis's younger brother, Charles d'Anjou, was one of the first rulers to strongly capitalize on the concept of the *beata stirps*. In his testimony for Louis's canonization inquest, he made a case not only for Louis's sanctity but that of their mother, Blanche de Castille, and their other siblings, Robert d'Artois, Alphonse de Poitiers, and Isabelle de France, so as to

⁹ See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 295–304; for a discussion of this in the context of the Capetians, see Andrew W Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 122–49.

¹⁰ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 295.

¹¹ Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 399.

emphasize his own holy lineage.¹⁴ Blanche was indeed known for her strong piety, a characteristic which she was seen as having passed along to Louis. In 1317, two generations after Charles d'Anjou, the Angevins achieved the canonization of their own family saint, Louis de Toulouse, a royal bishop with strong ties to the Franciscans, to dynastically pair with Saint Louis.¹⁵

While the cult of Isabelle diminished in popularity during the fourteenth century, Field cites a revival in interest that began in the fifteenth century.¹⁶ The French royal family also utilized the image of Louis de Toulouse to some extent. In a study exploring the textual records for now lost liturgical textiles associated with the cult of Saint Louis at the Sainte-Chapelle, William Chester Jordan suggests the possibility of this pairing on two of the cloths.¹⁷ These altar frontals seem to have entered the treasury between the inventories of 1377 and 1480. His analysis of the iconography of the images on the textiles suggests a dynastic reading of inherited holiness due to the presence of both saints each flanked by a king and queen.¹⁸

It is in this dynastic context that an elaborately illuminated manuscript from the late fifteenth century devoted to Saint Louis, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys* (BnF MS fr. 2829) can be better understood.¹⁹ The manuscript was produced for the Bourbon family in the milieu of the French royal court. The Bourbons were particularly known for their veneration of

¹⁴ Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297): Essai de reconstitution* (École Française de Rome, 1994), 68–70, 75. Additionally, in the *Vie de Isabelle* written by Agnes de Harcourt, she states that she wrote the text at the request of Charles. Field, *Isabelle of France*, 147.

¹⁵ For a discussion of Louis de Toulouse and Angevin constructions of sanctity, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 304–10.

¹⁶ Field, *Isabelle of France*, 160–1.

¹⁷ William Chester Jordan, “Liturgical and Ceremonial Cloths: Neglected Evidence of Medieval Political Theology,” *Revue des archéologues et historiens d’art de Louvain* 12 (1979): 104–19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 111–9.

¹⁹ The manuscript is reproduced by the BnF on Gallica: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000784s.r=2829.langEN>>.

Saint Louis and emphasis on their connection to him.²⁰ Among the many innovative iconographic features in this manuscript runs a familial emphasis that in particular highlights the women of Louis's lineage in both directions—his mother, his sister, and his daughters—in the context of sanctity and pious behavior, thus visually supporting the idea of the *beata stirps*.

²⁰ François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: 1440-1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 271.

Chapter 2: Introduction to *Le livre des faiz*

Commission and Ownership of *Le livre des faiz*

Information about the exact date and original owner of *Le livre des faiz* is not given in the manuscript. However, its prologue states that it was ordered by Cardinal Charles de Bourbon to be given to the duchess of Bourbon, who would have been his sister-in-law.²¹ Although the duchess is unnamed, making any of the three wives of Charles's older brother Jean II potential candidates, Jean's first wife, Jeanne de France, who died in 1482, is the currently accepted choice based on the dating of the clothing styles in the work.²² Jeanne was the younger sister of King Louis XI, which also fits with the manuscript's description of the "*tres haulte et tres excellent princesse ma dame la duchesse de bourbonnoys*."²³

The dukes of Bourbon were descended from Robert de Clermont, the youngest son of Louis IX. They maintained close ties to the French royal family throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Jeanne de Bourbon, a daughter of the second Bourbon duke, married King Charles V in 1350. At the time of this manuscript's production, not only was Jeanne de France duchess of Bourbon, but the youngest of the three Bourbon brothers, Peter, was also married to Louis XI's eldest daughter, Anne de France. The couple served as co-regents when Anne's brother Charles VIII, Louis XI's only surviving son, took the throne in 1483 at age 13.

²¹ *Toutesvoyes pour obeir comme ie veul et doy a tresreverend pere en dieu mon treshonnore et doubte seigneur monseigneur le cardinal de bourbon lequel a la peticion et requeste singuliere de tres haulte et tres excellent princesse ma dame la duchesse de bourbonnoys pour la grande devocion que a maditte dame a monseigneur saint loys ma commande vaquier et recueillir les faiz de mon dit seigneur saint loys pourles enuoyer a ma ditte dame pour sa consolation.* BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 5.

²² Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France*, 271. This dating has been maintained in the most recent exhibition of the manuscript: Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Thierry Crépin-Leblond, and Elisabeth Taburet, *France 1500: Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance: Paris, Galeries Nationales, Grand Palais, 6 Octobre 2010-10 Janvier 2011* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2010), 125. Anne van Buren's magisterial study of the changes in fashion over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also gives a dating of c. 1478 consistent with this attribution, Anne van Buren and Roger S Wieck, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515* (New York: The Morgan Library & Museum, 2011), 228.

²³ BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 5.

After the original commission of the manuscript, it soon passed into the hands of King Charles VIII. His name, arms, and motto, “*plus qu’autre*,” now appear in a frontispiece to the manuscript (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 2v). The manuscript was in his possession by 1488 at the latest, when he ordered a leather satchel and two silver clasps for “*le livre de la Vie saint Louis que Madame de Bourbon a donné audit seigneur*.”²⁴ Again, the exact time when the manuscript was given, and therefore by whom, is uncertain. After the death of Jean II de Bourbon with no heirs in 1488, the duchy passed to Charles for a few days before he was forced to give up his rights in favor of Peter and Anne. Anne could have then offered her younger brother the manuscript from the ducal collection; alternatively, it may have reached him earlier through the second or third wife of Jean II.²⁵

Manuscript Format and Visual Program

Le livre des faiz is significant in the manuscript tradition about Saint Louis particularly for its size and the density and richness of its illuminations. The manuscript has 146 parchment leaves measuring 370 mm x 265 mm. This deluxe size places it more in line with large-format history manuscripts such as the *Grandes Chroniques de France* than with generally smaller hagiographical texts.²⁶ The pages are formatted with two columns of text that are up to thirty-two lines each. There are substantial margins on each side, but particularly at the bottom of the page and at the outside margin.

²⁴ Marie-Thérèse Gousset, François Avril, and Jean Richard, eds., *Saint Louis, roi de France: Livre des faits de Monseigneur Saint Louis* (Paris: Chêne, 1990), 85.

²⁵ Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France*, 271; Gousset, Avril, and Richard, *Saint Louis, roi de France*, 8.

²⁶ BnF MS fr. 2829 is slightly smaller than the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good from the 1330s (BL Royal 16 G VI), which is 390 mm x 280 mm, and slightly larger than the *Grandes Chroniques* of Charles V (BnF MS fr. 2813), begun around 1360, which is 330 x 220 mm. In comparison, it is over one and a half times the dimensions of an illuminated manuscript of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus’s *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* from the 1330s (BnF MS fr. 5716), which measures 215 mm x 150 mm.

The manuscript contains a prologue, forty-one chapters on the life of Saint Louis, seventy-five miracles, a chapter on his canonization, a French summary of the papal bull announcing his sainthood, and a conclusion. The pictorial cycle illustrates all of these divisions, including each chapter and miracle, with 122 total illuminations of various sizes and formats.²⁷ At two places within the life, in chapters 31 and 40, there is an additional image on a later page, a feature of the manuscript which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Scholars have identified the unnamed artist of the manuscript as the Master of Cardinal de Bourbon, about whom little is known. All of the datable manuscripts associated with him are from the 1480s or the first years of the 1490s. His diverse patrons are generally related to the court or royal officials, indicating a probable Paris location for his workshop. While François Avril notes the overall unity of the style, differences in hands visible in the details of representation and the overall quality of the illuminations indicate the involvement of his workshop.²⁸

Both the number of miniatures in the program and their size surpass earlier historical and hagiographical cycles, making *Le livre des faiz* the most extensively illuminated surviving medieval work on Saint Louis.²⁹ With its substantial use of full-page illuminations, the visual program in *Le livre des faiz* particularly takes advantage of the large size of the pages. There are

²⁷ For the purposes of counting the number of miniatures in the program the frontispiece of Charles VIII, which would most likely have been added after the original production of the manuscript, is not included. In a few cases, where there are multiple scenes on a page that are not physically connected but still occur as a unit illustrating one chapter in the same way as those that are contiguous, the scenes are considered as one miniature despite the fact that they are broken into separate pieces by the text block.

Because of the difference in the average length of chapters in the life and the length of the individual miracles, which are often substantially abridged from their sources, there is a much higher visual density in the miracles part of the manuscript. The chapters in the life vary dramatically in length, from quick successions of chapters that are one or two pages each to longer chapters that range from four to ten pages. Illuminations in the miracles occur on average on every other page, although the beginning of the cycle is even denser.

²⁸ Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France*, 270–1.

²⁹ The illuminated Saint-Pathus has ninety-two miniatures, twenty-six for the life and sixty-six for the miracles, and the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good has a sixty-image cycle of Saint Louis's life. These were the largest cycles prior to BnF MS fr. 2829.

forty-eight full-page illuminations in the manuscript, over one-third of the total program. The density of these is even higher in the life of Louis, where there are twenty-six full-page illuminations out of the forty-four decorating the prologue and chapters of the life.

The format of the miniatures shifts at various points in the manuscript. The illuminations in the first twenty-three chapters of the life are composed as series of scenes of relatively even visual weight that are boxed off from each other with thin bars. These scenes can be combined to form a full page illumination with either a text box consisting of just six lines of text in each column or one that incorporates almost the full two columns of text. Other times, the images only occupy parts of the margins, wrapping around the text and inserting into it. In still further cases a single scene is simply placed within a column of the text block.

The second half of the life, however, switches to a consistent full-page composition arranged around a small text block six lines high that is positioned at the bottom of the usual text area.³⁰ This layout favors one or two large scenes at the top of the page with architectural frameworks around them and a secondary scene or scenes below the text block and around it to either side.³¹ This architecturally-framed format is also used for the prologue and in modified forms in some of the full-page miracle illuminations.

Beginning partway through the miracles, a smaller derivative architecturally-framed format appears for the illuminations that are not truly full-page. Two images, separated by a column that is part of the frame, are placed above text blocks of ten lines each, and the entire

³⁰ The transition occurs at Louis's arrival in Egypt after his stay in Cyprus during the first of his crusades. The only two images in the life that do not follow this format after fol. 34v are the two additional images in chapters 31 and 40. Avril attributes the change in format to the original influence of an older illuminator's style at the beginning of the manuscript which the Master of Cardinal de Bourbon then decides to set aside. Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France*, 271.

³¹ The architectural frames take several different types of forms. Some are fairly plain, while others include figures of statues standing in niches as part of the architecture on either side of the frame. Near the end of the life, frames that are encrusted with gemstones become common. This is also the type of frame that is used for the prologue.

entity of images and text is enclosed in the frame.³² These frames give the illusion of being full-page but in a smaller format that leaves more of the margins empty. Nonetheless, the images continue to be more prominent than the text, although they overshadow it to a lesser extent than in the true full-page layouts. This mini-full-page format is used a total of fifty-six times throughout the rest of the miracles and for the three sections at the end of the manuscript.

Textual Composition and Sources

The text of *Le livre des faiz* is a newly composed version of the life and miracles of Saint Louis by an unknown author, who drew his material from various works that had been written mainly around the turn of the fourteenth century. Some of these dated to the period between Saint Louis's death in 1270 and his canonization in 1297, with certain texts being intended to build the case of his sanctity for the canonization inquest in 1282-83; others were written in the wake of his canonization and the growth of his cult. While the author of *Le livre des faiz* does not identify his sources, those that he draws upon the most, including the transfer of entire paragraphs with very few changes, are the accounts by Guillaume de Nangis and Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, which are already compilations of earlier texts or testimonies from the canonization inquest.³³

Guillaume de Nangis was a monk of Saint-Denis, the monastery whose members positioned themselves as “the official historians of France”³⁴ during the reign of the Capetian dynasty. He compiled the *Gesta Ludovici IX* from select parts of prior written accounts,

³² The frames used for these mini-full-page illuminations relate to the type with the statues, as almost all of the frames contain covered niches projecting out from either side with a statue. However, many of the illuminations in the miracles also include simple arrangements of gems, although without the elaborate gold background used in the gemmed borders of the full-page illuminations of the life. In the smaller framed images in the miracles the gems generally appear at the base of the column separating the two images and often on its capital as well.

³³ Gousset, Avril, and Richard, *Saint Louis, roi de France*, 10–11.

³⁴ Gabrielle M Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, MA: Classical Folia Editions, 1978), 37.

including that of Saint Louis's confessor, Geoffroi de Beaulieu, Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, and earlier texts from monks of Saint-Denis, and he also included letters and other diplomatic documents. The work was likely done before the canonization occurred, as Louis is not referred to as a saint.³⁵

Guillaume de Nangis's Latin text was translated into French around the end of the thirteenth century, and this became the basis for the section of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* on the life of Saint Louis. Modifications to the French text were later made with the development or reduction of certain parts, and this modified version is the one found in the majority of *Grandes Chroniques* manuscripts.³⁶ However, the author of *Le livre des faiz* does not draw from the modified version but rather from one closer to the early French translations of Guillaume de Nangis's work. This textual source is found in a limited number of *Grandes Chroniques* manuscripts, the most well-known of which is the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good (BL Royal 16 G VI) from c. 1335-40, before he was king. It also appears in BnF MS fr. 2615 from the 1320s and BnF MS fr. 2610 from the third quarter of the fifteenth century.³⁷

Along with the main *Grandes Chroniques* accounts that use Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* for the description of Louis's reign, there is also a small set of manuscripts that instead take this part of their text from the French translation of the continuation of Guillaume de Nangis's amplified chronicle. The oldest manuscript in this secondary *Grandes Chroniques* tradition is one made by the Parisian *libraire* Thomas de Maubeuge in 1318, BnF MS fr. 10132. Thomas edited his text slightly differently than the *Grandes Chroniques* produced in royal or

³⁵ Jules Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France 7: Louis VIII et Saint Louis*, Société de l'histoire de France 429 (Paris: H. Champion, 1932), iv-xvi; Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, 102.

³⁶ Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France 7*, xvii-xviii; Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, 103, 117. This modified version is the one found in Volume 7 of Viard's edition of the *Grandes Chroniques*.

³⁷ Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France 7*, xvii; Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, 118-9. This is the version included in Volume 10 of Viard's edition. The manuscripts of this family, while reflecting an earlier version of the text, are not necessarily from earlier periods than those with the edited text.

courtly settings, and he also supplemented his exemplar of the *Grandes Chroniques*, which only went to 1223, with the text of the chronicle for the events from 1223 until 1316.³⁸ Several later copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* also contain the amplified chronicle for the section on Saint Louis—B.R. MS 5 from the 1330s, Castres, B.M. from the 1330s, and Grenoble MS 407 Rés. from the 1350s.³⁹

The author of *Le livre des faiz* utilizes certain sections of the account in the amplified chronicle that are either not included in the *Grandes Chroniques* based on Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* or that provide a condensed or otherwise altered reading. However, it is unclear whether his source is a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* that includes this text or a manuscript of the amplified chronicle that is independent of the *Grandes Chroniques* tradition.⁴⁰

While Guillaume de Nangis's works were written and used in the context of the medieval history tradition, the text of the Franciscan Guillaume de Saint-Pathus has a hagiographic emphasis. It was commissioned in 1302 by Saint Louis's daughter Blanche de la Cerda, for whom Guillaume de Saint-Pathus served as a confessor after fulfilling the same role for Louis's wife Marguerite de Provence. The work was intended to be based on the testimonies and records from the canonization inquest in 1282-83, and although it was likely written in Latin originally, all that survives are French translations.⁴¹ The *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* of Guillaume de

³⁸ For the identification of the text, see Léopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1873), 67. For information about the commission of BnF MS fr. 10132 and the relationship of its text to other *Grandes Chroniques* manuscripts, see Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the "Grandes chroniques de France," 1274-1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 37 and notes within the catalogue of manuscripts, 193–268. Spiegel notes that the existence of this manuscript variation suggests that the definitive addition of Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* happened fairly late. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, 89 n. 157.

³⁹ Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, 74.

⁴⁰ This paper will use transcriptions of BnF MS fr. 10132 for purposes of comparing the Guillaume de Nangis chronicle tradition with the text of *Le livre des faiz*. BnF MS fr. 10132 is available through Gallica: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90632136.r=10132.langEN>>.

⁴¹ Jane Geein Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Paris, B.N. Ms. Fr. 5716)" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1998), 5–6; Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 38.

Saint-Pathus is organized into twenty chapters predominantly by theme and not chronology, followed by the accounts of sixty-five miracles following their order from the inquest.⁴² The author of *Le livre des faiz* noticeably rearranges what he borrows from Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's work, making shifts in the accounting of events so that they adhere to his text's more historically-based, chronological arrangement.⁴³

The text of *Le livre des faiz* thus merges the historical and hagiographical traditions about Saint Louis. The author follows a generally chronological arrangement for the events and chapters in the life, but then juxtaposes this with a collection of seventy-five miracles.⁴⁴ This new textual context and the lavish size and quantity of the illuminations in the manuscript provide an opportunity for the creation of new iconography. The illuminations, while drawing on elements from both the historical and hagiographical visual traditions, also include a great deal of iconographic innovation in order to expand the existing Saint Louis cycles into the much enlarged visual program of *Le livre des faiz*.

⁴² Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*," 15; Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles de Saint Louis*, ed. Percival B. Fay, *Les classiques français du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931), xvi. Two of the miracles, the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, are joined into one account, see *Ibid.*, 85–6.

⁴³ Gousset, Avril, and Richard, *Saint Louis, roi de France*, 11; Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*," 15.

⁴⁴ The collection of miracles included in *Le livre des faiz* is the most extensive for Saint Louis and follows the same principles of compilation and reorganization as the rest of the manuscript. The majority of the miracles are drawn from those of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, with the omission of just one of the sixty-five in that text. The accounts in *Le livre des faiz* are often included in an abridged form from that of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, although there are additional details from the *Gesta Ludovici IX* of Guillaume de Nangis that indicate the use of that source for the six miracles that it contains. The collection also includes all of the miracles from Guillaume de Chartres's *De vita et actibus*. Guillaume de Chartres was a Dominican and a cleric in Louis's court, and his work was intended to support Louis's canonization in the period leading up to the inquest. His text includes seventeen miracles, only eight of which are repeated in the work of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles de Saint Louis*, xxv; Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 33.

Chapter 3: Gender and Dynastic Sanctity in *Le livre des faiz*

One distinctive aspect of the iconographic program in *Le livre des faiz* is the enhanced visual presence of Louis's family members, particularly his female family members, in the illuminations of the life. In some cases new secondary scenes illustrating minor events from the text are added or extra figures are included in scenes where they play a supplementary rather than a central role.⁴⁵ These two types of additions occur throughout the life. However, there are also seven full-page miniatures, all in the last ten chapters of the life, in which Louis's family members play a central role in the main image, sometimes even upstaging or replacing Louis himself.⁴⁶ While images without Louis are not unseen in earlier cycles, the emphasis on women is new, as is the overall increase in the visual presence of Louis's family.

After a brief discussion of relevant images in prior Saint Louis cycles, analysis of three full-page illuminations in *Le livre des faiz* that feature Louis's mother, sister, and daughters will illustrate the ways in which these images promote the idea of the *beata stirps*. Although Louis's wife, Marguerite de Provence, also plays a new and interesting role in the visual cycle of the life, she will not be included in this analysis.⁴⁷ Because she is related to Louis by marriage and not by

⁴⁵ Part of this can be attributed to the large size and quantity of the illuminations, as well as the late-fifteenth century style with its more populous images, which allow for general enrichment of the cycle. Examples of secondary scenes that are newly added include the weddings and dubbings of Louis's brothers Robert d'Artois (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 16) and Alphonse de Poitiers (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 18) as well as his son Philippe (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 69v). Meanwhile the addition of more figures in each scene as compared to earlier visual cycles allows for the inclusion of relevant family members along with Louis even when they are not critical to the understanding of the scene's subject matter. For example, Alphonse de Poitiers and Charles d'Anjou are present behind Louis in the scene of their imprisonment (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 43). Marguerite de Provence also plays a repeated supporting role as is discussed further in note 47.

⁴⁶ BnF MS fr. 2829, fols. 53v, 55 (Fig. 1), 64v (Fig. 10), 71, 73v, 75v (Fig. 15), and 82. The last of these, the final chapter in the life, occurs after Louis's death, but the image prominently includes Philippe III along with Louis's relics.

⁴⁷ In contrast to the active and independent roles that Blanche de Castille, Isabelle de France, and Blanche de la Cerda play in their respective images, as will be discussed below, Marguerite de Provence is generally depicted at Louis's side in the passive role of his wife. Their wedding scene is included in the cycle (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 11v), but Marguerite also appears riding with Louis as he departs on his first crusade (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 23), standing behind him during an audience in Cyprus (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 33), walking by his side as the crusaders

blood, she does not contribute as strongly to the promotion of the *beata stirps* as the other women in his family do.

Prior Visualizations of Family in Saint Louis Cycles

In the miniature cycles of the *Grandes Chroniques*, the inclusion of images with Louis's family members is almost exclusively limited to his younger brother, Charles d'Anjou. Two contexts for images of Charles are popular—his battles as king of Sicily during the latter part of Louis's reign and his arrival at Louis's deathbed. The images of Charles as king of Sicily usually occur as a series beginning with his coronation as king and then including two or more scenes of his battles against Manfred and Conradin and their defeats.⁴⁸ Louis is not present in these miniatures, and in several cases, this cycle of images almost outweighs those of Louis in the chapters on his life.⁴⁹ The image of Charles at Louis's death, meanwhile, occurs as the first illumination in the life of Philippe III and depicts him either disembarking from his ship upon his arrival in Tunis or standing or kneeling near Louis's deathbed.

The only other family members included in *Grandes Chroniques* cycles are Philippe III, Louis's heir, and Blanche de Castille, but neither of them is widespread as in the case of the images of Charles d'Anjou. An image of Louis instructing Philippe appears in two manuscripts, as will be discussed further below, and Blanche is depicted in a scene of Louis's birth in the Saint Louis frontispiece of the *Grandes Chroniques* of Charles V of c. 1375-78 (BnF MS fr. 2813, fol. 265).

board a ship to leave Damietta (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 47v), and again standing next to him as his nobles make their vows to go on his second crusades (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 76v, see Fig. 7).

⁴⁸ For a summary of the political events involving Charles's ascension to the throne of Sicily and his conflicts with the Hohenstaufen imperial family, see Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 726.

⁴⁹ Some examples include BnF MS fr. 10132, in which two of the four Saint Louis cycle images are of Charles, B.R. 5, in which two out of five are of Charles, and BnF MS fr. 10135 in which four out of fourteen are of Charles.

On the other hand the illuminated *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, c. 1330-40, includes several images of women in Louis's family and almost none of his male relatives or offspring. However, in all of these images, the family members are present only as a part of an action involving Louis himself. Blanche de Castille appears enthroned in the miniature for the first chapter of the life, where she is overseeing Louis's education by his tutor (BnF MS fr. 5716, fol. 16). His wife, Marguerite de Provence, is included in the illumination for chapter 16 about his abstinence, which has a scene of their wedding and one of Louis praying while Marguerite lies naked in bed (BnF MS fr. 5716, fol. 232).

Finally, Louis's daughter Isabelle, queen of Navarre, appears in three different miniatures within the illuminated Saint-Pathus, only one of which also includes Louis's male children. In the image for chapter 5, which discusses Louis's ardent love, the king sits on the left and instructs three figures on the right, one of whom is female (BnF MS fr. 5716, fol. 44). Two of these figures have been identified as Philippe III and Isabelle based on the inclusion of excerpts from Louis's *Enseignements* to them in the chapter below the picture.⁵⁰ Isabelle appears again in the images for chapters 8 and 9. The text of chapter 8, on Louis's devoted prayer, again has excerpts from the *Enseignements* asking that Isabelle and Philippe pray for him. The illumination shows him praying in the center with the letter to Isabelle being delivered on the left and one to clergy on the right (BnF MS fr. 5716, fol. 90).⁵¹ Finally, the miniature for chapter 9, about Louis's fervent promises, shows Louis on the left and Isabelle on the right and depicts the

⁵⁰ Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et Miracles De Saint Louis*," 183. For information on the textual history of the *Enseignements* to Isabelle, see David O'Connell, *The Instructions of Saint Louis: A Critical Text* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979). For the *Enseignements* to Philippe, see David O'Connell, *The Teachings of Saint Louis: A Critical Text* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

⁵¹ His requests to clergy for prayer are described generally in the chapter along with the specific excerpts from the *Enseignements*. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. H. François Delaborde (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1899), 57–8. It is interesting to note here the pairing of the clergy rather than Philippe with Isabelle.

transfer of the gifts that he sends her for self-mortification as described in one part of the chapter (BnF MS fr. 5716, fol. 99).

Jane Geein Chung-Apley finds a strong emphasis on moral education and pedagogy in the visual cycle of the illuminated Saint-Pathus manuscript from the early Valois period. Saint Louis is characterized as wise and learned and also as a teacher and example for his children within a hereditary context of education. This reading is advanced both through the choice of scenes, such as Blanche overseeing Louis's education in chapter 1, and through consistent iconography of Louis with a book or engaged in discussion.⁵² Chung-Apley connects this pedagogical emphasis to the new Valois dynasty as a way of emphasizing how virtues could be passed along to future generations.

Devotional manuscripts that included Saint Louis cycles, such as books of hours, also had occasional images of women, most often the female descendent who owned the manuscript kneeling in prayer before the saint. This is the case with the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (Met 54.1.2, fol. 102v), c. 1324-28, the now lost Savoy Hours for Blanche of Savoy (Turin MS E. V. 49, fol. 3v),⁵³ c. 1335-40, and the Hours of Marie de Navarre (Venice Marciana Lat I.104, fol. 198v), c. 1338-42. However, the Hours of Jeanne (II) de Navarre (BnF MS n. a. lat. 3145), c. 1329-43, differ by including instead two images with Blanche de Castille. One of these is a scene very similar to that in the illuminated Saint-Pathus of Blanche overseeing Louis's education (BnF MS n. a. lat. 3145, fol. 85v), and the other is of Louis and Blanche on their way to Reims for his coronation and anointing (BnF MS n. a. lat. 3145, fol. 97v).⁵⁴

⁵² Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*," 92-5.

⁵³ Portions of the manuscript had been detached prior to the fire in Turin in 1904; these are now Beinecke MS 390.

⁵⁴ Gaposchkin notes that this manuscript emphasizes Louis's sacral royalty rather than his model of humility as part of Jeanne de Navarre's claim to the throne at the end of the Capetian dynasty. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 230.

With *Le livre des faiz* the images of Louis's female family members are taken from the hagiographical and devotional tradition of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus and the books of hours and placed into a program that is largely historical in its iconography, a context which in the past rarely depicted women in the Saint Louis cycle. However, the women in *Le livre des faiz* are shown in scenes that are not dependent on Louis's presence, unlike in the illuminated Saint-Pathus manuscript or the devotional texts. Both the inclusion of women and their degree of independence from Louis have implications for the reading of the cycle in *Le livre des faiz*.

Blanche de Castille, Mother of Saint Louis

The first full-page illumination to feature one of Saint Louis's female family members is that accompanying chapter 33 of the life (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 55, Figs. 1-5). While the rubric for the chapter reads "*du retour en france du roy saint Loys*," the main section of the illumination at the top of the page instead depicts the death and burial of his mother, Blanche de Castille. Scenes of Louis receiving the news of her death and his voyage home occupy the space at the bottom of the page, below the text inset, and his actual arrival in France appears in a second miniature at the bottom of the folio's verso (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 55v, Fig. 6). This is the first of only two instances in the manuscript in which a chapter receives a second image on another page.

The author of *Le livre des faiz* combines information and events from multiple sources and rearranges them to form chapter 33, as is characteristic of the manuscript as a whole. Despite the overall chronological framework of the life, however, the text of chapter 33 does not have a smooth progression within a chronological or geographical structure. The chapter begins with a brief paragraph giving the basic circumstances of Blanche's death, including the year and

the place of her burial at the Cistercian abbey of Maubuisson. This portion draws its content from the French translation of Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* as found in the tradition of John the Good's *Grandes Chroniques*.⁵⁵

Another short paragraph follows, mentioning that Alphonse and Charles took over the regency after Blanche's death because of Louis's absence and the young age of his oldest sons, Louis and Philippe. This information is not included in the translation of Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* used for the *Grandes Chroniques*. However, a similar passage does appear in BnF MS fr. 10132, the text from Thomas de Maubeuge that uses the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis instead. Here it also immediately follows the description of Blanche's death.⁵⁶

The author of *Le livre des faiz* then switches from the events in France to a long section detailing the arrival of the news of Blanche's death in Syria. This text follows the full account given in Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* and the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good, with the events described in the same progression.⁵⁷ The papal legate is the first to find out the news, and he tells Louis privately in the company of the archbishop of Tyre and the king's confessor. The account gives Louis's reaction and prayer after hearing the news and tells of his devotion in front of his altar after the departure of the legate and archbishop. The modified text included in many copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* greatly reduces the scope and length of this section, removing all specifics of the delivery of the news by the legate and Louis's prayer. BnF MS fr. 10132 and the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, meanwhile, do not include this section of text at all.

⁵⁵ The passage from Guillaume de Nangis's chronicle that is used in BnF MS fr. 10132 (fol. 370v) for Blanche's death is very similar to that from his *Vie de Saint Louis*, but it additionally specifies that she founded the abbey with the permission of Louis, a detail which is not included in *Le livre des faiz*.

⁵⁶ "A donques lors pource que le roy looys ni estoit son frere aufour et charles contes orent la garde du royaume de france. Car adecertes looys et phelippe filz du roy saint looys navoient pas encore ataint aage que il peussent ou seussent metre afors choses leurs mains." BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 370v.

⁵⁷ Second half of chapter 26, Jules Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France 10: Appendice, Table*, Société de l'histoire de France 457 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1953), 91–2.

Several paragraphs follow in *Le livre des faiz* that concern Louis's more general devotional habits making only a slight connection to Louis's arrangements for Blanche after her death. Most of this section draws from the beginning of chapter 6 of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's text, which is about Louis's fervent devotion.⁵⁸ The author then includes a paragraph about the masses that Louis had celebrated for his mother, expanding upon the single sentence at the end of the episode of Louis hearing the news of her death in Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis*.⁵⁹ *Le livre des faiz* also specifies that the cardinal legate chanted the mass in Acre and indicates Louis's intention to return to France.

The chapter then deliberately returns to Blanche: "*mais pour ung poy parler de la vie de ladite royne blanche.*"⁶⁰ First there is a short paragraph about her virtues and accomplishments while alive. Much of the content of this text is similar to a description found in chapter 1 of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's *Vie et Miracles* but it omits the direct testimony from Saint Louis in the middle of the Saint-Pathus passage.⁶¹ Saint-Pathus's chapter focuses on Louis's childhood and the manner in which Blanche raised him and his siblings. A longer paragraph, which returns to the events of Blanche's last days, follows this description of her in *Le livre des faiz*. It begins with her decision to take the habit of Maubuisson and her final communion from the bishop of Paris and concludes with her final words and her participation in the beginning of the office of

⁵⁸ The text in *Le livre des faiz* covers Louis's desire to say the hours with his chaplains, which masses were regularly celebrated, how many candles were out for each type of mass, and the extra arrangements made for feasts celebrated by a bishop at his chapel. Although there are slight omissions and additions, the early parts of this section about the hours and masses follow Saint-Pathus closely. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 33–4. In the following paragraphs only select information from Saint-Pathus is included while most of it is left out of *Le livre des faiz*. Ibid., 35–8.

⁵⁹ Chapter 26, Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 92.

⁶⁰ BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 57.

⁶¹ Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 13–4.

the dead. This section also comes immediately after the description of Blanche in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's text.⁶²

After the additional information about Blanche, the chapter again switches attention to Louis and recounts his voyage home to France from Syria. Parts of these three paragraphs draw from Guillaume de Nangis's account of the voyage in the *Vie de Saint Louis*, which begins chapter 28 in John the Good's *Grandes Chroniques*. The first paragraph describes the grief of those staying in Acre as Louis prepares to depart and the dispensation he receives in order to have the host on board the ship.⁶³ However, the author of *Le livre des faiz* then adds a section about the ship stopping at a Carmelite chapel on Mount Carmel and a number of the Carmelites coming along on the voyage.⁶⁴ This encounter is not included in Guillaume de Nangis's works, later revisions to the *Grandes Chroniques*, or Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. After the Carmelite episode, the description of the storm on the sea and Louis's prayers for it to cease picks back up with the events in Guillaume de Nangis but expands them.

The final three paragraphs of chapter 33 in *Le livre des faiz* do not draw from the texts by Guillaume de Nangis or Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. The first paragraph recounts the celebrations across France and especially within Paris upon Louis's return. The chapter then returns to the Carmelites and includes information on where Louis housed them in Paris.⁶⁵ The

⁶² Ibid., 14.

⁶³ Guillaume de Nangis includes a description of the altar which is left out of *Le livre des faiz*, and in exchange the new text has additional reasons listed for why the host is on board. Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 95.

⁶⁴ "Et navigant par ladite mer vit deloing en son chemin une chappelle qui estoit ou mont du carme. De laquelle belle chappelle vindrent au devant de lui pource quil estoit la descendu a terre Les religieux qui estoient barrez en leurs habiz Desquels religieux il print et retint avecques soy aucun nombre en les mettant avecques lui ou navire mais en chemin eulx estans sur la mer leur survint merveilleuse et horrible tempeste tellement quilz cuidoyent tous peur ne navoyent esperance daucun salut." BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 58.

⁶⁵ The Carmelite foundation, with minimal accompanying information, is included in lists in chapter 6, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 47 and BnF MS fr. 2615, fol. 235v, which has a text of the *Grandes Chroniques* largely similar to that in the manuscript of John the Good.

end of the chapter discusses the impact that Louis had during the voyage on many of the sailors; he improved their way of life through his example.

The text of Guillaume de Nangis's chronicle preserved in BnF MS fr. 10132 offers a transition between the order of events in the more common versions of the *Grandes Chroniques* based on his *Vie de Saint Louis* and the order found in *Le livre des faiz*. The chronicle also supplies additional content. Not only does it include the information about Alphonse and Charles taking over the regency discussed above, but a few sections earlier, BnF MS fr. 10132 also includes a sentence about the arrival of Alphonse and Charles back in France after their departure from Syria (BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 370).⁶⁶ This appears after the section on the Shepherd's Crusade (BnF MS fr. 10132, fols. 369v-370) and is followed by a description of gifts sent from the abbey of Saint-Denis to Louis while he was in Syria (BnF MS fr. 10132, fols. 370-370v).⁶⁷ In the text of other versions of the *Grandes Chroniques* based on Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis*, the description of the gifts from Saint-Denis immediately follows the death of Blanche, whereas in BnF MS fr. 10132 it immediately precedes her death. This same chronological order is preserved in *Le livre des faiz*, in which the Shepherd's Crusade is in chapter 31, the arrival of Louis's brothers in France and the gifts from Saint-Denis in chapter 32, and then chapter 33 opens with Blanche's death and the section from BnF MS fr. 10132 about Alphonse and Charles taking over governing after her death.

The chronicle also potentially provides a model for the author of *Le livre de faiz* in enhancing the juxtaposition of Blanche's death with Louis's actions in response in Syria. In the

⁶⁶ BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 369v.

⁶⁷ In addition to the ordering of events, *Le livre des faiz* draws on the description of the gifts that appears in BnF MS fr. 10132 (fols. 369-370v). Rather than just the poultry and cheese described in the other versions of the *Grandes Chroniques*, the version from the chronicle also includes colorful cloth suitable for clothing. In addition, it uses a general word for poultry, "*volatilles*" rather than the gender-specific words "*chapons*" and "*gelines*" of the other *Grandes Chroniques* versions, Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 88-9. This word is maintained in *Le livre des faiz*, along with an expanded description of the cloth. Finally, BnF MS fr. 10132 provides more detail about the monks' voyage and interactions with Louis, and this process of expansion is furthered in *Le livre des faiz*.

text of the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good, the gifts from Saint Denis follow Blanche's death at the end of chapter 25, and then a description of Louis's pilgrimage to Nazareth begins chapter 26 before the events of him hearing the news of her death are recounted. Similarly, a full chapter about how he helped to bury the bodies of Crusaders at Sidon comes between this and his departure for France in chapter 28. Most of these events are absent from the chronicle text preserved in BnF MS fr. 10132. The death of Blanche and assumption of government by her sons is thus followed immediately by a single line describing Louis's return to France: "*Après en lan de grace ensuivant mil CC LIIII saint looys roy de france filz de pes et de concorde repera et revint des parties doutremer.*"⁶⁸

Le livre des faiz includes the events left out of the chronicle, but it arranges them differently from the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good so as to better maintain the focus in chapter 33 on Blanche and on Louis's actions in response to her death. The pilgrimage to Nazareth and the burial of Crusaders at Sidon, the two events that interrupted the progression from Blanche's death to Louis's response and finally to his return voyage, are relocated much earlier in *Le livre des faiz* in chapter 30, before the events of the Shepherd's Crusade in chapter 31. By bringing the other events closer together and adding a second section about Blanche from Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, the author of *Le livre des faiz* highlights her importance and also presents her death as a stimulus for Louis's departure from the Holy Land.

The manner in which the author of *Le livre des faiz* switches back and forth between events in France concerning Blanche and those in Syria concerning Saint Louis helps to blur the time lapse between the events. The frontispiece for chapter 33, in contrast with the repeated temporal and spatial shifting of the text, smooths out the events into a continuous temporal progression with a distinct spatial division. Yet the image also contains sophisticated

⁶⁸ BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 370v.

juxtaposition of Blanche at the top of the page and Saint Louis at the bottom that enhances and extends the connections also suggested by the text.

The upper part of the full-page illumination is divided vertically into two unequal sections with the larger space for the image on the left. In this section, Blanche is shown sitting up in her deathbed receiving the Eucharist from the bishop of Paris, a scene from the second description of her death in the chapter's text (Fig. 2). She wears a red gown and a simple white veil draped over her head and shoulders. Her hands are together in prayer, and a blue pillow with a gold cross laying on top of it rests on her lap above the bedding. The bed is richly appointed with a red covering and a red canopy covered with gold designs. It is viewed straight on from the foot up to the headboard, with Blanche facing forward in the miniature. The bishop stands on the left side of the image next to the bed; with his right hand he holds the host to Blanche's mouth, and in his left hand he holds a gold chalice. On his right side stands a tonsured cleric dressed in gold vestments and carrying a gold box to hold the host. Other male figures, both lay and religious, surround the head of the bed on both sides and are depicted in various gestures of prayer; there are also two torches on the left side of the image. At the foot of the bed are three lay women, two in front of the bed kneeling and facing away from the viewer, and one at the side sitting with her back to the bed. A later scene appears in a small upper right section of this space. Here Blanche, who took the habit in her final days, lays on top of a bed, her eyes closed, and she is surrounded by four other nuns.⁶⁹ The abbess holds a crozier and is reaching out towards Blanche's body.

The narrower of the two main images on the right takes place at Maubuisson, an abbey that Blanche had founded and that served as the place of her burial, a detail mentioned at the opening of chapter 33. The main scene in this section of the illumination occurs outside,

⁶⁹ One of the nuns is almost completely hidden from view by part of the bed's canopy in the foreground scene.

illustrating the funeral procession of Blanche's body to the abbey (Fig. 3). Her body, again dressed in a habit, is laid out on top of a bier that is draped with a blue cloth featuring the arms of France and covered with a red canopy. She lies parallel to the picture plane, with her head on the left. At the foot of the bier on the right side of the image, three nuns, including the abbess with her crozier, face forward with their faces and wimples visible. They stand behind a blue cloth with a gold pattern, and one of the nuns holds an open book in front of her. In the foreground in front of the bier, five nuns are shown with their backs to the viewer thus rendering them faceless and covered entirely in black. Behind the bier and the abbess, a crowd of less distinct figures of nuns fills the middle ground. Their faces are also not visible because they are turned away from the bier as part of the procession. On the right edge of the image there is a tall processional cross emerging above the crowd of nuns. In the back of the crowd there is a row of torches above them and shields bearing impaled coat of arms with colors suggestive of Blanche's arms, although lacking the Castilian castle. A mountain separates the scene from the buildings in the background of the visual field. Here, in the upper right corner, a view into a building shows a row of nuns lowering Blanche's body into a tomb. An angel shaded with red and gold flies in the sky towards the building.

A series of images of events occurring in the Holy Land as opposed to in France appears in the bottom section of the illumination (Fig. 4). On the far left, a papal legate stands outside and receives the news of Blanche's death from a messenger. To the right of that scene, the legate and Saint Louis sit facing each other as the legate tells him the news. The legate is gesturing, while the king holds his hands together in prayer. The next scene shows Saint Louis kneeling before an altar, his crown removed and his hands again in prayer as he looks up at an image of the pietà. In the background of this section, the king is depicted again, crowned and holding a

book, standing with his confessor. The final image along the bottom includes two scenes from Louis's voyage back to France (Fig. 5). In the background on the left, Louis's ship stops at Mount Carmel, as described in the text. Louis is shown on board the boat, with the Carmelite monks in their black and white vertically striped robes crowded along the shore. To the right in the foreground of this section, the monks are on board the boat with Louis, joining him in praying in front of the altar at the bow of the ship. Rays of light descend from heaven to the right of the ship's mast.

The illumination for chapter 33 thus organizes the various episodes with Blanche and Louis that are interwoven in the text. Rather than starting with Blanche's funeral and then later going back in time to her last moments, the upper section of the page follows the progression of the events in order from left to right, from her final communion, death, and the procession of her body to Maubuisson to her burial at the abbey. The illumination further separates out the events occurring in France from those occurring in Syria. With the image being read across the top row first and then subsequently the bottom row as guided by the layout, Louis's receipt of the news of Blanche's death and his return to France follow in chronological sequence after the burial rather than being interspersed with the accounts of her death and burial as in the text.

The spatial division of the page, with Blanche above the text box in the primary image locations and Saint Louis at the bottom of the page, gives Blanche a much greater prominence than she has in the text, where the events of her death form only a small part of the chapter's total length. Her visual dominance in the frontispiece to the chapter also furnishes a reading of the chapter that highlights her important and active role in its events. The author's rearrangement of his sources unites her death and Louis's response and return to France within

the text of this single chapter, but the visual juxtaposition of the king and his mother in the frontispiece emphasizes the cause and effect even more forcefully.

Blanche's deathbed scene gives further emphasis to her importance. The text of *Le livre des faiz* refers to her final communion during her last days: "*et quant elle se sentit malade cinq ou six jours avant quelle mourust print labbit des seurs de maubuysson de lordre de cisteaulx...receut le precieux corps de nostre seigneur ihesu crist par les mains de levesque de paris en grande humilite devotion et reverence.*"⁷⁰ In the written account, mention is only made of the communion wafer, and this is also true in the source for the description of her last days, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's *Vie et Miracles*.⁷¹ However, the artist of the chapter frontispiece prominently includes the chalice as well as the host. While Blanche is being offered the host in the image, the bishop holds the chalice so that it is positioned right next to the pillow with a cross that rests on her lap. As a queen, Blanche was eligible to partake of communion in both kinds, thus the inclusion of the chalice in the image expands upon the literal text to emphasize her status as part of the royal dynasty.

The luxurious trappings of this scene on the left side of the illumination, such as the elaborately carved bed and rich textiles, further support the emphasis on Blanche's royalty in addition to her piety. While the other scenes with her dressed in her habit contribute to a sense of personal sanctity, in this first scene she is still dressed in lay clothing. The text of *Le livre des faiz* describes her communion after stating that she took the habit, but the sequence of the two phrases is reversed in the Saint-Pathus *Vie et Miracles* source text, thus making it unclear which order of events was commonly recognized. Her lay clothing, however, emphasizes that it is her

⁷⁰ BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 57v.

⁷¹ "*En la parfin, en la maladie de laquele ele morut, ele reçut le benoiet vrai cors Jhesu Crist de l'evesque de Paris et avecques ce, par v jours ou par vi, ele reçut l'abit des nonnains de l'ordre de Cystiaus.*" Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 14.

royal status which allows her to partake of the chalice as well as the host. Even the background scene of her deathbed in which she wears her habit still includes the luxurious royal bed rather than the austere setting described in the manuscript.⁷² By separately featuring both this scene and the burial procession of her body to Maubuisson in the company of the nuns, the image makes a statement about Blanche's royalty and her piety, two characteristics that are equally important in associating her with her son as a dynastic example of sanctity.

The row of scenes with Louis at the bottom of the illumination echoes some of the divisions between the two images above. Superficially, the scenes on the left are interior, while those on the right occur outside. Louis's mourning for his mother when kneeling in front of the altar and the pietà is visually tied to the kneeling and praying figures around Blanche's bed in the image above. The scenes of him receiving the news also specifically relate to his relationship with his mother, emphasizing the connected ideas of family and royal descent. On the right, the crowds of nuns above and Carmelites below offer more spiritually focused visual messages. As Blanche's deathbed vows and burial at Maubuisson demonstrates her pious example, so the incident of Louis's prayer during the storm on the voyage home illustrates his own piety. The angel and the rays of light descending in the two images help to further underscore this connection.

The interplay between royal dynasty and sanctity is further nuanced upon comparison with chapter 40, the only other chapter to discuss a generational shift in authority and to include a second image. Although Louis was already king and Blanche was queen mother and regent rather than the preceding monarch, her death is given authoritative weight in the chapter 33 images of *Le livre des faiz*. In chapter 40, Louis's own death prompts a transfer of authority to

⁷² "elle se fist mettre sur ung peu de feurre sans coustre et dessus une serge tant seulement," BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 57v.

his son and heir, Philippe. However, while its frontispiece shows events during Louis's preparation for his second crusade, his arrival in Tunis, and his illness in the camp (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 76v, Fig. 7), the more formal royal deathbed scene only comes later in the second image in the chapter (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 78v, Figs. 8-9). The image appears a few pages into the chapter rather than on the next page as in chapter 33, and it is anchored by a second rubric introducing Louis's *Enseignements* to Philippe: "*comment monseigneur saint Loys enseigne a son filz comment il gouvernera lui et le royaume paisiblement apres sa mort.*"⁷³

The miniature of Louis's death is contained within a single box and is placed within the column of text, although it expands into both the left-hand margin and the space between the two columns of text. A small architectural frame inside the box of the miniature echoes the shape seen in the full-page illuminations. In the middle of the image a nimbed Louis is propped up on his deathbed. He is dressed in the white long-sleeved robe and white cap of the sick, but the bed covering and canopy are red, as in the image of Blanche.⁷⁴ Above him at the top of the miniature there is a crown suspended near the peak of the architectural frame and in front of the canopy of the bed. To his right, on the left side of the illumination, stands his son Philippe in a red robe backed by a crowd of nobles. Louis raises his right hand in a gesture of blessing towards his son. In the background on the right side of the image Louis's dead body is stripped except for a loincloth and his hands are clasped in a gesture of prayer. He is surrounded by tonsured monks holding open books and by hooded figures behind them, and light descends from the top of the image to touch the nimbus around his head.

⁷³ BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 78v.

⁷⁴ In contrast to this, both Louis's sickbed when he makes his crusader vow (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 19v) and the sickbed on the frontispiece of chapter 40 (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 76v, Fig. 7) have blue coverings with the royal fleur-de-lys.

This deathbed iconography is new for images of Louis and Philippe accompanying the *Enseignements*. Only two manuscripts of the *Grandes Chroniques*, John the Good's manuscript and another one with the same version of the text, include miniatures of Louis instructing his son accompanying the text. The *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good shows Louis, nimbed and crowned, standing on the left and pointing as a gesture of instruction, while Philippe stands on the right with his hand held out indicating his attention to his father (BL Royal 16 G VI, fol. 443v).⁷⁵ A manuscript from the third quarter of the fifteenth century (BnF MS fr. 2610), likely produced not long before *Le livre des faiz*, accompanies the instructions with an image of Louis sitting on the right, holding his scepter in his left hand and gesturing to Philippe, who stands on the left, with two canons watching from behind (BnF MS fr. 2610, fol. 257v).⁷⁶ Neither of these images visually locates the scene of instruction at the deathbed as does the miniature in *Le livre des faiz*.

The position of the bed in the miniature of Louis and Philippe is a deliberate echo of that in the image of Blanche in chapter 33. Both are royal deathbeds, and they are the only two beds in the life of Louis in *Le livre des faiz* that are viewed straight-on from the foot up to the head, thus visually linking them together. In prior images of Louis's death and burial, including fifteenth-century *Grandes Chroniques* manuscripts, the bed is shown either straight on from the side or at a slant. The slant position was also used in the scene of Louis sick in camp on the frontispiece to chapter 40 (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 76v, Fig. 7).⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Rubric: "*Les enseigneimenz que li bons rois looys fist a son fil.*" Text incipit: "*Chier fil: la premiere chose que ie t'enseigne...*"

⁷⁶ Rubric: "*Le testament du roi Louis.*" Text incipit: "*Chier filz la premier chose que je t'enseigne...*"

⁷⁷ In the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good, Louis's deathbed is viewed from the side (BL Royal 16 G VI, fol. 444v), and in that of Charles V it is slanted (BnF MS fr. 2813, fol. 302). From the mid- to late-fifteenth century, BnF MS fr. 6465, which shows Louis's body lying in a tent in the camp, depicts the deathbed from the side (fol. 284v), and the same is true for BnF MS fr. 2610 (fol. 258).

The new composition of Louis instructing Philippe from his deathbed, viewed straight-on from the bottom, thus stands out as a pair with the deathbed scene of Blanche receiving her final communion. Although Louis is not present at Blanche's side, his appearance at the bottom of the page reinforces their dynastic connection, and the *pietà* in his private chapel also suggests the importance of the maternal-filial relationship. The fact that Louis is passing along his wisdom to Philippe in the second image of chapter 40 allows a reader returning to the illumination of Blanche to contemplate the example that she provided and the instruction that she imparted to her son, even though her instruction is not directly visualized in the manuscript. This visually constructed new layer of meaning is consistent with the textual presentation of Blanche as having passed along her pious habits to her son.

Louis's deathbed image has a side-by-side pairing of dynastic and pious visual aspects that echoes the frontispiece of chapter 33. On the left, Philippe and the nobles surrounding him emphasize the royal, dynastic side to Louis's death, while on the right the group of clerics surrounding his dead body echo the devotional funeral procession of nuns seen in the image of Blanche. These visual correlations serve to reinforce the message that Blanche's authority and importance, like her son's, came from both her royal status and her pious life. Such associations make her a valuable member of his family and a means to emphasize the sanctity of Louis's family and dynasty.

The emphasis on Blanche within the frontispiece for chapter 33 is partially enhanced by her increased presence earlier in the visual cycle of the life in secondary scenes or as a supporting figure, as described at the beginning of this chapter. She appears in a very small but still distinct scene of Louis's birth in the background of the frontispiece for chapter 1 (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 7). She rides out at the head of an army with Louis in one of the scenes for chapter

4 (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 10v), and she stands behind him at his wedding in chapter 6 (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 11v). In a scene at the bottom of the illumination for chapter 7 the count of Champagne comes to her for mercy (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 13), and finally she is present at Louis's sickbed when he makes his crusader vow in chapter 12 (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 19v). Although individually these other scenes are not significant, they do help to weave her visual presence into the cycle and provide a basis for the active role that she assumes in her deathbed scene.

Isabelle de France, Sister of Saint Louis, and Isabelle Queen of Navarre, Daughter of Saint Louis

Two chapters later, in the frontispiece for chapter 35, scenes with two of Louis's female family members are juxtaposed on the same page (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 64v, Figs. 10-14). The rubric for the chapter reads "*comment le roy saint Loys fonda les cordelieres de longchamp et de la maniere comment il fist nourrir ses enfans*,"⁷⁸ and the two main images apply to these two activities. The upper section of the illumination is divided and features Louis's younger and sole surviving sister, Isabelle de France, on the left during her veiling at the convent of Longchamp. On the right Louis is shown sending gifts and a letter containing his *Enseignements* to his oldest surviving daughter, Isabelle Queen of Navarre. While she, unlike Isabelle de France, is not visually prominent in the image, it is the focus on the *Enseignements* that Louis sends to her that is important for this section of the illumination and for understanding the pairing of the two images. Below the text box, Louis is depicted engaging in other good works as well as teaching a group of his children.

⁷⁸ BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 64v.

The text of chapter 35 is almost nine pages long and encompasses a substantial description of Louis's character traits and various good works and behaviors, interwoven with historical political events. It opens with two paragraphs about Isabelle de France and the establishment of Longchamp. The first, very brief paragraph states that Louis's sister, Isabelle, desired to live a religious life until her death.⁷⁹ The paragraph about Longchamp then ties the king's decision to found the house to his sister's great devotion. After discussing the support he provides for the Cordelière sisters, the text again mentions Isabelle and describes how she took the habit of the sisters and lived the rest of her life religiously.⁸⁰ This information about Isabelle is not included in Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* or Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, but the chronicle text of Guillaume de Nangis used in BnF MS fr. 10132 incorporates a section on Longchamp and Isabelle that includes similar topics to those in *Le livre des faiz*.⁸¹ It describes Isabelle as the founder of the house, and then mentions Louis as supplying the possessions and rents to support it, thus giving a greater emphasis to Isabelle's active role than in *Le livre des faiz*, which credits Louis with both of these actions. BnF MS fr. 10132 also states that Isabelle took the habit of the sisters, which *Le livre des faiz* includes as well.⁸²

⁷⁹ “En lan mil CCLIX que le roy fut retourne en France du pays de surie. Madame Ysabeau seur du roy saint Loys vierge et fort devote envers dieu et sa glorieuse mere se delibera vivre religieusement comme elle avoit commancie.” BnF MS fr. 2829, fols. 64v-65.

⁸⁰ “Ouquel monastere apres ce quil fut acomply et acheve ladicte madame Ysabeau print labbit de religion de ses seurs cordelieres et illecq vesqui toute sa vie religieusement songneuse et encline a bien servir dieu et devotement et le continua sans en partir et y trespasa de ce siecle.” BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 65.

⁸¹ In BnF MS fr. 10132, this section on Longchamp and Isabelle immediately follows the single sentence about Louis's return to France and precedes the description of Henry III of England's visit and the death of Saint Louis's oldest son, also named Louis. In the versions of the *Grandes Chroniques* using the *Vie de Saint Louis*, a number of chapters separate Louis's return to France, the list of foundations that he supported, and Henry III's visit with events and description that are not included in BnF MS fr. 10132.

⁸² “La quele ysabel recut ilecques labit des suers et en vivant religieusement i termina sa vie loable.” BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 370v. The first redaction of the Latin *Chronicon* includes the basic information about the founding of the convent by Isabelle and the support given to it by Louis, but small extra details as well as a comment about her taking the habit are additions to the second redaction written after Louis's canonization. Sean Field believes that the tradition that she took the habit before her death developed over time from continued textual ambiguity and confusion. Field, *Isabelle of France*, 123–5.

The chapters following Louis's return from Syria in the textual versions of the *Grandes Chroniques* using Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* generally include descriptions of a variety of the king's good works and discussions of his pious character. The author of *Le livre des faiz* includes small pieces of many of these sections in chapter 35 and mingles them with similarly abbreviated examples of pious behavior taken from Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. Following the detailed paragraph on Longchamp, the text moves into a listing of the many religious foundations that Louis established upon his return to France.⁸³ In *Le livre des faiz* the list is abbreviated from that in the version of the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good with fewer foundations mentioned by name. Such reduction characterizes most of the examples of good works in this chapter. Rather than being separated out into various categories as in either Guillaume de Nangis or Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, all of the examples are brought together and presented in quick succession.⁸⁴

After a series of short disconnected examples of Louis's good works grouped together, there is a longer section about his *Enseignements* to his daughter Isabelle. This begins partway through a paragraph and continues for thirty-seven lines.⁸⁵ The switch to this extended subject immediately after sentences about Louis's almsgiving, feeding of the poor, and fasting, is a rather abrupt transition. The text about his letter to Isabelle opens with "*Il envoya par escript a sa fille la royne de navarre de beaux et gracieux enseignemens lexortant principalement alamour*

⁸³ In versions of the *Grandes Chroniques* based on the *Vie de Saint Louis*, this list includes Longchamp with the same basic level of information as with the other foundations. Chapter 35, Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 117–8.

⁸⁴ Two long paragraphs follow the one about the foundations and combine a number of descriptions of good works. Louis's charity and alms-giving to religious houses and especially mendicant orders are included as well as specific mentions of giving clothing to the poor and food to religious houses. Passages similar to these are found mainly in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus but also in Guillaume de Nangis. The often-cited example of feeding three poor men, found in both sources, is treated in just one short sentence in this manuscript. The description of his fasting behaviors is similarly abbreviated when compared with its treatment in a full paragraph in the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good: Chapter 34, Ibid., 116. The discussion of his desire to join a religious order after his heir came of age, located at the end of the first of these two long paragraphs, is a rare example of an account that is longer than in the sources: BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 65v, as compared with Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 129–30.

⁸⁵ It begins on the third line of BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 66 and goes to the seventh line of the second column.

*de dieu et a son service ladmonnestoit....*⁸⁶ From this point the author of *Le livre des faiz* begins a series of phrases describing the various topics of the advice of Louis to his daughter that are covered within the *Enseignements*, such as avoiding vain words and having good women around her. The text of his *Enseignements* to Isabelle appears in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus but not in any of the versions of the *Grandes Chroniques*.⁸⁷

Following the two lengthy paragraphs combining Louis's various good works and a summary of the *Enseignements* to Isabelle, the author of *Le livre des faiz* switches to a series of three one- or two-sentence paragraphs, the latter two of which are still about Louis and Isabelle. First, however, there is a single sentence describing how Louis would send a message to the convents asking for prayers before doing something important. This subject comes from the end of chapter 8 in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus on Louis's devotion to prayer.⁸⁸

The text then returns to Louis's advice and gifts to Isabelle. The next sentence describes how Louis recommended that his daughter guard herself from sumptuous or pompous habits. While this particular phrasing is new, the *Enseignements* as contained in chapter 9 of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus do include a sentence warning Isabelle against excess in her adornment.⁸⁹ The next two sentences are about the small iron chains and hair shirt that Louis sent to her for self-mortification.⁹⁰ Both of these gifts are mentioned and described in slightly more detail in a passage of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus following the text of the *Enseignements* in chapter 9.⁹¹ Finally, after the discussion of the gifts, *Le livre des faiz* includes a brief excerpt about desiring

⁸⁶ BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 66

⁸⁷ The full text is in chapter 9: Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 59–63. Excerpts from the *Enseignements* to Isabelle are also included in chapters 5, 6, and 8: Ibid., 31–2, 52, 57.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 58. Chapter 8 of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus also includes an excerpt from Louis's letter to Isabelle, which may provide the connection for the inclusion of this sentence in the middle of the description related to Isabelle.

⁸⁹ "...gardez bien que vos ne faciez exces en vostre aournement, ainçois soiez plus encline au moins que au plus." Ibid., 62.

⁹⁰ However, the first sentence, about the chains, is linked with the preceding one about pompous habits, while the sentence about the hair shirt stands alone as its own paragraph. BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 66.

⁹¹ Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 63.

to please God that is fairly close to the text of the *Enseignements* that is included in chapter 9 of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus.⁹² The author of *Le livre des faiz* concludes this section of chapter 35 with the statement that this demonstrates Louis's charity towards his children.

Following these passages devoted to Isabelle, the next two pages of the chapter discuss Louis's good works apart from his relationship to his children. Again, these accounts derive from both Guillaume de Nangis and Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. Prominent subjects within this part of the chapter include Louis's care for the leper monk at Royaumont, abridged from the description in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus,⁹³ and after that his habit of making the sign of the cross when curing scrofula, closely following the textual version of the *Grandes Chroniques* in John the Good's manuscript.⁹⁴ There is also a section about Louis's reverence for the relics held at the Sainte Chapelle as well as the different orders that participated in various feasts and offices at the royal chapel, which draws from text in chapter 6 of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus on Louis's devotion.⁹⁵

After a sentence about his desire to provoke devotion in others chapter 35 then goes back to Louis's letter of instruction to Isabelle. This section of chapter 35 includes a second excerpt from the *Enseignements* to Isabelle about going to divine services, praying during the consecration of the host, and listening to sermons and the word of God often. Immediately following it there is a paraphrase of a section from Louis's *Enseignements* to Philippe, which are included in full later in chapter 40. The words to Philippe recommend that he take care of the

⁹² Ibid., 62.

⁹³ Chapter 11, Ibid., 94–5.

⁹⁴ Chapter 37, Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 121–2.

⁹⁵ Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 41–2.

men of the church and assist the poor. The author takes the arrangement of these two particular passages from the end of chapter 6 in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus.⁹⁶

After this section of chapter 35 about Louis passing on his ideas about devotion and pious behavior to Isabelle and Philippe, the chapter continues with additional descriptions of Louis's actual devotional behaviors and actions, including a substantial passage from chapter 6 of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus,⁹⁷ before moving on to more historical events. With the arrival of King Henry III of England in France the chapter makes a rather sudden switch from the good works and devotional behavior of Saint Louis to a discussion of the Treaty of Paris between the two kings in 1259. According to the text, Henry renounces his claims to Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou in return for a great sum of money. Additionally, Louis gives him bishoprics and lands, including Gascoigne, which he then holds in fief and for which he must pay homage to the king of France. The passage is closest to that from the chronicle text of Guillaume de Nangis preserved in BnF MS fr. 10132.⁹⁸ A very similar text is found in chapter 39 of the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good, but this account contains an additional section about Henry's visit to Saint-Denis that is not present in *Le livre des faiz*.⁹⁹ The death of Louis's oldest son, Louis, and Henry's participation in the burial at Royaumont follows the paragraph about the Treaty of Paris in *Le livre des faiz*. Again, this text corresponds most closely to the abbreviated account in BnF MS fr. 10132; the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good provides a longer version.¹⁰⁰

The final two paragraphs of the chapter continue to discuss Louis's children. First the author of *Le livre des faiz* uses the death of Louis's oldest son as an opportunity to briefly

⁹⁶ Ibid., 52.

⁹⁷ This passage concerns his devotion to Saint Morice and the manner in which he brought the bodies of the saint's companions to a newly founded church in Senlis. Ibid., 45–7.

⁹⁸ BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 370v.

⁹⁹ Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 125–6.

¹⁰⁰ BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 370v; Ibid., 126–7.

describe his male heirs. The text states that Philippe became king, died in Aragon, and is buried in Narbonne, but only gives the names and titles of Louis's younger sons, Pierre, Jehan, and Robert. BnF MS fr. 10132 includes a similar passage at the end of Louis's life, although it does not have the details about Philippe's death and it includes all of Louis's children, not just his sons.¹⁰¹

After this transition *Le livre des faiz* describes some of the specific practices that Louis followed in educating and raising his children, such as encouraging their attendance at masses and preventing them from wearing crowns of flowers on Fridays in order to remember and honor Christ's Passion and the crown of thorns. The text also mentions that they would sit on the ground around Louis to hear his words of instruction. These passages about his education of his children are taken almost directly from chapter 33 of the textual tradition in the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good.¹⁰² It is part of the multi-chapter section in the *Grandes Chroniques* about Louis's good works and behavior after his return from Syria that is the source for earlier parts of chapter 35 in *Le livre des faiz*. However, in *Le livre des faiz*, it appears after the text about Henry III, which comes later in the *Grandes Chroniques*. This rearrangement allows the passage about raising Louis's children to be connected with the death of his son and perhaps also gives it more emphasis because it concludes the chapter.

Overall, the examples of the foundation of Longchamp and Louis's instructions and gifts to Isabelle are just a few among many examples in chapter 35 that help to build the case for his devotion and generous behaviors. It is striking that in choosing which elements from the chapter to highlight in its frontispiece, the designer of the program specifically picked two that involve Louis's female relatives. These are then paired with supplementary scenes that involve more

¹⁰¹ BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 373.

¹⁰² Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 114.

iconographically familiar images of Louis's piety such as feeding the leper monk at Royaumont.¹⁰³

Although the rubric only mentions Louis in relation to Longchamp, the image highlights Isabelle de France's personal piety, which is brought out in the text itself. As with the frontispiece of Blanche's death, the left side of the divided upper image is larger (Fig. 11). In the main scene on this side, Isabelle is depicted in the foreground kneeling and turned away from the viewer and slightly to the side, where she is looking at a book held by a Franciscan standing to her right. Her hands are together in prayer and she wears a black habit, white coif and wimple, and black veil. In front of her stands another Franciscan, wearing a cope over his robe, in the process of placing the veil on her head. Opposite the Franciscan holding the book for Isabelle stands another holding a book in front of his chest facing outward for the officiant.

Behind the officiant there is an altar with an open book and a chalice at opposite ends. In the center there is a gold crucifix leaning against the predella of the altarpiece. The main image of the altarpiece shows Saint Francis of Assisi receiving the stigmata, as Longchamp was associated with the Franciscans. To the left of the altarpiece stands a statue of Saint Clare of Assisi, the first female follower of Saint Francis and thus his female counterpart. She holds a crozier in her left hand and a monstrance in her right. Above the altarpiece there is a statue of the Trinity with God the Father holding a crucifix and a dove descending between God and Christ on the cross.

On the far side of the altar, behind the grouping of Isabelle, the officiant, and the assistants, are six more Franciscan figures. One stands directly behind the cleric holding up the

¹⁰³ Early iconography of Saint Louis, while not yet having a standard form, did draw from common ideas about the saint and include many of the same images and themes. The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Savoy Hours, and Hours of Marie de Navarre all include Louis feeding the leper monk at Royaumont, as did a now lost altar frontal from the lower chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle dated to c. 1320. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 206–30; Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*," 58–90.

service book, and he looks out into the distance beyond the figures in front of the altar. The other five figures cluster together and are depicted in more engaged poses. On the left side of the foreground, slightly further away from the group of religiously dressed figures, Saint Louis kneels with his prayer book on a draped stand in front of him. His hands are clasped, and, like the monk to his right in the image, he looks out into the distance as he prays. He is dressed in a red robe and a blue cloak with an ermine collar, he wears his crown, and there is a faint nimbus around his head.

A large arched opening at the back left side of the space reveals a secondary scene showing the construction of Longchamp. Several men work at the top of the stone walls with pickaxes, while another man stands on an overhang and waits for a man carrying a load on his shoulder who is climbing up a ladder leaned against the overhang. In front of the building, Louis and Isabelle stand side by side observing the work. Isabelle is fully facing away from the viewer, while Louis, to her left, turns partially and looks up and over his right shoulder. In his right hand he holds a scepter. The only difference in their dress from the foreground scene is the gray color of Isabelle's habit under her black veil.

The right half of the image has a series of scenes focusing on Louis's relationship with his daughter Isabelle, although in this case Louis is in a much more visually prominent role than she is (Fig. 12). In the foreground, Louis stands on the left side of the image and holds the set of chains for Isabelle in his left hand while he gives his letter to a messenger who kneels facing him on the right side of the image. Louis, who is again nimbed, wears a blue robe with an ermine collar, and he also wears his crown and several gold chains around his neck. The messenger has placed his hat on the floor between him and the king, and he holds a long rod that rests against his left shoulder. Behind Louis there are two hooded clerical figures.

In the background above Louis there is a continuation of interior space with a small scene of Louis on the very left side of the image. He is under a blue and gold canopy and is writing the letter which he passes to the messenger in the foreground scene. The letter rests on a table draped with red and gold cloth. Descending from the ceiling of the space there are gold rays of light, and on the wall above the arch leading to this scene there is a label "*vive le roy.*" On the right side of the background there is a series of outdoor scenes. In the front, the messenger walks along a path with his pole resting on his right shoulder. In the middle beyond this figure, he is shown again in a boat crossing a body of water. In the back right of the image, beyond the water, there is a castle with the label "*navare.*" Inside the castle two figures are shown; the messenger is on the left kneeling in front of a female dressed in a blue gown with a white headpiece, who would be Isabelle.

The bottom section of the page has three scenes, all featuring actions of Saint Louis. He is nimbed in all three scenes, although it is fainter than in the images above. On the left, he stands at a table and holds a bowl to the lips of the leper monk of Royaumont, whose face is covered with boils and whose eyes are closed (Fig. 13). Another monk stands on Louis's right side in the foreground of the image, and a figure in a red robe, partially bending over, looks up at this monk and offers a plate. In the scene at the center below the text frame, Louis kneels in front of a monk who is likewise kneeling or seated on the floor. The king is reaching out and holding a gold cross to the man's chest and head while gesturing, meanwhile the monk has his hands together in prayer. This recalls the description in the chapter of Louis making the sign of the cross when he heals scrofula and gives it a more explicit visualization.

Finally, on the right, Louis sits with three of his sons and a nurse kneeling in front of him (Fig. 14). Louis is positioned on the right edge of the page, and although there is not a cloth

canopy above him there is a red and gold cloth behind him and a carved wooden canopy above his head. He holds his hand under the chin of one of his sons, and gestures with his left hand while looking down at his lap. His children all hold their hands in front of their chests, and the nurse is behind the furthest boy, appearing to urge him forward.

As happened in the frontispiece featuring Blanche de Castille, the designer of the program creates several juxtapositions through the layout of the illumination for chapter 35 and the choice of its scenes. The images of the leper monk and the healing with the cross line up underneath that of Longchamp and are conceptually tied to it as examples of Louis and Isabelle's charitable actions and pious lifestyle. On the right, the scene of Louis with his sons is below the image of him sending the *Enseignements* and gifts to Isabelle, which serves as a clear and specific example of the instruction that he passed on to his children.

The choice of Isabelle's veiling as the focus of the image of Longchamp, however, shifts attention away from Louis's own role in helping to support the new foundation and onto the sanctity of his sister. The text has a more even balance between Louis and Isabelle, but the image subordinates the king as a witness to Isabelle's veiling while she takes center stage. The veiling represents her marriage to Christ and is the most visually symbolic way to emphasize her personal piety and devotion. Isabelle is also visually tied to the statue of Saint Clare in the image through their similar dress. The rule that she created for Longchamp differed in its emphasis from Clares's own focus on the poverty of the Franciscans, as Isabelle chose to concentrate instead on the Franciscan value of humility.¹⁰⁴ Although she was never formally canonized, the image juxtaposes her with Clare and thus highlights her role alongside that of the saint in the formation of female Franciscan identities.

¹⁰⁴ Field, *Isabelle of France*, 113–6.

This greater emphasis on Isabelle de France contributes to the reading of the illumination as a whole. The scenes speak to each other across the left-right divide, as the moral behavior that Louis and Isabelle exemplified and the charitable acts that they performed were a significant part of the legacy left to Louis's children and to later generations. Moreover, not only does the sanctity of Isabelle de France contribute to the case for the general sanctity of the royal line, but it also provides a female model for Louis's daughter Isabelle, even though she was married. The examples of both siblings, Louis and Isabelle, thus contribute to the instruction of future generations, and the frontispiece demonstrates that sanctity is not limited to one member of the family.

Blanche de la Cerda, Daughter of Saint Louis

Finally, chapter 39 features the marriage of Blanche, one of Louis's younger daughters, to Ferrant de la Cerda, the Infante de Castille (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 75v, Figs. 15-18).¹⁰⁵ Unlike other chapters that often group a number of events or topics together, whether or not they are related, Blanche's marriage is the sole focus of chapter 39. It is thus the shortest chapter of the life that has a full-page frontispiece.¹⁰⁶ The illumination for this chapter has a single large image above the text rather than a split image as in the case of the two chapters discussed above. This main scene depicts the wedding ceremony of Blanche and Ferrant, while the lower scenes below the text are of Blanche's eventual return to France.

The text of chapter 39 is a single paragraph, and it begins with a mention of Louis's rights in Castile through his mother, Blanche. It then discusses the terms of the arrangement

¹⁰⁵ The rubric reads "*Comment le roy saint Loys maria sa fille nomme blanche a ferrant filz du roy de castille.*" BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 75v.

¹⁰⁶ Only two other chapters of the life are shorter, chapter 9 and chapter 16, both of which have smaller accompanying miniatures within and around the columns of text rather than a full-page illumination.

between Louis and the king of Castile for the marriage, especially highlighting the consent of the king and Ferrant's brothers to the stipulation that they would not block a child of the marriage, whether male or female, from succeeding to the crown of Spain. One sentence follows with the basic information that after these conditions were set, Louis sent Blanche to Spain to be married. The concluding sentence of the chapter shifts to after the death of Saint Louis. Here the author of *Le livre des faiz* states that Blanche was maltreated and returned to France, and her two children were disinherited.

The marriage of Blanche is included in both the version of Guillaume de Nangis's *Vie de Saint Louis* found in the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good and in Louis's life in BnF MS fr. 10132. However, it was removed from the modified version of the *Grandes Chroniques*, and it is also not present in the *Vie et miracles* of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus.¹⁰⁷ The description of the wedding in the *Grandes Chroniques* of John the Good comes at the end of a chapter describing Louis's preparations for his second crusade with the subsequent chapter starting with his departure for the crusade. In *Le livre des faiz* the preparations and departure are grouped together in chapter 40 after the chapter on Blanche's wedding. The text in the John the Good manuscript gives additional details regarding the occasion of the marriage that are not included in *Le livre des faiz*, but it does not mention Louis's rights in Castile or the explicit consent of the Castilian king and his sons to the arrangement. It also does not mention the later troubles of Blanche but instead states that because of the conditions of the marriage her children did not lose their rights to the kingdom.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, who was the confessor for Blanche de la Cerda after serving as confessor for her mother, Marguerite de Provence, and who wrote the *Vie et miracles* at Blanche's request, describes her once in chapter 4 as the former wife of Ferrant, but makes no mention of the wedding or results of the marriage. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 29.

¹⁰⁸ "Et fu faiz li mariages par tele condition que se ladite Blanche avoit hoir dudit Ferrant son mari, et li diz Ferrans moroit avant son pere le roy Aufons, que pour ce, li enfant que il aroit eus de Blanche sa fame ne

The placement of the marriage in the text of BnF MS fr. 10132 is closer to that used in *Le livre des faiz*. It follows directly after the section on the battle of Louis's brother Charles d'Anjou with Conradin and Henry of Spain, and the discussion of Louis's second crusade begins after the description of the marriage. Like *Le livre des faiz*, the chronicle version includes the idea of Louis's own rights in Spain because of his mother. However, it does not discuss the explicit arrangement between Louis and the king of Castile that is emphasized in *Le livre des faiz* but simply alludes to the fact that Blanche's children from the marriage would inherit after the death of their father and grandfather. As with the text from the *Vie de Saint Louis* it also does not describe Blanche's own fate. However, the entry for 1276 in BnF MS fr. 10132, which is part of the section on the reign of Philippe III, includes several sentences about the death of Ferrant and the resulting actions of the king of Castile towards Blanche and her two sons. The entry describes how the sons were removed from succession and detained while Blanche returned to France without a dowry and without honor.¹⁰⁹

In comparison to the earlier textual traditions about Blanche's marriage to Ferrant de la Cerda, therefore, the author of *Le livre des faiz* highlights the elements of conflict. He draws upon material from the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis that is outside the scope of Louis's own life and adds this directly to the account of Blanche's marriage to demonstrate the poor treatment of her and her children. Jean Richard describes this addition as an example of his attempts to facilitate the understanding of his readers by providing further information.¹¹⁰ Because of this information at the end of the chapter, the author's added emphasis on the consent

perdroient pas le droit du royaume d'Espagne aprez la mort du roy Auphons leur aiol." Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France* 10, 163.

¹⁰⁹ *Lors aufour pere dicelui ferrant envers les ii filz qui icelui ferrant avoit engendre de blanche sa fame erra mauvessement et contre la convenance quil avoit eue au roy de france saint looys icel enfans debouta du tout en tout de la succession du royaume. Et leur mere sanz doaire et sanz honneur ses enfans detenus lessa revenir en france aussi comme nouveillant a son frere le roy phelippe de france.* BnF MS fr. 10132, fol. 375.

¹¹⁰ Gousset, Avril, and Richard, *Saint Louis, roi de France*, 11.

of the king of Castile and his other sons to the terms of the arrangement concerning succession creates a greater awareness of the discrepancy between the agreement and the reality.

Interestingly, he also locates the breaking of the agreement temporally as “*depuis le trespas de saint loys son pere*” rather than in relation to the death of Ferrant, as is the case in BnF MS fr. 10132. Ferrant’s death occurred several years after that of Saint Louis and, because he predeceased his father, his death was a greater factor in the events that followed.¹¹¹

Despite the prominent role of Louis in the text of the chapter, his visual presence in the frontispiece illumination is quite minimal. In the upper left corner of the main image there is a small secondary scene of the marital arrangements (Fig. 16). Louis and Blanche stand in front of a group on the left side of the scene. Louis is dressed in an ermine-collared blue robe, and Blanche’s dress is red with gold, the colors of Castile, although the shapes of the pattern are not castles. Louis holds her right hand out with his right hand, and in his left hand he holds out a piece of paper with writing on it. The figure opposite him, either the king of Castile or Ferrant himself, also holds the paper and has his left hand to his chest. He appears to be kneeling before Louis, as do the figures behind him. The front figure wears a blue robe with gold, while the figure directly behind him wears red with gold, like Blanche, decorated with shapes that are more akin to castles.

The main scene of the frontispiece depicts the wedding ceremony of Blanche and Ferrant, and Louis is not present in this part of the image since it took place in Spain. Because the space above the text block is not split to accommodate two separate images, the wedding scene is prominent and expansive. It focuses on Blanche and Ferrant, who are each labeled at the bottom

¹¹¹ BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 76. Ferrant died in 1275, and the *cortes* named the second son of Alfonso de Castille, Sancho, as heir, thus disinheriting Blanche’s children. Blanche and her mother-in-law arranged to have her sons sent to live in Aragon while Blanche initially tried to gain supporters for them. Sancho took hold of the throne in 1284 when his father died and Blanche’s sons were never able to successfully inherit the throne. E. Gerli, *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 177.

of the scene. They stand in front of a bishop slightly to the right of the center of the image, lined up with the peak of the purple architectural frame around the illumination, which is also offset to the right. Blanche stands in front of the left side of the group, on the bishop's right. She and Ferrant join their right hands while the bishop holds his hands above theirs and looks downward. She wears a red long-sleeve gown with ermine at the bodice, and over her gown she has a long cloak that is gold with a blue design and also fully lined with ermine. She wears a crown around the white cone of her headdress, and she also wears a thick gold necklace and gold belt. Ferrant's outer robe is of the same gold with blue as Blanche's cloak, and the small bit of his robe that is visible underneath is red. He holds his green hat in his left hand, leaving his head uncovered. He looks at Blanche, whose own eyes are lowered.

A large crowd surrounds the couple and the bishop within the depicted interior space of the church. Immediately behind Blanche a group of women are easily visible in the crowd because of their headdresses, which include both full and truncated cones. At the front of the crowd on the left side of the image, a man stands to Blanche's right and holds her gold cloak out to her side. Behind him a group of musicians are separated from the rest of the crowd by the women flanking Blanche. The two boys in front hold small harps, and there is also a man with a lute and one with a trumpet. Other trumpets stick out above the crowd at the back of the group on the left. On the right of the image, behind Ferrant, are well-dressed male courtiers. A dog pokes its head out between Ferrant and the man standing to his left, while on the opposite side of the image a second dog sniffs one of the harps. Between the bishop and the altar is a mixture of tonsured and lay figures. An arched opening with three tiers of voussoirs bearing sculpted figures rises above this part of the crowd. Statues of the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary depicting the Annunciation stand on columns to the left and right of the voussoirs framing the

archway. The opening defines the space above Blanche, the bishop, and Ferrant and also frames the altar in the far background and the figures of Christ on the cross, Mary, and John that stand above the apse.

The row of secondary images at the bottom of the page presents three successive scenes. In all three Blanche wears a gold dress with the same blue pattern on it that she and Ferrant wore in the wedding scene. It has an ermine collar and cuffs, and the bottom half of the skirt is also of ermine. She has a short black veil on over her white cone headdress. In the scene on the left, she stands inside of a building in front of a crowd of men (Fig. 17). She holds her hands clasped in front of her chest and turns her head to look at the man standing to her right. Two small boys dressed in simple blue robes, her sons, stand behind her, one on either side. The man she looks at has his right hand on the arm of the smaller of the two boys, who stands in front of him, and he holds his left hand up as if gesturing to her while talking. On her other side another man kneels, holds up his hands, and looks up at her as if pleading. He wears a pink robe and a black chaperon with the cap draped over his shoulder. A caption over the doorway behind the crowd of figures in the background reads "*Castelle*".

At the center of the page, a group of mounted figures emerge from behind a tower that divides the scene from the previous one (Fig. 18). The rider closest to the viewer is the man who was previously kneeling and pleading, this time with his cap on his head. Blanche rides on the horse directly behind his, leading slightly, and she sits with her back to the viewer and her head turned to the left to look and him. Her two sons are in the background riding behind her and again appear to the viewer on either side of her.

Finally, on the right side of the page Blanche arrives on horseback in front of a crowd of figures outside the city gate of Paris, which is labeled in the background. She again faces away

from the viewer, and this time she looks forward to the figure at the front of the crowd that has come out to greet her. Her sons are no longer in the image, as they remained in Spain, but a man who stands behind her horse wearing pink and doffing his chaperon with its long tail is likely the same figure as in the two earlier scenes.

Blanche's wedding is the only one in the manuscript to receive such prominent treatment both visually and in terms of chapter structure. Both Louis's own marriage and that of his heir, Philippe, are grouped into chapters with other events, rather than isolated out as Blanche's is.¹¹² Visually, Louis's marriage is depicted in one section of a marginal miniature (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 11v), and Philippe's is in the bottom right corner of a full-page frontispiece (BnF MS fr. 2829, fol. 69v). Because of their smaller dimensions, these scenes of marriage include much more limited crowds of spectators and musicians than the later image of Blanche and Ferrant.

The large number of witnesses to the marriage in the illumination for chapter 39, however, does not just serve to fill up the background space of the image but also helps to expand upon the contrasts emphasized in the text. Blanche's return to France, although only a small addition to the text, receives a prominent visualization in the series of three images at the bottom of the page that indicates its importance to the reading of the chapter and of the images above it in the frontispiece. The crowd of witnesses at the marriage ceremony can be seen as providing a visual testimony to the legitimacy of the union and therefore the rights of Blanche's future children. Like the emphasis in the text on the terms of the arrangement that are later disregarded, the main image thus contrasts with the events that are shown at the bottom of the page.

Louis's prominence in the text is greatly minimized in the frontispiece with the relegation of the contract to the top corner. Instead, it is Blanche herself who is highlighted independently

¹¹² Louis's marriage comes at the end of chapter 6, and Philippe's at the end of chapter 36.

of her father both in the main image and in the secondary scenes below. Her inclusion initially appears to be the most unusual out of the female family members in the visual cycle of the manuscript because of the lack of connection between the marriage scene and Louis himself in either a dynastic or a spiritual aspect, as seen in the other examples. However, the image's presence and prominence in the cycle can be understood in two ways. First, it touches on Blanche's children, who were themselves descendents of Saint Louis, and helps to visualize the injustice of their disinheritance that is implied in the text.

Additionally, the image sets the stage for Blanche's later life, even though that is not part of the illumination itself. The row of secondary scenes, besides visualizing the poor treatment of Blanche in Castile after her husband's death, also brings her back to France in the last image. Later in her life she attached herself to the Cordelières convent that had been founded by her mother Marguerite in 1289 and left unfinished upon Marguerite's death in 1295. She supported the convent and also patronized works promoting the cult of Saint Louis, including a fresco cycle of his life in the convent cloister and the writing of the *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus.¹¹³ This combination of pious works and patronage promoting her father's cult thus draws her into the discussion of dynasty and dynastic sanctity that is part of the visual program in *Le livre des faiz*.

¹¹³ Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*," 6–7.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The designer of the program in *Le livre des faiz* exploited the lavish scale of the manuscript to create a visual cycle of Saint Louis that is unprecedented in its length and the size of its illuminations. Within this setting, the newly composed text of *Le livre des faiz*, which drew from both historical and hagiographical accounts of Louis, offered an opportunity for both a rich merging of iconographic traditions and innovation in subject and representation. One of these innovations was the addition of not just one but several of Louis's female relatives as prominent subjects of the visual program of the manuscript. Read in the context of late medieval dynastic ideas, this new visual emphasis on lineage provides a support for the belief in the sanctity of the whole French royal line. As both Jeanne de France and her husband Jean II de Bourbon could claim descent from Saint Louis, the concept of the *beata stirps* would have been fitting for Jeanne's interests.

Blanche de Castille's inclusion in the manuscript helps to secure the origins of the sanctity of the royal line before Louis. The piety that she taught to him is demonstrated visually through her deathbed donning of the habit, and her connection with Louis both in the frontispiece for chapter 33 and through its pairing with Louis's own deathbed scene in chapter 40 reinforces this idea of heredity and sanctity. The image of Louis's sister Isabelle de France builds a wider basis of evidence for the holy character of the royal dynasty. As the other member of Louis's family to have been considered a living saint, her presence in the cycle confirms the *beata stirps*. Louis's daughter Isabelle, meanwhile, is the first of two female examples of Louis's own descendents. The image of Louis sending her the *Enseignements*, despite her minimal visual presence, communicates that Louis in turn passes his own pious behavior to his children, as Blanche de Castille had. Finally, Blanche de la Cerda also connects with the idea of inherited

royal piety, not through her actual marriage scene, but through her own religious life and the role that she played in promoting Louis's cult.

These three frontispieces of Blanche de Castille, Isabelle de France, and Blanche de la Cerda incorporate the full generational range necessary to cover the entire concept of the *beata stirps* built around Louis, "the lineage from which he descended and the lineage which he bore."¹¹⁴ Apart from the image of Louis sending the *Enseignements* and gifts to Isabelle in Navarre, all of the images are new iconography. They also mostly derive from texts that were not from the main *Grandes Chroniques* tradition, which was the basis for many of the historical subjects that are favored in the miniatures of *Le livre des faiz*. Blanche's final communion and the *Enseignements* to Isabelle were both part of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's text, while the discussion of Isabelle and Longchamp came from Guillaume de Nangis's chronicle.

The tradition of images in the historical manuscripts of Saint Louis did not include women, unlike the hagiographical and devotional traditions. However, the inclusion of independent images of the successful soldier Charles d'Anjou did provide a precedent for incorporating images that had very little direct involvement with Saint Louis. The program in *Le livre des faiz* combines these two aspects of the prior cycles with new iconography of Louis's female family members. While other women are also present in the manuscript, notably Marguerite de Provence, these particular examples are distinctive for the independent or co-equal action that is afforded them in the images. Blanche de Castille, Isabelle de France, and Blanche de la Cerda become part of a more broadly expressed dynastic thread of the visual program, and through them the manuscript makes a visual statement about the late medieval concept of the saintly lineage and the participation of the late fifteenth-century royalty in this lineage.

¹¹⁴ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 237.

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« *Les croniques des roys de France, depuis le temps des premiers roys qui I furent dusques au temps du roy Phelippe, qui fu filz Phelippe li biaux, et frère le roy Looys, lesquelles Pierres Honnorez du Nuef Chastel, en Normendie, fist escrire et ordoner,... selon l'ordenance des Croniques de Saint-Denis, à maistre Thommas de Maubuege, demeurant en rue neue Nostre-Dame de Paris, l'an... 1318...* » (BnF MS fr. 10132).
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90632136>.

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Figures



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Figure 1. Chapter 33, frontispiece, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys*, fol. 55. Top: Final communion and death of Blanche de Castille; funeral procession of Blanche de Castille and burial at Maubuisson. Bottom: A papal legate receives the news of Blanche's death in Syria; the legate tells Louis of Blanche's death; Louis prays before the altar in his private chapel; Louis stops at the monastery of Mount Carmel while sailing back to France; Louis's prayers before the sacrament on board the ship calm a violent storm. BnF MS fr. 2829, c. 1482.



Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1.



Figure 3. Detail of Figure 1.



Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1.



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1.



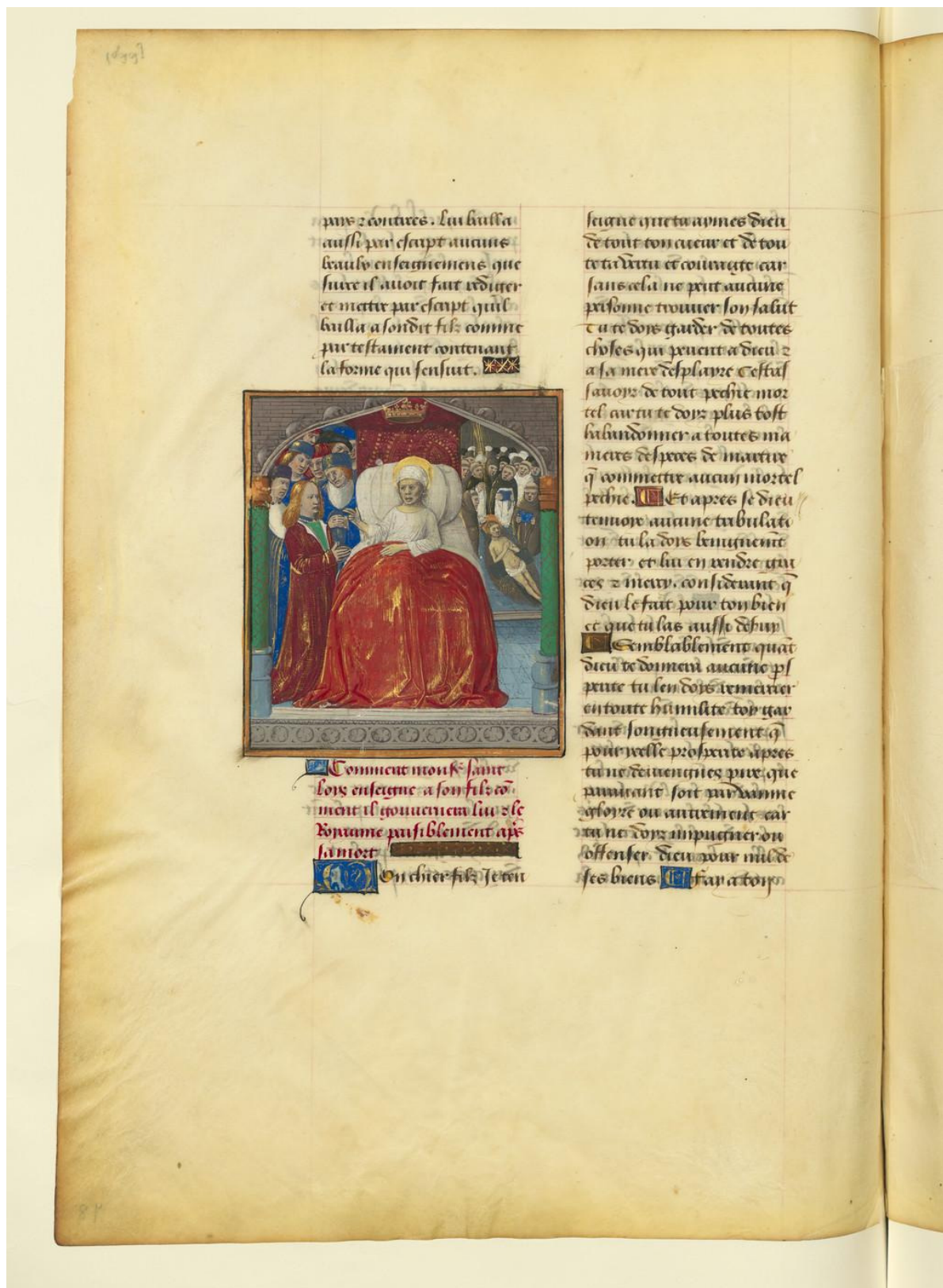
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Figure 6. Chapter 33, second image, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys*, fol. 55v. Louis arrives at the gates of Paris with his men; Louis is greeted by a procession of clergy; Louis departs the welcome festivities and rides to the Bois de Vincennes. BnF MS fr. 2829, c. 1482.



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Figure 7. Chapter 40, frontispiece, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys*, fol. 76v. Top: Louis receives a papal legate; Louis assists with the baptism of a Jew; Louis confers the regency of the French government onto the abbot of Saint-Denis and the knight Simon de Clermont; Louis confers with his advisors; Louis and his barons take the cross; the crusaders depart Paris for the port of Aigues Mortes. Bottom: Louis and his army arrive at the port of Carthage; the crusaders take the castle of Carthage; Louis, his son John Tristan de Nevers, and the papal legate fall sick in the camp. BnF MS fr. 2829, c. 1482.



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Figure 8. Chapter 40, second image, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys*, fol. 78v. Louis instructs his son Philippe from his deathbed; death of Saint Louis. BnF MS fr. 2829, c. 1482.



Figure 9. Detail of Figure 8.



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Figure 10. Chapter 35, frontispiece, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys*, fol. 64v. Top: Louis and his sister Isabelle de France supervise the construction of the abbey at Longchamp; the veiling of Isabelle de France; Louis writes to his daughter Isabelle Queen of Navarre; Louis gives the letter and chains for self-discipline to a messenger; the messenger travels to Navarre; the messenger presents the gifts to Isabelle in Navarre. Bottom: Louis feeds a leprosy monk at Royaumont; Louis presents the cross to a monk and heals him; Louis teaches his children. BnF MS fr. 2829, c. 1482.



Figure 11. Detail of Figure 10.



Figure 12. Detail of Figure 10.



Figure 13. Detail of Figure 10.



Figure 14. Detail of Figure 10.



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Figure 15. Chapter 39, frontispiece, *Le livre des faiz monseigneur Saint Loys*, fol. 75v. Top: Louis arranges the marriage of his daughter Blanche to Ferrant de la Cerda, the Infante de Castille; wedding ceremony of Blanche and Ferrant. Bottom: Blanche in Castile; Blanche departs with her two sons; Blanche arrives in Paris. BnF MS fr. 2829, c. 1482.



Figure 16. Detail of Figure 15.



Figure 17. Detail of Figure 15.



Figure 18. Detail of Figure 15.

Appendix A: Transcriptions of Discussed Chapters in *Le livre des faiz*

Chapter 33

[55] Du retour en france du roy saint Loys. Le XXXIIIe chapitre.

En lan mil CCLIII / madame blanche / la royne de france / mere de saint Loys qui avoit / la garde et
gouvernement // du royaume de france tres/passa de ce ciecle et fut por/tee a grant honneur et sole(m)/nite
en une eglise de no(n)nai(n)s / de lordre de cisteaulx nommee [55v] Maubuisson quelle avoit / fondee et
illec fut ent(e)ree. / * Apres la mort de la(ue)lle / royne pource que le roy so(n) / filz estoit en Syrie,
Alphons / et charles ses freres eurent et / prindrent le gouvernem(en)t / du royaume. Aussi loys et /
ph(ilipp)e enfans du roy saint loys / navoyent pas assez aage / pour gouverner ne defen/dre ledit royaume
sil y sur/venoit aucun cas ou que / aucuns ennemis voulsis/sent entreprendre sur le roy/aume. * Ces
nouvelles / vindrent a la congnoyssa(n)ce / du roy qui estoit oudit pai(s) / de Syrie. et la nouvelle ve/nue
dudit trespas le legat / en eut le premier la cong/noyssance et certainnete / lequel delibera le dux au / roy.
pour laquelle chose a / complir appelez avecques / lui l'arcevesque de tyrense / qui avoit lors le seel du
roy / et le confesseur qui estoit / de lordre des freres presche(or)s / vint devers le roy en sa cha(m)/bre
avecques les deux des/susd(it) dist au roy quil vou//loit parler a lui en secret en sa / chambre en la
presence de telz / gens quil lui plairoit. Le / roy approchant du legat con/gneut que sa face estoit tri/ste et
griefue et pensa bien q(u)il lui vouloit dire aucune / doloureuse nouvelle. Et / adoncques il les mena en sa
/ chappelle qui estoit pres de sa / chambre et les huys cloz se / assist devant lautel et les / troys avecques
lui lors le / legat prudenment exposa / au roy les grans biens et / honneurs que dieu lui ot / faiz des son
jeune aage et / entre autres choses quil lui / avoit pourveu par sa grace / dune mere qui lavoit si /
benignement et doulcem(en)t / nourri lavoit enseigne et / instruit en la foy catholiq(ue) / et en bonnes
meurs et avoit / traittiez et administrez les / faiz et negoces du royaume / si prudenment lui remon/strant a
grans lermes et / souspirs la mort d'elle qui / estoit tant dommageables / et a plaindre que trop on ne /
pourroit le faire mais tou[56]tesvoyes puis quil auoit pleu / a n(ost)re s(eigneur) ainsi en ordonner q(u)il
le devoit prendre en gre. / * Ces nouvelles ouyes p(ar) / le roy catholique tout fon/dant et resolu en lermes
de/vant lautel se gitta a ge/noulx et a haulte voix les / mains iointes ainsi plou/rant tres devotement il dist.
/ * Seigneur dieu je te m(er)cie / que ma tres doulce mere et / dame tu ma prestee et laissee / si
longuement et mainten(ant) / ton plaisir a este la prendre / par mort corporelle. Certain/nement sire je
laymoye sur / toutes creatures et elle lavoit / bien deservy par ses merites / mais ton bon plaisir soit fait /
et ton nom soit beneit eter/nelement Amen. * Apres / ces choses ainsi d(i)c(t)es par le roy / il donna
congie audit legat / et voulu demourer seul en sa / chambre avecques son confes/seur priant piteusement
et / benignement audit legat / au departement et yssue de / laditte chappelle quil eust / lame de saditte
mere en les / prieres pour recommandee. // * Les diz legatz et arcevesque / partiz de lui il demoura au/cun

pou de temps a genoulz / devant lautel en contempla/tion gettant grans souspirs / et lamentacions. * Mais / ce voyant son confesseur doub/tant que sa douleur et tristes/se ne le grevast il s'approcha / de lui pour le consoler au mi/eulx quil peust lui demon/strant en toute humilite q(ue) / nature avoit assez rendu / en lui ce quelle devoit et que / a pri(n)t estoit couvenable q(ui)l / rendist et monstrast ce qui / appartenoit a grace enlui(n)ee. / Laquelle admonicion et con/solation il receust benigne/ment et le monstra p(or) effect / car incontinent il se leva / de ce lieu et en son oratoyre / ouquel il auoit acoustume / dire ses heures il entra et ap/pella sondit confesseur et eulx / deux dirent aulong les vi/gilles des mors a ix ps(a)lmes / et a ix lecons et les vespres / sans varier ou laisser ung / mot combien quil eust et por/tast en soy aussi grande et / aggravee douleur comme [56v] autres presonnes en pareil cas / voulentiers y oublyent ou vi/vent aucunement. Mais / il fault attribuer ce a grace / supernelle et ala grant con/stance de son cueur. * Aussi / le bon roy tant quil vesquit / avoit acoustume dire ch(ac)un / iour ses heures a leure ordo(n)nee / le plus quil pouoyt avecques / ung de ses chappellains et si les / faisoit chanter a note devant / lui solennelement par ses / clerics et chappellains mesme/ment quant il chevauchoyt / par pays si sarrestoit il en / aucun lieu pour faire dire et / celebrer le service avant que / leure passast. Et pour decl(er)er / plus en particulier saditte / coustume, a mynuit il com/mandoit a appeller ses chappel/lains et clers. Leur faisoit in/continent chanter matines / et les oyoit en grande devo/cion. Et si les disoit a basse / voix avecques aucun de ses / chappellains qui sen retour/noyent apres matines dor/mir silz vouloyent. A heure / de prime les faisoit appeller / et prime chantee sen retour//noyent. A tierce revenoyent / chanter la messe des mors q(ui)l / se disoit basse si non quil fist / faire aucun anniversaire / ou quil feist chanter pour / aucuns de ses s(er)viteurs tres/passez et quant pour cela il / la faisoit chanter a note so/lennellement. * Tous les / lundiz faisoit celebrer a no/te messe des angelz. Le m(ar)/di et le samedi de n(ost)re dame. / Le mercredi des trespassez. / Le ieudi du saint esperit. et / Le vendredi de la croix. Et / avec ce ch(ac)un jour faisoit cele/brer du iour messe haulte. * Au temps de karesme il / oyoit ch(ac)un jour troys messes / et en faisoit dire lune ento(ur) / midi. Ch(ac)un iour il oyoit / vespres a note et les disoit / bas avecques ung chappellai(n). / * Aux festes simples qui / nestoyent a ix lecons navoit / q(ue) deux cierges sur lautel / Aux festes de neuf lecons / iii. Aux doubles six ou huit. / Aux grandes solenneles. xii. / Et quant on renouvelloyt / les cierges sur lautel les / vielz cierges estoyent aux [57] aux [sic] clers de la chappelle. Es / festes solennelles et doubles / se disoit la messe a dyacre et / soubzdyacre et es autre(s) festes / faisoit faire comme es egl(is)es / cathedrales. Es festes solen/nelles se chantoit la messe p(ar)/ ung evesque et y avoit a / ceste cause en sa chappelle ri/ches chappes chazubles et to(us)/ autres aornemens propres / pour y s(er)vir. Et combien q(ue) / une foyz lui fut remonstre / quil veilloit trop et que po(r) / ceste cause se disposast de no(n) / lever si tost toutesfoys estoy/ent dittes les matines tous/iours avant le jour. * Le / bon roy comme vray et devot / enfant qui singulierem(en)t aymoist sa mere tant q(ui)l / vesquit fist dire et celebrer / pour lame de saditte mere / infyny nombre de messes / et beaucoup doroysons et suf/frages en

plusieurs lieux / et religions. et tous les iours / devant lui hors les iours de / dimanche et es feste
 solempnelles. Il fist faire en acre / service solennel pour sa d(i)c(t)e / mere et chanta la grande // messe le
 cardinal legat qui / aussi fist loffice. Et aucu(n)s / iours apres le s(er)vice complet / et acheve se disposa
 de reto(ur)ner en france doubtant q(ue) aucun peril ou inconveni(ent) ny avenist en son ab/sence. * Mais
 pour ung/ poy parler de la vie de ladite / royne blanche qui se demon/stra en son temps fort vertu/euse.
 Car gouvernant le / royaume elle print coura/ge de homme en faisant / prudem(e)nt et saignement a /
 ch(ac)un administrer iustice. / Garda les droys du royaume / les defendit vigoreusement / contre plusieurs
 adversair(es) / qui voulurent entreprendre / contre le roy son filz. moult / estoit honneste en paroles /
 Aymoyt fort religieuses p(er) / sonnes bonnes et devotes et / toutes manieres de gens q(u)/elle
 congnoyssoit bons. ho(n)/noroit saiges et preudho(m)mes / Se siouissoyt de bien faire / pour donner
 exemple aux / autres de ainsi faire tout / mal et esclandre lui desplai/soyent elle estoit grande [57v]
 aumosniere aux povres elle / fonda deux abbayes avant / son trespas aumoins le roy / son filz a sa
 requeste. * Et / quant elle se sentit malade / cinq ou six jours avant q(u)/elle mourust print labbit / des
 seurs de maubuysson / de lordre de cisteaulx. Voua / les veufz de religion delibera / les garder en
 obeyssant aux / commandemens de labbesse / receut le precieux corps de n(ost)re / seigneur ih(es)u crist
 par les / mains de levesque de paris / en grande humilite devotio(n) / et reverence et sentant la / mort
 approchier et que lon/gue piece avoit este sans / parler pour la douleur de sa / maladie elle se fist mettre /
 sur ung peu de feurre sans / couste et dessus une serge / tant seulement. La les / p(ala)bres lui voulant
 bailler la / derreniere unction se trouve/rent esbayz et ne comman/coyent point loffice. Elle ce / voyant
 commanca et dist / ces paroles. Subvenite s(an)cti / dei omnes etc. a voix foyble / et basse. Ce oyans les
 d(its) p(ala)bres // commancerent le service de / mors duquel elle dist avec / eulx cinq ou six vers mais /
 avant quilz eussent acheve / elle trespasa. * Le navire / doncques et autres apprestz / pour le passage du
 roy et / des siens et les provisions / mises en la terre sainte teles / quil les y pavoit mettre / il laissa au
 legat grant m(u)ltitude de ch(eva)l(i)ers monta en / acre sur la mer et au dep(ar)/tir la compaigna ledit
 legat / plusieurs prelatz et beaucoup / de notables gens dudit pays / qui en grans pleurs et ler/mes le
 convoyevent iusq(ue)s / a son navire. Ouquel du / congie et licence dudit car/dinal il fist mettre le corps /
 de n(ost)re S(eigneur) ih(es)u crist ce qui nest / pas acoustume de faire / mais le bon roy le faisoit po(ur) /
 subvenir aux malades et / aussi se aucuns pour q(ue)lq(ue) / chose mouroyent pour leur / faire recevoyr
 ala derrenie(re) / unction. * Apres la mort / desquelz le bon roy faisoit / faire suffrages et oroysons / pour
 lame des d(its) trespassez [58] par ses chappellains. Et na/vigant par ladite mer vit / deloing en son
 chemin une / chappelle qui estoit ou mo(n)t / du carme. De laquelle belle / chappelle vindrent au deva(n)t
 / de lui pource quil estoit la / descendu a terre Les religieux / qui estoyent barrez en leurs / habiz Desquels
 religieux / il print et retint avecques / soy aucun nombre en les mettant avecques lui ou / navire mais en
 chemin / eulx estans sur la mer / leur survint m(er)veilleuse et / horrible tempeste tellement / quilz

cuidoyent tous peur / ne navoyent esperance / daucun salut. Car la / propre nef en laquelle le / roy estoit
 frappa encontre / une grande roche dure ou / gravelle dure par deux foyz / pourquoy un ch(ac)un deulx
 cer/tainnement cuidoyent le(sditte)s / nef(s) estre perie et rompue. * Le bon roy voyant ce peril / et dangier
 retorna a dieu / et se mist en oroyson et lui / priant et continuant son / oroyson en grant humilite // et
 reverence et incontinent / cessa toute la tempeste et / pour plus evidemment de / monst(er) le miracle la nef
 / rompy la roche ou gravelier / par le milieu et passa oult(re). / ycelle navire et ce voyant / les mariniers ilz
 entrere(n)t / en la barque et alumerent / clarte pour regarder tout / autour dedens et deshors la / ditte nef
 laquelle ilz trou/verent aussi saine et entie(re) / comme le iour paravant / sans aucune lezion. Cur / ce le
 bon roy fist getter les / ancr(es) iusques au iour po(ur) / mieulx veoyz et apparcevoir / sil y avoit aucun
 domma/ge d'une part out d'autre. Le / iour donques venu y regar/derent comme dit est et la / trouverent
 toute saine et / entiere. Dont tous furent / tres joyeux et le bon roy pri(n)/cipalement pour ce grant / et
 gracieux benefice il se ge/ta a genoulx devant lautel / ou reposoit le corps n(ost)re seig(neur) / ih(es)u crist
 lequel estoit riche/ment aorne et pare rendit / graces a dieu en grande hu[58v]milite et devocion. Et fut
 lop/pinion de tous ceulx qui la / estoyent p(ria)ns et non pas seu/lement oppinion mais fer/me foy et
 creance que par ses / prieres et merites n(ost)re s(eigneur) dieu / avoit commande aux vens et a la mer
 cesser ladite tem/peste et rompre laditte roche / ou gravelle sans aucune / macule ou lesion qui eust /
 pource este en la nef. * Au / bout de dix sepmainnes ou / environ le roy et sa belle co(m)pagnie
 arriverent en france / et fut en lan mil ii (cent) liiii et / fut sa venue plaisant et ag/greable a tous car il y fut
 / receu a grant honneur et / reverence par toutes les vil/les de son royaume par ou il / passa. et
 principalement a / son entree de paris furent / au devant leglise et le cler/gie en grande procession. / Les
 bourgeois et autres ma/nieres de gens ch(ac)un selon / son estat vestus et parez au / mieulx quilz peurent
 en si/gne de lyesse et ioye. firent feux dances et autres esba/temens par plus(ieur)s jours // toutesvoies ilz
 les delaissere(n)t / plus tost quilz neussent / pource q(ue) le roy se malconten/ta aucunement de la gran/de
 despense et des dances et va/nitez quilz faisoient et sen / estoit ale pour ceste cause / au boys de vincenes.
 * Le / roy apres quil fut arrive / a paris mist les d(its) freres du / carme demourer au lieu / ou sont a paris
 les celestins / sur la riviere de seyne. et en/cores sappelle le port a lendroit / ses d(its) celestins le port des
 bar/rez. Et ne fault point ou/blier la grant charite dudit / glorieux roy quil monstra / a ce retour dacre
 durant le / temps quil estoit en mer / car il faisoit comunem(en)t / confesser les mariniers fai/soit dire
 mere en publique / iusques ala consecration et / ce qui sens(uyt). * Apres ycelle / les faisoit ouyr troys
 foyz / la predication ch(ac)une sep/mainne et de sa part pour / la belle vie quil menoyt le(ur) / estoit
 exemple et les aminoit / et donnoit couraage a ch(ac)un de toutes bonnes vertus. Et [59] a la verite il y
 avoit beaucop / des d(its) mariniers qui pieca / navoyent este confessez q(ui) / par la confession qui leur
 faisoit faire changerent / leur maniere de vivre q(ui) / estoit mauvaise a autre / bonne coustume et devote.

/ Et saucun se excusoit de confesser pour ce quil couvenoit / quil tirast a la rame Le bon / roy disoit quil prendroit la rame ou aviron pour Le marinier tandiz quil se / confesserait.

Chapter 35

[64v] **Comment le roy saint Loys fonda les cordelieres de longcha(m)p / et de la maniere comment il fist nourrir ses enfans. Le XXXVe / chapitre.**

En lan mil CCLIX / que le roy fut re/tourne en France // du pays de surie. Madame / Ysabeau seur du roy saint / Loys vierge et fort devote / envers dieu et sa gl(or)ieuse me(re) [65] se delibera vivre religieusem(en)t / comme elle avoit (com)mancie. / * Et pour ceste cause le / roy voyant et considerant sa / grande ferveur et devocion / et bon propos de continua/tion fonda leglise et mona/stere de longchamp pres s(ain)t / clou et y donna rentes et / grandes possessions pour / nourrir et entretenir les / seurs cordelieres qui y seroy/ent mises et ordonnees pour / y suir dieu. Ouquel mo/nastere apres ce quil fut a/comply et acheve ladicte / madame Ysabeau print / labbit de religion de ses se(ur)s / cordelieres et illecquesqui / toute sa vie religieusement / songneuse et encline a bien / servir dieu et devotem(en)t / et le continua sans en par/tir et y trespasa de ce siecle. / * Le roy saint Loys aussi / depuis son retour de surie / fonda plusieurs autres egl(is)es / et hospitaux comme lostel / dieu de pontoyse ceulx de / vernon et de paris. Labbaye / du liz delez meleun lospi/tal des xv^{xx} et celui des filles // dieu le couvent des cordeliers / et prescheurs de compiegne / Lostel dieu dillec Les cou/vens des cordeliers et presche(ur)s / de paris. Les chartreux et au/tres couvens de mendiens / Lesquelz hospitaux et mai/sons dieu ledit bon roy s(ain)t / loys qui tousiours avoit / pitie et compassion des povres / les visitoit souvent et leur / donnoit et eslargissoit de / ses biens. * Entre les au/tres visitations avint ung / iour que visitant ledit hos/tel dieu de paris le maistre dudit / hostel dieu lui dist q(ui)l / y auoit grande necessite ou d(it) / hostel dieu. pourquoy in/continent le bon roy remply de / charite commanda que on / delivrast audit maistre mil / livres Ledit maistre qui b(ie)n / eust eu ch(ie)r et tenu pour gra(n)t / don pour lui avoir seulem(en)t / donne cent livres. Lui dema(n)/da seul tres humblement / combien il avoit ordonne / faingnant non lavoit un / entendu. Auquel il respon/dy benignement et doucement / quil avoit ordonne et com[65v]mandees a lui estre baillees / pour la subvencion dudit / hostel les d(i)ctes mil livres les/queles mil livres par il / receut le jour mesmes. Et / pource que le roy fuyoit / toutes vanitez et ne se ves/toit que de petiz draps de / noir et de bleu qui estoient / de petit pris lesquelles robes / quant il les donnoit aux povres parce moyen ils y perdoient Il faisoit aus d(its) / povres bailler argent avec / les d(its) robes. Il donnoit et faisoit aulmosne tres sou/vent et volentiers aux cor/deliers et freres prescheurs / et a son pouoyr ne leur lais/soit endurer ne porter au/cune necessite ou mesaise / de vie disant q(ue) aulmosne / ne se scauroit mieulx em/ployer que a ceulx qui so(n)t / au continuel labour destu / de pour preschier la vraye / foy catholique et endoctriner / le peuple Aussi monstra / il bien quil amoit leur re/ligion. car il avoit deux confesseurs lun

cordelier / et lautre de freres presche(ur)s // Avecques ce quant il vit / son filz ph(ilipp)e premier ne en / aage a son avis quil pooyt / bien gouverner le royaume / il eut grant desir et voulent/de lui baillier le gouver/nement du royaume len / constituer roy et entrer en / lune des d(its) religions et leust / fait se la royne leust voulu / consentir. Laquelle chose co(m)/bien quelle en fut de lui fort / requise elle ne lui voulut ac/corder lui remonstrant luti/lite du royaume et de ce quil / avoit pleu adieu le y eslev(er) / en roy par plusieurs belles / raisons quil congneut est(es) / vrayes et bien d(i)ctes. * Le bon / roy faisoit tous les ans ache/ter grande q(uan)tite de harenc / et de busche quil envoyoit / es religions et es hospitaux / pour leur provision. Es qua/tre festes solennelles il avoit / ordinairement iii povres q(ue) / lui et autres de ses gens ser/voyent. Jeunoit deux xl^{iiies} / lannee lune devant noel et / lautre devant pasques. Les / vendrediz ieunoit au pain / et a leaue croyssoyt et mul[66]tiplioyt ses aulmosnes esd(its) / temps de karesme et de lad/vent. Il envoya par esc(ri)pt a / sa fille la royne de navarre de beaux et gracieux enseig/nemens lexortant principal/ment alamour de dieu et a / son service ladmonnestoit / aussi de se confesser souve(n)t / soy garder de pechier et q(ue) / elle amast mieulx eslyre / la mort q(ue) commettre ne / perpetrer une mortelle offen/se contre la volente de dieu / Quelle evitast toutes mau/vaises et vaines paroles et / dissolues. Procurast indul/gences et pardons. Aymast / toutes bonnes gens. Se / gardast des mauvais len/gagiers et adulateurs et les / fuist. Quelle eust tousio(ur)s / pitie des povres et connoy/tast tousiours les secourir / en leurs necessitez. Quelle / eust tousiours bonnes fem(m)es / entour elle. Quelle mist / painne destre si parfaite en / toutes bonne vertus quelle / monstrast bonne exemple / a toutes gens. Que voulent/tiers elle ouyst et souvent les // predications et la parole de / dieu et la mist a effect. Que / souvent elle fist faire p(ri)eres / et oroysons par bonnes et / devotes gens. et le acom/paignast devotement es d(ittes) / prieres. * Aussi le bon roy / quant il vouloit faire au/cune grande chose avant / q(ue) la commencer il envoyoyt par les couvens et par / les religions faire prieres. / * Oultreplus persuadoit / et fort recommandoit a la / ditte fille de roy contregar/der dabiz sumptueux et / pompeux. Lui envoya de pe/tites chaynettes de fer dont / elle prenoit discipline par / ch(ac)une sepmainne. * Lui / donna aussi deux chaynetes / aus quelles pendoit une pe/tite hayre quelle ceingnoit / aucunes foys. * Lui escrip/uit entre autre choses de sa / main ces paroles. Ma chie(re) / fille ayez ung tel desir en vo(us) / que iamais rien departe cest / assauoyz comment vous / pourrez plus playre a n(ot)re s(eigneur) / et mettez et employez v(ost)re / cueur a considerer que q(uan)t [66v] iamais n(ot)re seigneur dieu ne / vous feroit iamais aucun / guerredon ou remuneratio(n) / si le devriez vous aymer sur / toutes choses pource quil est / bon souverainement. En / quoy demonstroit le bon roy / la grande charite qui estoit / en lui et quil avoit envers / son prochain. * Avecques / ce aloit (com)munement es lieux / et places ou estoit la plus / grande multitude de ma/lades et qui estoient les pl(us) / pourriz et infectz. Par mala/die il les servoit a genoulx / et donnoit a mengier de sa / main. Et les povres ladres / semblablement desquelz / quant il les avoit serviz et / administrez ou donne lau/mosne il leur baisoit la mai(n). / * Et ne fault oublier que / le bon roy estoit

une foys a / Reaumont une abbaye qui / est environ a sept lieues de / paris quil avoit fondee il / ala visiter
 ung des religieux / de leans qui estoit ladre et si / infect de ceste maladie quil / en avoit perdu le nez et les
 / yeulx et mena avecques // lui labbe deleans. Et quant / il entra en la chambre dud(it) / religieux le salua
 et lui de/manda comm(en)t il se portoit / envoya querir de la viande / de sa cuisine cestassavoyr de /
 perdriz ou de gelines et lors / se mist a genoulx devant / lui le servit honorablement / lui mesmes de tout
 ce quil / lui demanda tant de boyre / que de mengier et tout lui / mist en la bouche dont labbe /
 sesbahissoit fort de ce que le / roy gl(or)ieux faisoit ainsi tou/tesfoyz avant que le roy en/partist ledit
 religieux fut / gueri. Il avoit aussi la croix / de n(ot)re s(eigneur) en grande reve(re)n/ce et devocion
 tellement q(ui)l / ne souffroit aucunement / marchier ou passer pardess(us). / Et quant on lui amenoit /
 pour estre gueriz des mala/des descrouelles dont les roys / de France ont acoustume / de guerir combien
 que ses / predecesseurs tant seulem(en)t / avoyent acoustume touch(ie)r / le lieu de la maladie et dire / les
 oroysons accordees / Le bon roy pour la reve(r)ence [67] de la croix et pour lui attri/buer la vertu de la
 garison / en disant les paroles il fai/soit le signe de la croix. * / Aussi il avoit grande reve/rence aux autres
 reliques / qui sont en sa sainte chap/pelle du palaiz de paris La/quelle il fist edifier et y met(tre) / les d(its)
 saintes reliques et les / enchacer richement y ordon(n)a / chanoynes chappellains et clers / pour faire et
 continuer le ser/vice divin ausquelz il don(n)a / et assigna grandes rentes et / possessions leur fist faire /
 maisons pres de lad(i)c(t)e chap/pelle. y estably troys festes / solennelles. * En la premie(re) / se faisoit la
 procession et ser/vice par les freres prescheurs. / * En la deux(ieme) par les freres / cordeliers. * En la
 tierce par / les uns et les autres. Et au/iourduy le font les carmes et / les augustins et le jour / ch(ac)un
 deulx gysoit pres de la / d(i)c(t)e chappelle pour estre prestz / aux heures dudit s(er)vice et / mengoyent
 yceulx freres esd(its) / festes en la salle du roy. Et / de son temps pour plus sole(n)//nellement celebrer
 ycelles fes/tes faisoit pourueoyr dung / prelart qui faisoit loffice et / disoit la grande messe. q(uan)t / le
 saint roy estoit a paris il / oyoyt les complyes en ladite / chappelle. Puis se tenoit lo(n)/guement en
 oroyson devant / les d(i)ctes saintes reliques. * Et / tant comme il vesqui en ce / monde se gouv(er)na
 honneste/ment et si vertueusement q(ue) / pour sa grande benyvoulence / prudence et sapience portant / et
 monstrant envers ch(ac)un / charite en habondance Les ba/rons et toute la noblesse et / tout le peuple gros
 et menu / du royaume de france et des / autres contrees p(ro)chainnes et / loingtainnes qui de sa ma/niere
 de governem(en)t oyoye(n)t / parler lavoyent en grande / amour et reverence comb(ie)n / quil ne leur
 fust pas fort / affable et q(u)il ne leur faisoit / pas de grans dons. Il estoit fort devot et curieux de
 pro/voquer ung ch(ac)un a devocion / a devocion [sic] et aucuns a con/templation. * Et entre / ses
 gracieuses amonitions [67v] rescrivoit une foys a sa fille / la royne de navarre telles / paroles et
 semble(men)s. Chiere / fille oyez voutentiere le ser/vice divin et quant vous / y seres dictes voz oroysons /
 de bouche et en paix et de pen/see especialement quant / le p(ro)b(oi)re consacrera le corps de / n(ot)re
 seigneur ih(es)u crist. Soyez / lors plus fervente de le p(ri)er / et aourer sans muser ne / entendre aux

autres choses / mondaines et oyez voulen/tiers les sermons et la paro/le de dieu. * Aussi a son / filz le
 roy ph(illip)e qui regna / apres lui lui recommanda / et rescripuit quil fust curiex / gardien de gens deglise
 et q(ui) / on ne leur fist aucune n(a)vre / ou vyolence, et quil ne creust / pas legierement ce que on / lui
 rapporteroit alencontre / deulx quil les secourust et / tous pources aussi en leurs / necessitez. * Plusieurs
 foyz / le bon roy se trouvoit audit / lieu de royaumont aussi a / compiangne et en autres re/ligyons a heure
 queles re/ligieux prenoient leur re//fection corporelle et quon / lysoit la byble ou autre / saint livre Se
 mettoit p(re)s / du lyseur escoutoit song/neusement sa lecture ta(n)t / quil eust acheve. * Le / bon roy eut
 aussi devocion / grande aux corps saintz de / mons(eigneu)r saint morice et de / ses compaignons et
 trouva / maniere den avoir xxiiii. / des d(its) corps sains qui lui / furent donnez par ung / abbe dune
 abbaye de bour/gongne ou les d(its) corps sai(n)s / reposoyent. Lequel abbe / lui envoya les d(its) xxiiii
 corps / saintz par aucuns de ses / religieux iusques a senliz / mais quant le glorieux / roy sceut quilz
 app(ro)choyent / dudit lieu de senliz il ala / au devant et les fist arre/ster et mettre en une mai/son qui est
 aleuesque a / demye lieue ou environ / dudit senliz et la fist en / procession aler tout le cler/gie avecques
 grant mul/titude du peuple et avec/ques eulx y ala ledit roy / glorieux tout a pie. fist [68] mettre les d(its)
 glorieux corps / sains en chasses couv(er)tes / de draps de soye honorable/ment et lui mesmes avec / le
 roy de navarre porta la / derreniere des d(its) chasses sur / leurs espauls de puis le d(it) / hostel dudit
 evesque iusq(ue)s / en leglise cathedrale dudit / senliz. Et les autres chas/ses fist porter par barons et /
 chevaliers disant q(ue) cestoit / honneste chose que les diz / corps saints qui avoyent / este ch(eva)l(ie)rs
 de ih(es)u crist fus/sent semblablement / portez par ch(eva)l(ie)rs honorable/ment. * Entre autres
 cho/ses pour la grande rev(er)en/ce quil avoit a toutes s(ain)ctes / reliques jamais ne les vou/loyt baiser le
 iour quil eust / geu avecques la royne. / * Pour reposer les d(its) xxiiii / corps saintz il fonda pres / de la
 ditte eglise cathedrale / une eglise dedye e ou nom / de mons(eigneur) Saint morice /et ses compaignons et
 la / ordonna pour xii freres / rentes et possessions qui /estoyent de lordre de labbaye // dudit glorieux saint
 morice / en bourgongne. * La les / fist mettre en chasses honorablement pour la rev(er)en/ce de ih(es)u
 crist. Il estoit si / fervent en devocion quen / disant les letanies apres / les sept pseaulmes il req(ue)r/roit
 avoir des lermes des/quelles dieu aucunesfoyz / lui envoyoyt nom pas en / grande habondance mais / il
 confessa a son confesseur / que quant il avoit les d(its) / lermes riens mondain ne / lui estoit si doulx ne si
 sa/voureux mesmement / quant ilz lui couloyent p(ar) / la bouche. * En cel an .m/cc.lxx. henry roy
 dangle/terre p(er)e edoart qui fut pere / au ieune edoart qui depuis / espousa la fille ph(illip)e le bel / roy
 de france filz de ph(illip)e filz / de mons(eigneur) saint loys. vint / en france avecques le co(n)te / de
 glocestre et aucuns ch(eva)l(ie)rs / et prelatz quil amena de / son royaume Lors fut / faite paix entiere
 entre / le roy saint loys et lui de / tous les discors que ilz [68v] povoyent avoir ensemble et /e n la maniere
 qui sensuit / Cestassavoyr que ycelui roy / henri quitta a tousiours / au roy de france et ses suc/cesseurs du
 consentement / de richart son frere roy des / rommains du conseil et / consentement des prelatz / et barons

dangleterre tout / le droit quil quereloit et pre/tendoit en la duchie de Nor/mandie et es contez
daïou/tourainne et poictou et en / leurs fiefz. Et le roy de fra(n)/ce lui donna et fist bailler / comptant
grande somme / de deniers. Lui assist aussi / et assigna grant terre po(ur) / lui et ses successeurs roys /
dangleterre es eveschiez de / lyniages pierregort xaintes / et agen par condiction que / laditte terre et aussi
borde / aulx bayonne et toute gas/congne ledit roy danglet(er)re / tendroit en fief du roy de france et en
demoureroit et ses successeurs ho(mm)es liges / seroit appelle ledit roy do/res en avant per de france / et
duc de guienne. Laccord // fait et passe entre les deux / roys. ledit roy dangleterre / en la pri(n)ce de grant
nombre / de prelatz barons et chavaliers / tant de son royaume que de celui de france fist homma/ge au
roy saint loys. * En / ce temps trespasa Loys ai(n)sne / filz de saint loys et fut ent(er)re / prit ledit roy
dangleterre q(ui) / acompaigna le corps en lab/baye de royaumont en laq(ue)le / on fist solennel service
pour / son ame. * Le bon roy s(ain)t / loys qui auoit belle lignee / eue de la royne margueri/te sa femme.
Cestass(avoyr) Loys / ainsne trespasse co(mm)e d(ict) est / Ph(ilipp)e qui tint le royaume / apres lui et
morit en arra/gon et est enterre a saint / Just de nerbonne. Pierre / conte dalencon. Jehan co(n)te / de
nevers et Robert conte de / clermont. Les fist curieuse/ment nourrir et garder en / leur jeune aage. Les fist
en/doctriner par notables gens / religieux des freres presche(ur)s / et freres cordeliers b(ie)n esleuz / q(ui)
bien les enseignerent et doc/trinerent en bonnes meurs [69] et les faisoit continuer au di/vin s(er)vice
avecques lui a / toutes les heures. Ilz oyoye(n)t la grande messe et deux ou / troys messes basses
estoye(n)t / songneusement aux predi/cations disoyent les heures / de n(ot)re dame. estoient
ordi(n)ai/rement a complyes que le / roy faisoit ch(ac)un jour dire / solennellement apres soup(er) / et a la
fin de complie faisoit / dire une antienne et oroyso(n) / de la glorieuse vierge marie / Lesquelles d(i)c(t)es
et achevees / il entroit en sa chambre et / tous ses enfans avecques / lui. et par ung de ses chap/pellains
faisoit getter de / leaue benoite entour la d(i)c(t)e / chambre. * Ce fait les diz / enfans se mettoyent a terre
/ autour de lui pour escouter / bonnes paroles quil leur / disoit a leur instruction. / Ne vouloit point que ses
en/fans qui en leur ieunesse / auoyent acoustu(m)e porter / chappeaulx de fleurs en leurs / testes en
portassent au jo(ur) / de vendredi pour la rev(er)ence / et memoyre de la passion n(ot)re // seigneur ih(es)u
crist et de la / couronne despines quil por/ta et dont il fut couronne / le vendredi saint.

Chapter 39

[75v] **Comment le roy saint Loys maria sa fille nomme blanche / a ferrant filz du roy de castille. XXXIXe chapitre.**

Lannee ensuivant / qui fut mil cc/lxix le roy sai(n)t / Loys qui pouoit raisonna//blement quereler et
dema(n)der droit ou royaume despai/gne par le moyen de feue / la royne blanche sa mere [76] traitta le
mariage de sa fille / Blanche avecques ferrant / ainsne filz du roy de castelle / Et le fist principalement /
pour appaiser et ceder tous/jours toutes questions et / debaz dessusd(it) par lequel / mariage lors fut

accorde / que ycelui roy de castelle et / par lui voulu et sole(m)pnelle/ment consentu que nul de / ses
enfans se ainsi estoit / q(ue) ledit ferrant eust enfans / dudit mariage fust masle / ou femelle ne pouvoit
em/peschier q(ue) ledit enfant ne / succedast ala couronne des/paigne et a ce se consentire(n)t / les freres
dudit ferrant to(us) / avecques le roy leur pere. / Et soubz ces pactes et con/ditions fut envoyee par le / roy
saint Loys en laditte / annee mil cc lxiix laditte / blanche sa fille en espaigne / pour estre mariee audit
fer/rand Mais depuis le trespas / de saint loys son p(er)e comb(ie)n / quelle eust eu de beaulx en/fans dudit
ferrand elle fut / mal traittee et renvoyee en / france et ses diz e(n)fa(n)s desheritez.

Appendix B: Transcriptions of Passages about Women from BnF MS fr. 10132

[370v] ...En lan de grace ensuivant M / CC LIII madame blanche royne / de france mere monseigneur / saint looys morut. Et delez pontoi/se en une abaye de no(n)nains delez lor/dre de citiaux ou lieu que len apelle / maubuisson fu enterree laquele a/baie de maubuisson icele royne blan/che par la volente et lotroiment de / s(aint) looys son fiz lavoit fondee A don/ques lors pource que le roy looys ni / estoit son frere aufour et charles co(n)/tes orent la garde du royaume de fra(n)/ce. Car adecertes looys et phelippe / filz du roy saint looys navoient pas / encore ataint aage que il peussent / ou seussent metre afors choses leurs / mains. **Ci apres raconte comment / henri le roy dengleterre vint a paris / fere ho(m)mage et feaute par pes fesant / au roy monseigneur saint looys et li / quita et delivira normendie que il tenoit. /** Apres en lan de grace ensuiva(n)t / mil CC LIII s(aint) looys roy de f(ra)n/ce filz de pes et de concorde repe/ra et revint des parties doutremer. / Lan de lincarnation n(ost)re seignor / mil CC LIX fu fondee en leveschie / de paris labaie des suers mene/eurs que len apele cordelieres delez / saint clooust sus sainne ou lieu que / lendit lonchamp de religieuse et // honorable dame ysabel vierge pu/celle suer le saint roy de france looys / le quel saint roy assena et don(n)a pour / lamour de sa suer possessions et rentes / couvenables a icele abaie pour la / sustentacion des suers la quele ysabel / recut ilecques labit des suers et en vi/vant religieusement i termina sa vie / loable...

[372v] ...Apres en lan de grace ensuivant / mil CC LXIX madame blanche / fille le roy saint looys de fra(n)ce / fu de son pere envoiee en espaigne / pour estre mariee a ferrant lainsne / filz le roy de castelle par tel couvena(n)t / pource que li saint roy de france lo/oys devoit avoir droit legitime et de succession hereditable ou royaume / despaigne par reson de blanche sa / mere que lainsne des enfanx de icele / blanche sa fille apres ce aconcrier et / a nestre nulle succession de frat(er)nite / donnant p(our) indice quant son aieul ou / son pere seroit mort que icelui enfa(n)t tenist pesiblement le royaume de cas/telle...

[374v] ...En lan de grace apres ensuivant / mil CC lxxvi looys lainsne filz [375] le roy phelippe de france morut et / fu enterre en leglise de saint denis en / france. Et en icest an quant ferra(n)t / lainsne filz aufour le roy despaigne / fu mort qui blanche fille saint looys / roy de france avoit a fame. Lors au/four pere dicelui ferrant envers les / ii filz qui icelui ferrant avoit enge(n)/dre de blanche sa fame erra mauves/ement et contre la convenance quil / avoit eue au roy de france s(aint) looys / icel enfans debouta du tout en tout / de la succession du royaume. Et leur / mere sanz doaire et sanz honneur ses / enfans detenus lessa revenir en fra(n)/ce aussi (com)me nouveillant a son frere / le roy phelippe de france...