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The Cult of Saint Louis and Capetian Interests in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*¹³⁸

by Paula Mae Carns

Introduction

By the late Middle Ages the Capetian kings of France developed an elaborate political ideology that was intended both to assert their power as rulers and to affirm their right to rule.¹³⁹ The sanctification of Louis IX in 1297 ended a longtime wish of these kings to elevate to sainthood one of their own members.¹⁴⁰ Throughout the Middle Ages the Capetians labeled themselves as the ‘Most Christian of Kings,’¹⁴¹ and to have a saint in the family legitimated their claim. Saint Louis was more than a symbol of dynastic

¹³⁸ This paper has greatly profited by the insightful comments on earlier drafts of Anne D. Hedeman and Jeryldene Wood, and by the suggestions of an anonymous readers of Peregrinations. I am sincerely grateful for their help.

¹³⁹ Colette Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of a Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. by Susan Ross Huston, ed. by Frederic L. Cheyette (Berkeley: Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991) Beaune chronicles the myths and symbols used by the Capetians and their Valois successors to affirm their right to rule France. Andrew Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France; Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 133-142 discusses Philip the Fair, Charles IV’s father, looked to Saint Louis as a role model; Joseph Strayer, “The Holy Land, the Chosen People and the Most Christian King,” in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essay by Joseph Strayer*, eds. John Benton and Thomas N. Bisson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 300-14, offers a short introduction to how Philip the Fair used Capetian ideology to bolster his political position. For the use of visual imagery by the Capetians and Valois, consult Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1420* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991).

¹⁴⁰ For background on the canonization of Saint Louis and canonization documents, refer to Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le process de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297): essai de reconstitution* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1994). For a socio-historical use of these documents, see Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Pairs: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2002).

¹⁴¹ Strayer, “Holy Land,” 300-314.

holiness to his descendants, however; his sainthood acted a vehicle through which they could promote dynastic and personal ideologies. Inserting pictorialized Offices of Saint Louis into Books of Hours was one way that family members used the saint's biography to serve their own ends.¹⁴² The *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, 54.1.2) is such an example and features an illustrated Office of Saint Louis along with a Calendar, the Office of the Virgin and the Penitential

¹⁴² There are four other extant manuscripts with Hours of Saint Louis. The earliest is probably New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, ms. 56, which contains a number of prayers and hours, including an Office of Saint Louis (ff. 245-258) similar to that in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. Morand has convincingly argued for a date of the manuscript between 1313 and 1321 and suggested Blanche of Burgundy, first wife of Charles IV, as the original owner. An image of Blanche praying before Louis starts the Office and is the sole painting in this section. Léopold Delisle, "Les heures de Blanche de France Duchesse d'Orléans," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 66 (1905): 489-539; V. W. Egbert, *On the Bridges of Medieval Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 15-17; Kathleen Morand, "Jean Pucelle: A Re-examination of the Evidence," *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961): 208. I am very grateful to the reviewer who pointed out this manuscript and its bibliography to me.

The second is the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* (Paris, B.n.F. n. a. Lat. 3145), produced some time during the third or fourth decade of the fourteenth century. Its pictorial program is unique and contains eight miniatures: a youthful Louis receives his education, Louis at Mass, Louis goes to Reims for his coronation, Louis is anointed, Louis is crowned, Louis transports the relics of the Crown of Thorns, Louis, sick, takes the cross, and French nobles take the cross. For information on this manuscript, see Marguerite A Keane, "Remembering Louis IX as a Family Saint: A Study of the Images of Saint Louis Created for Jeanne, Blanche and Marie Navarre" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Santa Barbara, 2002); C. Cockerell, "Horae of Jeanne II. Queen of Navarre," in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, ed. by M.R. James (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 151-183. The only published analysis of the cycle is Marcel Thomas, "L'iconographie de Saint Louis dans les Heures de Jeanne de Navarre," in *Septième centenaire de la mort de saint Louis. actes colloques du Royaume et de Paris* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1976), 209-231.

The third manuscript is the *Savoy Hours* (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms 390), made for Blanche of Burgundy between 1307-1348. Unfortunately, the Saint Louis section was destroyed in 1904 when a fire swept through the University of Turin where it was housed. From descriptions we know that the program contained eight images: Louis enthroned, Louis being flagellated, Louis carrying the relics of the Crown of Thorns, Louis carrying the Cross, Louis sailing to war, Louis receiving his Breviary, Louis carrying the bones of the dead, and Louis feeding a leprous monk. For information on the Savoy Hours, consult Keane, "Remembering Louis IX"; Dom P. Blanchard, *Les Heures de Savoie* (London: Chiswick Press for Henry Yates Thompson, 1910); and Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, 2 ed. with Essays by Lawrence R. Poos, Virginia Reinburg, and John Plummer (New York: George Braziller, Inc. and Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2001), 28, 176-178.

The fourth is the *Hours of Marie of Navarre* (Venice, Biblioteca marciana, lat. I 104), made for Jeanne of Navarre's daughter Marie around 1338-1348, perhaps on the occasion of her marriage. This Book of Hours includes a large image of the Miraculous Return of the Breviary and historiated initials showing Christ appearing to Louis; Louis feeding the leprous monk; Louis feeding the poor; Louis carrying a man on a stretcher; Louis ministering to the sick; the death of Saint Louis; Pilgrims visiting Saint Louis's tomb; and Marie kneeling before an image of the saint. For information on this book, see Keane, "Remembering Louis IX", especially 133-141.

Psalms.¹⁴³ Scholars generally hold that the miniaturist Jean Pucelle painted the book's magnificent grisaille images.¹⁴⁴ A consideration of image and text in the Office of Saint Louis, hagiographic convention, and iconographic tradition for the saint's life reveals that the illustrations more than simply chronicle the life of this holy man: they promote Capetian family interests as well as the roles of Queen Jeanne d'Evreux (1324-1328) and King Charles IV (1322-1328) in the family. Charles probably gave the book to Jeanne on the occasion of their wedding in 1324.¹⁴⁵ Both were the grandchildren of Saint Louis and their union would have been the perfect occasion to celebrate the life of their illustrious grandfather.

Scholarly Tradition

The *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* has received a fair amount of scholarly attention. Jeffrey Hoffeld was the first to make a sustained analysis of the manuscript's imagery and considered it primarily in terms of its devotional function.¹⁴⁶ He noted that the pictorial lives of Christ and Louis were thematically and visually connected and

¹⁴³ For a complete description and facsimile, see *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux; Acc. No. 54.1.2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, New York*. Commentary by Barbara Drake Boehm, Abigail Quandt and William D. Wixom (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2000). The Cloisters features the manuscript in their online collection with several color photographs of the work at <http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/Jde/jdesplash.htm>.

¹⁴⁴ For discussion of Jean Pucelle as the artist, consult Michaela Krieger, "Die 'Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux' und das Pucelle-Problem." *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 42 (1989): 101-132 and *idem*, *Grisaille als Metapher: Zum Entstehen der Peinture en Camaieu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Verlag Holzhausen, 1995), 7-36; Morand, "Jean Pucelle: A Re-examination."

¹⁴⁵ Joan Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17 (1994): 585. Barbara D. Boehm has suggested that the *Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux* might have been ordered on the occasion of the marriage of Charles and Jeanne, but points out that it might also have been made as a keepsake for the dedication of the chapel of Saint Louis at Saint Denis in 1324, an event most surely attended by the royal couple. For her ideas on the manuscript's origin, consult Barbara D. Boehm, "Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France," in *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux; Acc. No. 54.1.2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, New York*, 35-89.

¹⁴⁶ Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, "An Image of Saint Louis and the Structuring of Devotion," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29 (1971): 261-66.

suggested that the close ties between the two were the result of the artist's desire to deepen Jeanne's understanding of her saintly grandfather as well as to enhance her devotional experience. Madeleine Caviness examined the marginal drawings of courtly pastimes in the context of the medieval courtesy book, a form of literature intended to instruct women in proper womanly and wifely behavior.¹⁴⁷ She argued that recent family events would have prompted Jeanne to read into the images of courtly antics subtle warnings of the dire social consequences to women who engage in extramarital affairs. Joan Holladay focused attention on the images of the Office of Saint Louis and considered them to be visual instructional aids for Jeanne in her capacity as a Christian, queen, and future mother.¹⁴⁸ She argued that images of Louis would have inspired Jeanne to be devout and charitable, two virtues associated with pious women in the Middle Ages. Holladay further suggested that Jeanne's husband, Charles IV, selected the images of the Office of Saint Louis with the express purpose of directing his wife's devotional life.

¹⁴⁷ Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 333-362.

¹⁴⁸ Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux," 585-611.

The Office of Saint Louis



Figure 1: *Jeanne d'Evreux at Louis' Tomb and Louis receives discipline, Jean Pucelle, The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 102v, f. 103r.*



Figure 2: *Louis feeds a leprous monk, Jean Pucelle, The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 123v*



Figure 3: *Louis administers to the sick, Jean Pucelle, The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f.142v*



Figure 4: *Louis washes the feet of the poor*, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 148v-149r

The Office of Saint Louis recounts the life of the Saint Louis in picture and word. The Office begins at Matins with a full-page miniature of Queen Jeanne d'Evreux reciting prayers—possibly from the Book in question—at a *prie-dieu* under an elaborate portico topped with an arch (Fol. 102v; **Fig. 1**).¹⁴⁹ Across from her, in an adjacent chamber, Saint Louis stands atop a rectangular platform, which might represent his tomb at the family necropolis at St. Denis, while two men recline at his feet (Fol. 103; **Fig. 1**). On the facing folio Louis kneels in his private bedchamber before his confessor, Geoffrey

¹⁴⁹ No textual source mentions this scene and we must assume it is unique.

of Beaulieu, who disciplines him with a scourge as he points to a book.¹⁵⁰ At Lauds, with the help of two assistants, Louis feeds a leprous monk who graciously accepts the food (Fol. 123v; **Fig. 2**).¹⁵¹ At Prime, Louis and his attendants feed two emaciated, bed-ridden men (Fol. 142v; **Fig. 3**).¹⁵² At Terce, Louis washes the feet of a crowd of ragged-looking men while a helper distributes alms (Fol. 148v; **Fig. 4**).¹⁵³ At Sext, in an elaborate Gothic-style prison Louis, in the company of his chaplain, Guillaume de Chartres, takes his lost prayer from a dove (Fol. 154v; **Fig. 5**).¹⁵⁴ At Nones, Louis collects the bones of the Christian martyrs slain at Sidon for transport back to France (Fol. 159; **Fig. 6**).¹⁵⁵ Louis, unlike his men who cover their noses and turn away in disgust, is not bothered by the stench. Louis dies at Vespers surrounded by mourners who grievously lament his passing and two angels who transport his soul—a tiny Louis—heavenward (Fol. 165v; **Fig. 7**).¹⁵⁶ At Compline, Louis's grandsons, Philip the Fair (Charles IV's father), Robert,

¹⁵⁰ This scene is recounted by Louis's confessor, Geoffroy Beaulieu, *Sancti Ludovici...vita and conversatio*, and by his wife's confessor, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *La vie et les miracles de Monseigneur Saint Louis*, as quoted by Auguste Longnon, *Documents Parisiens sur l'iconographie de St. Louis. D'après un manuscrit de Peirsec conservé à la Bibliothèque de Carpentras* (Paris: Chez H. Champion, 1882), 17-18, n. 1.

¹⁵¹ Louis's visits to the monk at Royaumont are included in Saint-Pathus. Longnon, *Documents Parisien*, 18, n. 1. Gerald Guest discusses this and the book's other scenes of Louis's charitable acts in the context of medieval charity to the poor in "A Discourse on the Poor: *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*," *Viator* 26 (1995): 153-180.

¹⁵² Saint-Pathus also chronicles this act of devotion. Longnon, *Documents Parisien*, 19, n. 1.

¹⁵³ Both Geoffroy of Beaulieu and Saint-Pathus tell of this scene. Longnon, *Documents Parisien*, 19, n. 2.

¹⁵⁴ For background on this legend, consult L. S. Crist, "The Breviary of Saint Louis: The Development of a Legendary Miracle," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1956): 319-23. Crist attributes this story ultimately to Guillaume de Chartres (Life of Saint Louis), Louis's chaplain, who was imprisoned with the king, as shown in the miniature.

¹⁵⁵ This incident comes from Saint-Pathus, as quoted by Emile Male, "The life of Saint Louis as it was told by the painters of the fourteenth century," in *Art and Artists of the Middle Ages*, trans. Sylvia Stallings Lowe (Redding Ridge, CT: Black Swan Books, 1986), 185.

¹⁵⁶ Geoffroy of Beaulieu discusses Louis's death, as mentioned by Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 92; and Crist, "The Breviary of Saint Louis," 320.

Count of Artois, and Louis, Count of Evreux (Jeanne's father) carry the saint's relics in procession to celebrate Louis's first feast day on August 25, 1298 (Fol. 173v; **Fig. 8**).¹⁵⁷



Figure 5: Louis receives lost prayerbook, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 154v-155r

¹⁵⁷ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 95 (1980), 175, claims that on the first feast day of Louis in 1298 "...Louis' bones were simply taken from their grave, borne outside to a special platform, the carried by Philippe and his two brothers back into the church, and placed on the main altar in their new golden chasse." Later, in 1306, part of Louis's remains was transferred to Sainte-Chapelle. Brown, "Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis," 175-76. Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis," *Studies in Church History* 18 (1980): 204, argues that in 1298 Louis's head granted to Sainte-Chapelle and his heart went to Philip IV's monastery at Poissy. Since on February 5, 1306 Pope Clement granted indulgences to people attending the removal of Louis's head to Sainte-Chapelle, it seem likely that Louis' relics remained in their entirety at Saint-Denis until 1306. Brown, "Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis," 176.



Figure 6: Louis collects the bones of martyrs, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 159v-160r



Figure 7: Louis dies, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 165v-166r



Figure 8: Louis' grandsons carry his relics, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 173v-174r

The Dominican text of the Office of Saint Louis includes prayers, psalms, and antiphons proclaiming the holiness of Louis.¹⁵⁸ These praises are generic and similar to the commemorations used for other saints, such as those for Mary in the Office of the Virgin. Direct historical reference to Louis is restricted to three lessons that are appended to the closing text for the first hour. The narrative of the lessons is bracketed by the king's two crusades to the Holy Land. The initial lesson opens with Louis's first voyage

¹⁵⁸ A transcription of the text, copied from the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, is available in Longnon, *Documents Parisiens*, 53-66. For other offices of Saint Louis, see Mary J. Epstein, "Ludovicis Decus Regnantium: Perspectives on the Rhymed Office," *Speculum* 53 (1978): 283-303 and Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The Sanctification and Memorialization of Louis IX of France, 1297—1350 (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2001).

eastward, his capture at the hands of the Saracens and his return home.¹⁵⁹ The second lesson focuses on Louis's domestic activities: his constant vigils, founding of monasteries and aiding the needy.¹⁶⁰ The saint returns to the Holy Land, becomes ill, and dies at Tunis in the concluding lesson.¹⁶¹

The textual lessons and images are only mildly similar. Both are organized around the dual themes of crusading and devotional acts; both mention identical events (such as Louis's almsgiving and death in Tunis); and both intermix habitual acts (such as Louis feeding the poor and administering to the sick) and historical moments (such as Louis's two voyages to the East and death). However, few of the verbal and pictorial episodes completely coincide. For Louis's first crusade the text describes: Louis's voyage east, his capture by the Saracens and his journey home to France. For his second it details: his return to the Holy Land, sickness and death in Tunis. The illustrations for the crusade, on the other hand, depict only Louis's imprisonment, collection of bones, and death. Thus

¹⁵⁹ Longnon, *Documens Parisiens*, 55. *Beatus ludovicus, multorum annorum spatio, regni Francorum regimine discrete et pacifice praefuit. Hic cum tricesimum quartum annum aetatis attigisset in Terrae Sanctae subsidium cum copiosa exercitus multitudine transfretavit. Cumque ad partes ultramarinas venisset, post Damietae captionem ab exercitu christiano, subsequuta ipsius exercitus generali egritudine, in manus Soldani et Saracenorum incidit, illo permittente qui de manlis bona novit educere et facere cum temptatione proventum. Nam, Soldano ipso cito post a suis interempto, predictus rex fuit, none sine divini, ut pie creditur, operatione miraculi, liberatus. Tu autem, domine, misere nostri. Deo gratias.*

¹⁶⁰ Longnon, *Documens Parisiens*, 55. *In partibus illis, ubi Sanctus pro Christo tot et tantos agones habuit, tal virtuosos actus eercuit, tanta sanctae aedificationis exempla praeuit, quod lingua vix sufficeret enarrare. Inde vero, morte suae matris audita, reversus in Franciam, sic sanctitatis insistebat operibus quod ut ipsius jejunia vigiliis et disciplinas multimodas pretereamus. Plura monseria et pauperum hospitalia constuxit, infirmos et decumbentos inibi visitando personalieter, et minibus propriis ac flexo genu eis cibaria ministrando. Hoc autm humilitatis immenseministerim leprosius quibusdam legitu impendisse. Tu autem, Domine, Miserere nostri. Deo gratias.*

¹⁶¹ Longnon, *Documens Parisiens*, 56. *Sic autem incrementum fidei et liberationem Terrae Sanctae votes ardentibus anelabat quod, assumpto denuosigno cruces, ad partes rediit cum immense exercitu transarinas. In quibus, post captione, Carthaginis, in castris ante Tunicum, gravis infirmitatis violentia superatus, sacrosancta, ecclesiastica cum summa devotione, premissa salutary successoris admonitione, suscepit. Instante vero ipsi verisililier hora m mortis, verba quae Christus moriens protulisse legitur, ista videlicet: In manus turas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum, devotu experimens suo spiritum reddidit Creatori. Yu autem, domine, Miserere nostri, Deo gratias.*

only the saint's death figures in both the textual and visual lives. The reclamation of the breviary does not truly represent his incarceration because the miraculous return of the book is the primary topic. Second, the arrangement of episodes varies. The text is divided into three temporal segments around the two main themes of crusading and devotion and features Louis's first crusade, pious activities and second crusade. In contrast, the imagery places the devotional acts before the crusading events with the results that the latter are indistinguishably clumped together, as if Louis voyaged only once to the Holy Land.¹⁶² Last, and most important, the miniatures present Louis's descendants actively participating in his cult, which is omitted in the text. This feature greatly distances the pictorial life of Louis from the textual one.

The great variance between word and image in the Office of Saint Louis suggests that the illustrations do not reproduce the lessons but function independently.¹⁶³ The physical separation of the two (the lessons come at the close of Matins and the imagery at the start of each of the eight hours) demonstrates this. What, then, is the purpose of the miniatures? How do they relate to the text? A look at medieval hagiography sheds light on the subject.

Hagiographical Practices

Medieval hagiography is a unique form of biography and quite different from modern notions of the genre. Modern biography aims, above all, to commemorate a

¹⁶² Louis reclaiming his prayer book is from his first crusade. Crist, "The Breviary of Saint Louis," 319. Louis collecting the bones is also from his first crusade. Joinville and Villehardouin, trans. and with an Introduction by M.R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Classics, 1963), 310. Louis's death, of course, happened on his second crusade.

¹⁶³ For further discussion of the relationship of imagery to text in the Office of Saint Louis, see Boehm, "The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," in *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux; Acc. No. 54.1.2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, New York*, 282-284.

person's life as well as to educate others about that life. For this reason, the major events of an individual's life are recounted, usually in chronological order with emphasis on causality, from birth to death. One event leads to another and so forth in diachronic succession. The subject is inevitably characterized as an active participant in his or her life and his or her behavior is shown to be the result of personal choice. The individual's death is considered the summation of the life and the point at which all previous events are fully understood.

Medieval hagiography, on the other hand, seeks less to convey faithfully an individual's life and more to transform that life into a model of edification for Christians.¹⁶⁴ Hagiographical legends were not manuals on the proper Christian life but rather textual witnesses to God's unending presence on earth. Saints were believed to be divinely inspired and thus their lives were beyond imitation by ordinary humans. Saints' lives were patterned on the life of Christ as well as those of other saints. Consequently medieval saints' lives exhibit a shocking similarity. Only events relating directly to the subject's sanctity, that is, his or her Christ-likeness, are included. A hagiographical life generally begins at the moment of conversion to Christianity or with those events that lead to the adoption of a pious existence, which might occur late in life, rather than at birth. Likewise, a holy life might not end in death but might continue afterwards with posthumous appearances, usually at the saint's tomb, to worshipers. The saint's ability to return after death makes narrative closure impossible for his or her legend, for new events

¹⁶⁴ This section is paraphrased from Cynthia Hahn, "Picturing the Text: Narrative in the Life of the Saints," *Art History* 13 (1990): 1-32, especially 1-10 and her later elaboration of the subject in *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2001). For similar discussions of medieval hagiography, consult the following select sources: Hippolyte Delahaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961); Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

and hence new chapters are possible. The references to Christ's life—such as showing a saint performing activities performed by Christ—disrupt diachronic time. The saint is temporarily take out of historical time and placed in synchronic time in a process of assimilation to Christ. The mixing of these two temporal conceptions conceals the original arrangement of events and vitiates against causality. The repetition of a saint's story in the liturgy and the accumulation of miracles—signs of holiness—give a life the appearance of a spiral movement upward.¹⁶⁵ Modern people tend to look upon a medieval saint's life as being little more than a random collection of unrelated events. Schooled in the genre of hagiography, medieval individuals would have regarded a saint's life as representing a coherent saintly existence. Thus we must as well.

The text and illustrations of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* follow hagiographical convention. Neither life begins at birth: the text opens with Louis's first voyage to the Holy Land; the miniatures start with his discipline at the hand of his confessor. (The miniature of Louis before Jeanne, I will argue later, acts prefatorily, making the discipline episode the true start of the sequence.) Only the written life terminates with Louis' death at Tunis. The illustrations continue on with Louis's family transporting his relics and Louis appearing posthumously to his granddaughter Queen Jeanne. Diachronic and synchronic time mixes freely in both accounts. The crusading events are traceable to specific moments and thus represent diachronic temporality. The devotional acts are not limited to one specific point in time and thus suggests synchronicity. The result of this temporal admixture is a denial of a continuous, progressive story line. In the text Louis's travel on crusade and his donation of alms to the less fortunate are juxtaposed. A similar juxtaposition occurs in the pictures, where Louis performs a few good deeds and then

¹⁶⁵ Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 35-36, discusses this spiral motion.

collects the martyrs' bones, with no explanation to link them. Moreover, in both visual and textual versions of his life, Louis seems not to alter as the result of his experiences (though other textual accounts reveal that the king underwent substantial personal changes during his lifetime). In the pictures even death does not affect the saint, as we witness him posthumously before Jeanne d'Evreux. Neither the visual nor the textual legend culminates in a single moment, and all events are rendered as equals. In fact, the visual life of Louis never ends; the post-death appearances of Louis—firstly through his relics (saints are believed to be present in their remains) and then at his burial place—keep the story open. Text and images follow the hagiographic practice as well by casting Louis in the guise of Christ. The text of the second lesson associates Louis with Christ when it describes him as engaged in activities that Christ performed, such as feeding and ministering to the sick and needy. The images of Louis performing charitable acts also link him to Christ.

Two miniatures especially portray Louis as Christ-like. The image of Louis atop a tomb (?) at Matins links him to Christ. (**Fig. 1, scene 1**) This scene is perplexing, for Louis's role here is unclear. Is he a statue or a miraculous vision? It has been thought that a standing effigy of the saint adorned his burial place at St. Denis, but this is conjectural.¹⁶⁶ Like his ancestors Louis was laid to rest in the floor of the Abbey Church

¹⁶⁶ Georgia Sommers Wright, "The Tomb of Saint Louis," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 63-82, argues that a standing effigy of the saint adorned his tomb, making his resting place more visible than those of the other family members, who were covered with recumbent portraits. She bases her argument on contemporaneous art works (stained glass windows from the Saint Louis chapel at Saint Denis and the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux) and textual sources (abbey inventories and Lives of Saint Louis). Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint Denis," *Medievalia* 10 (1984): 292-322, on the other hand, claims that a vertical likeness of the saint did not adorn his tomb, but an altar in the Saint Louis Chapel at Saint Denis, using as evidence the fact that Louis's gravesite was empty since 1298 and that a recumbent, raised effigy of Louis already adorned the site.

of St. Denis,¹⁶⁷ and the building in the miniature with its vaulted porch and tripartite division of rooms, though not representative of a late medieval abbey church, might have suggested to contemporary viewers the ecclesiastical architecture of Louis's burial place. Conversely, the image could represent one of the countless visits by the saint to the sick and needy who flocked to his tomb at St. Denis.¹⁶⁸ The men who flank Louis, however, are unusual pilgrims, as neither exhibits a bodily affliction, nor shows interest in the presence of the saint and one wears a sword. The men's weapons, location at the feet of Louis, and partially conscious state, however, reveal them to be the guards who protected Christ's tomb. Thus we are guided to see Louis here as a Christ-like figure.¹⁶⁹ The location of this miniature, immediately after one of the resurrected Christ emerging from his tomb in the Office of the Virgin, supports this assertion.¹⁷⁰ **(Fig. 9)** Similarities in the images of Louis and Christ's death also link them: in both paintings the men recline, are surrounded by mourners, and have their souls—little versions of themselves—carried to heaven by angels. **(Fig. 7 and Fig. 11)**

¹⁶⁷ For information on the Capetian tombs at Saint Denis, consult Wright, "The Tomb of Saint Louis," 63-82.

¹⁶⁸ Wright, "The Tomb of Saint Louis," 73-74.

¹⁶⁹ Hoffeld, "An Image of Saint Louis," 265 and Wright "The Tomb of Saint Louis," 67. refers to them as like the guards who watched over Christ's tomb.

¹⁷⁰ Hoffeld, "An Image of Saint Louis," 265; Wright, "Tomb of Saint Louis," 67.



Figure 9: *Resurrection of Christ, Jean Pucelle, The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 94v*



Figure 10: *Christ in Majesty*, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f.182v



Figure 11: Entombment of Christ and Adoration of the Magi Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 82v-83r



Figure 12: Betrayal of Christ and Annunciation to the Virgin, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 15v-16r

Louis is further aligned with Christ through the book's overall design. In the manuscript the life of Louis is situated within the life of Christ because it comes after the Office of the Virgin, which begins the life of Christ, and before the Penitential Psalms, which visually concludes that life because it displays an image of Christ in Majesty. **(Fig. 10)** Louis is also visually and thematically associated with Christ by the placement of images of his life on the same side as those for the Passion in the Office of the Virgin.¹⁷¹ **(Fig. 12)** Since contemporary French manuscripts generally include only Infancy programs in the Office of the Virgin, the decision to parallel the Infancy and Passion may reflect a conscious attempt to align Louis with Christ. The similar presentational style for the Office of Saint Louis and the Office of the Virgin also connect Louis and Christ: both Offices display main scenes inside Gothic frames surrounded by marginal figures. The linkage of Louis and Christ in the book would have been particularly apparent to the original owner who, following standard practice, would have recited the prayers from each section for a given hour.¹⁷²

The words and illuminations in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* generate two different interpretations of the life of Saint Louis. The text, organized around Louis's two eastern voyages, forms a tripartite story line with the initial lesson telling of the first expedition, the second chronicling his pious activities at home and third returning him to the Holy Land, where he dies. Because the story begins and ends with the saint's eastern excursions and because the number of crusading events outnumbers the domestic ones six to three the theme of crusading dominates. The centrally-placed devotional episodes

¹⁷¹ Hoffeld, "An Image of Saint Louis," 265.

¹⁷² Wiecke, *Time Sanctified*, 28. The laity, unlike the clergy and monastic individuals, may not have had time to read each office daily, and many have used their Books of Hours primarily in the morning and in church for mass. Ideally, they would have progressed daily through each hour's offices.

serve mainly to delineate and distinguish the times when Louis is abroad. The result is that France is shown as less important to the saint; it is a place to return.

The visual cycle, on the other hand, is structured around Capetian veneration of the saint. The opening image of Jeanne d'Evreux praying to Louis at his burial place establishes the theme. The paintings of Louis involved in acts of charity and devotion continue the thread by substantiating the queen's claim that Louis is worthy of her prayers. Even the crusading images stress piety. In the first one Louis lovingly gathers up the remains of the dead in accordance with Christian ideas of burial. In the second he reclaims a missing prayer book. The visual cycle ends with a scene of Capetian devotion to Louis.

The manner of narration of the lessons and images of the Office of Saint Louis also differs.¹⁷³ The narrator of the written text is an anonymous individual who does not introduce him or herself, nor do they claim to have actually witnessed the events. According to Booth, such a narrator is un-dramatized and the story he or she tells appears to be unmediated, as if the speaker is reporting the events unaltered.¹⁷⁴ As a result, the saint's life seems to develop through the narrating process, as if happening on the spot.

By contrast, the pictorial legend is structured as if it were the product of Louis's Capetian descendants—first of Jeanne at the opening scene and then of Louis's grandsons at the end. Jeanne's position before the devotional image of Louis at Matins suggests the

¹⁷³ For discussion of the role of narration in producing meaning in a story, see Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, trans. by Christine van Boheemen (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 119-153; Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*. (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1978), 196-262.

¹⁷⁴ Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Chicago; London: University of Chicago: 1983), 49-59.

saint appears to her in her mind as she says her devotions.¹⁷⁵ **(Fig. 1)** Similarly, the Annunciation takes place in the Queen's mind as she venerates the Virgin from the initial letter at Matins in the Office of the Virgin. **(Fig. 12)** Jeanne's location at the far left of the miniature further establishes her as the narrator for the entire Office, all of which unfolds in her mind through prayer.¹⁷⁶ A comparable narrational process is at work in the final image of the grandsons carrying the relics. In this image, Louis descendants publicly acknowledge their devotion. By translating the remains of Louis on the first feast of the saint and before the kingdom of France, they raise their holy ancestor to a special position and proclaim him worthy of heavenly status. Moreover, they assert their right to determine the location and thus the function of the relics. In this way, they tell the saint's story.

The text and images produce not only two distinct legends of Saint Louis but rather two legends manifesting different concerns. The text, which was written by a Dominican author and thus sanctioned by the Catholic Church, presents Louis as naturally pious and the determiner of his own saintliness. It also stresses crusading, an activity of great interest to the Dominicans and the Church. The illustrations, on the other hand, were chosen either by the patron Charles IV or an advisor speaking for the king. This biographical narrative represents secular and familial concerns, such as the family's

¹⁷⁵ Craig Harbison, "Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting," *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 87-118, argues that the representations of patrons before holy individuals in altarpieces and illuminated prayer books should not be taken as evidence of a patronal wish to be pictured with a religious individual, but, rather, they show the patron's desire for visualization of a holy person through mediation. Such imagery when included in Books of Hours is above all a desire for such visualization. Though the author concerns himself with fifteenth-century Flemish paintings, the types of imagery discussed occur in earlier devotional books as well, and thus Harbison's analysis is applicable. For the author's thoughts on such imagery in Books of Hours, consult 101-103.

¹⁷⁶ Hoffeld, "An Image of Saint Louis," 265, refers to Jeanne d'Evreux as a witness, like the standing guard who views the Resurrection in the previous miniatures.

role in the veneration of their dynastic saint. It also privileges France over the Holy Land, which is not surprising since France was the Capetian domain. In fact, the illustrations reveal a reality denied by the text. Medieval people were well aware of the importance of popular devotion in establishing a saint, knowing that holy figures were not always produced through clerical and papal channels, but were many times created by public demand.¹⁷⁷ This was certainly true with Saint Louis whose own ascension to the heavenly realm was recognized only after Philip the Fair threatened Pope Boniface VIII about papal taxation in France. The upshot was the quick canonization of Louis after thirty years of constant demand by the descendants of the saint and people of France.¹⁷⁸

Capetian Patronage and Ideology

The degree to which King Charles IV determined the imagery when sponsoring the manuscript is not documented. We know that patrons at this time were often actively involved in their commissions.¹⁷⁹ A consideration of the iconographic sources for the images of the Office of Saint Louis suggested that Charles or someone speaking with his interest in mind could have played an instrumental role.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Aviad M. Kleinberg, "Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages, *Viator* 20 (1988): 184.

¹⁷⁸ Hallam, *Capetian Kings of France*, 312-313.

¹⁷⁹ The fact that no two Books of Hours are alike and that personalized motifs, such as portraits, were commonly included suggests that patrons had a say in the books they requested. This is especially true with books produced prior to the popularization of the Book of Hours in the fifteenth century. Consult Lawrence R. Poos, "Social History and Books of Hours," in *Time Sanctified*, 33-38; Virginia Reinburg, "Prayer and the Book of Hours," in *Time Sanctified*, 38-44.

¹⁸⁰ For an alternative discussion of iconographic sources for the images, see Boehm, "The Cycle of Saint Louis, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*; Acc. No. 54.1.2. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection*, New York, 284-294.



Figure 13: *Louis receives discipline, Drawing of Sainte-Chapelle altar (reproduced from Longnon, Documents Parisien, pl. V, Ms x de Carpentras)*

The illustrations of Louis receiving his discipline, feeding a leprous monk, and washing the feet of the poor were probably copied with little change from around the base of an altar once housed in the lower church of Sainte-Chapelle and known only today through seventeenth-century drawings.¹⁸¹ The precise date of the piece is not known, yet comparison of its formal qualities, as reflected in the drawings, with the

¹⁸¹For reproductions of the drawings and information on the altar, refer to Longnon, *Documents Parisiens*, 3-7. Based on costume and personal appearance of the saint, this author dates the work to the first twenty years of the fourteenth century. *Documents Parisiens*, 4.

Male, "The Life of Saint Louis," 179-188, claims that both the altar's panels and the corresponding miniatures derive for the same source, the now-lost frescoes from the Cordelier convent of Lourcine, outside Paris. The paintings are believed to have been ordered by Louis' daughter, Blanche, between 1304-1320 for the convent's church. Male, "The Life of Saint Louis," 179-180. Our knowledge of these frescoes comes from seventeenth-century documents and descriptions and a few rough sketches. From these we can postulate the following sequences of fourteen paintings: Louis travels to the Holy Land; Louis in the Holy Land; Louis receives his lost prayer book; Louis in prison; Louis baptizes Infidels; Louis leaves prison; Louis establishes churches in France; Louis visits the sick; Louis prays; Louis receives discipline; Louis feeds a monk; Louis washes the feet of the poor; Louis gives alms. For a fuller description, consult Longnon, *Documents Parisiens*, 13-20. Although many of the fresco's images and their recorded sequence accord with the programs of the Sainte-Chapelle altar and Evreux prayer book, without more information it is impossible to know of the exact relationship, if any, which existed between the frescoes and the other two works.

paintings from the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* suggest that the altar predated and supplied the model for the illustrations. For example, the disciplining of Louis from the Sainte-Chapelle altar portrays Louis and his confessor in front of a relatively-detailed bed (complete with pillow) that fits comfortably in the room. **(Fig. 13)** The manuscript copies this general scheme, but now the bed is barely distinguishable; it is greatly shortened and the two figures fill most of the space. **(Fig. 1)** Moreover, no longer does the pillow rest naturally on the surface away from the saint, but tilts forward and appears to rest on his back, as if it were a mass attached to him. If the miniature copies the Saint-Chapelle panel, then the length of the bed was drastically contracted and the arrangement of the pillow altered in order to fit it and the rest of the bed into the vertical frame. Similar changes are evident for the feeding of the monk and washing of the feet of the poor.

Louis receiving his prayer book, collecting the martyrs' bones and dying on crusade could derive from the stained glass windows that decorated the Saint Louis Chapel at Saint-Denis, dated to 1301-3, and preserved in seventeenth-century engravings.¹⁸² Pucelle did not imitate the windows' imagery as closely as he did the altar's. He duplicated quite faithfully, though, Louis gathering the bones at Sidon, save for the inclusion of more attendants and a Gothic-style portico. He also relied on the window of the death of Louis for his rendition and borrowed from it the horizontal position of Louis, surrounding mourners, and two angels who transport the saint's soul—a small Louis—to heaven. **(Fig. 7)** In Pucelle's version, however, Louis's hands are

¹⁸² For reproductions of Bernard de Montfaucon's engravings, see Montfaucon, Bernard de, *Les monumens de la monarchie françoise*, (Paris: J. M. Gandouin, 1729-33), Vol. 2, 156-159; figures XXII-XXV. Brown, "Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis," 280-89, discusses the background on the windows including their probable original arrangement. Based on stylistic analysis, Wright, "The Tomb of Saint Louis," 69-70, believes the manuscript copies all corresponding scenes from the windows. As my discussion shows, this could only be the case for a few of the illustrations. Male, "The Life of Saint Louis," 187, dates the windows to the mid-fourteenth century and believes that they also derive from the Lourcine paintings. See my foot note 41.

straight by his side, whereas in the window they are clasped in prayer. Pucelle also changed the composition of the reclaiming of the breviary to suit his own aesthetic taste.¹⁸³ **(Fig. 5)** The window shows Louis and his chaplain receiving the prayer book inside a highly-abstract and disjointed space, barely recognizable as a fortress, save for the crenellations. **(Fig. 14)** In contrast, in the miniature Louis and his companion reclaim the book in a relatively coherent and believable interior. Despite this major difference and other ones (the chaplain's domineering position is lessened and Louis is made taller) key elements of the glass are retained in the manuscript. The slanted crenellated wall below the saint, rounded arch above, towers on both sides, and Louis's position and gesture are similar. Whoever selected the imagery for Saint Louis's life relied on an earlier, well-known imagery of Saint Louis, particularly those familiar to the Capetian court.

¹⁸³ Gould, "Jean Pucelle and the Northern Tradition," 67-68, believes this scene to be modeled after Christ in Prison from the stained glass window of the south narthex of the Strasbourg Cathedral. In this version, Christ is shown seated in a small crenulated tower situated inside a larger, groin-vaulted structure. While the idea of one structure inside another is found in the manuscript's version, nevertheless, the two works differ both stylistically and iconographically. Pucelle may have been influenced in part by the Strasbourg window, but his direct source was most likely was the Saint-Denis window.



Figure 14: *Louis receives lost prayerbook, Engraving of Saint-Denis window (Reproduced from Montfaucon, Monumens, pl. XXII)*

In all likelihood the episode of Louis among the sick is an amalgamation of other images of Louis, as the subject and general scheme of the picture complies with others in the manuscript and elsewhere, and could easily have been produced from them. A possible source is the Saint-Denis window of Louis feeding the sick monk, where Louis stands above an ill, bed-ridden man whom he feeds from a bowl while two helpers watch.

Capetian Ideology in the Context of Queen Jeanne's Prayer Book

If we assume that the pictorial biography of Louis was cast in a pro-Capetian light, either by the King or his advisors, we must ask then why this happened in the context of Queen Jeanne's prayer book.¹⁸⁴ Books of Hours are primarily devotional and intended to help structure the user's prayer life. By placing images of Capetian veneration in such as setting, the patron may have hoped to insure the perpetual adoration of Louis by his progeny. In watching her own portrait at Matins venerating Louis, and by extension, the complete cycle, Jeanne would have been reminded of her familial duties. Books of Hours with their often-extensive pictorial cycles must have been favorite showpieces at court, and Jeanne must have displayed her treasure to relations and intimate associates. In so doing, she publicized, albeit to a select few, Capetian admiration for Louis and Capetian involvement in his cult. Moreover, the manuscript might have served an educational function, as women commonly employed prayer books to teach children the rudiments of reading.¹⁸⁵ If the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* was meant

¹⁸⁴ Background on Books of Hours is found in Wieck, *Time Sanctified*.

¹⁸⁵ Susan Grog Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, edited by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988): 149-187.

to celebrate Charles' and Jeanne's marriage—a marriage whose primary purpose was to produce male heirs, which Charles had not accomplished in his previous two marriages¹⁸⁶—then most likely the King or his advisors devised the iconography with offspring in mind. The selection of biblical narratives for the Office of the Virgin shows a heightened interest in childbearing and childcare. Thus when using the prayer book as a reading tool, young Capetians would have been instructed in family traditions, such as the adoration of their saintly ancestor Saint Louis. Later Capetian owners of the book—King Charles V (1364-80), his brother Jean de Berry (d. 1416) and son King Charles VI (1380-1422)—surely would have recognized its strong message of Capetian ideology.

Conclusion

The text and images of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* are only loosely associated. Special images depicting Charles IV and his family's interests were added to episodes from the life of the saint. In this way the images not only recount the life of Saint Louis, they also tell us about his Capetian descendants. Moreover, the location of the images of Capetian veneration at the prime points of beginning and end structure the biography in terms of family participation within the parameters of hagiographic convention.

¹⁸⁶ Hallam, *Capetian Kings of France*, 284-285.