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PEREGRINATIONS

Vol. 2, Issue 1

Official Publication of the
International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Art

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PEREGRINATIONS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



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Welcome to the fifth issue of *Peregrinations*. We are honored to have James Bugslag serve as guest editor for a great series of three articles presenting innovative research on local pilgrimage art in the later Middle Ages. Buglag, with keen insight, explains the issues facing researchers in this area. His introduction is followed by two inspired articles by Yvonne Yiu and Anders Fröjmark which analyze how popular demand influenced official Church artwork and how the Church responded, adopting the widespread demand for local cults within more orthodox and acceptable theological and practical parameters.

Separate from this special section, we are honored to present two excellent scholarly studies. Paula Mae Carns' article examines the cult of Saint Louis and how it was used to further Capetian interests in the famed *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, while Hanneke van Asperen has shown re-identification of several pilgrim badges reveal a long-overlooked cult of Saint Armel of Brittany in England.



Two sections make their inaugural appearance this issue: Discoveries/Short Essays and Miscellanea. The first will feature short essays on preliminary findings or hypotheses and various scholarly thoughts and topics— one in this issue, by Mark A. Hall, ponders whether fossil scallop shells were re-used in the Middle Ages and another is a report on recent discoveries of silver-gilt and silver pilgrim badges. The second section brings to the fore short quotes from the Middle Ages that may be of interest and amusement as well as those relevant to the study of medieval art.

Rounding out the scholarly core of this issue, we are delighted to present a discerning look at some select saints in modern film by Mark A. Hall, featured website (William Allen's Image Archive), short notices on new archaeological and architectural discoveries, and calls for papers and conferences. Our photobank continues to grow, with copyright-free images of exceptional quality. In hopes of making the task of obtaining that perfect photo easier, we invite you to check out Photoshare a community bulletin board, where scholars can request specific images from fellow art historians and lovers of medieval art. Continuing in this issue is the on-going series of stunning photos of the Architecture on the Pilgrimage Road to Santiago de Compostela taken by William J. Smither – all downloadable for use in research and teaching.

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and

architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions as well as calls for papers and conference listings. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Last, but not least, we are combining the photoshare with a reader comment section where you can respond to the journal – to ideas presented in articles, to the selection of items for inclusion, or to any aspect of *Peregrinations* which might prompt your response.

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: blicks@kenyon.edu or rtekippe@westga.edu.

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"It may look messy now but just you come back in 500 years time" – Terry Pratchett

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PEREGRINATIONS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



Vol. 2, Issue 1



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Cover/Splash Page: Photgraph by Albrecht Durer; *Woodcut of a pilgrim passing a castle, holding a coat-of-arms (showing the sun, moon, stars, and a winged heart with the letter t on it) in one hand and a staff in the other.* Photo: Private Collection.





Local Pilgrimages and Their Shrines in Pre-Modern Europe

By James Bugslag, University of Manitoba

When people think of medieval pilgrimage, most usually the road to Santiago de Compostela comes into view in the mind's eye, or the even longer and more dangerous voyage to the Holy Land. It is no wonder that these remarkable journeys and the spiritual motivations that sparked them should have attracted so much attention. They have an epic grandeur and a transformational potential that speak directly to impulses that are still felt by pious and adventuresome souls today. Less well known, however, are the more prosaic and far more numerous pilgrimages that took place regionally or locally in medieval and early-modern Europe. Far more so than for the major pilgrimages, these local pilgrimages were rooted in a past that has all but disappeared from the mechanized, urban world of the 21st century and whose concerns no longer spark the popular imagination. Yet, local pilgrimage is a fascinating historical phenomenon, and the fact that it has been relatively ignored offers exciting potential for further study.

This special section of this issue of *Peregrinations* is devoted to local pilgrimage. The idea for this project sprang from a session dedicated to Local Pilgrimage Shrines at the 40th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo in May 2005.¹ Besides this introductory essay, the other two articles gathered here originated as papers read in this session, and each of them highlights pertinent aspects of local pilgrimage. These studies do not even begin to exhaust this rich subject. Rather, our intention is more to draw attention to local pilgrimage in the hope of spurring further interest in what may be described as a growing field of study. Each article, thus, focuses on different concerns and perspectives.

Local pilgrimage has certainly not been entirely ignored in the past, but it has benefited much less from scholarly attention not only due to its overshadowing by what William Christian, Jr., has called the “more touristic” pilgrimages but, as well, due to the generally less well documented nature of local pilgrimage. The situation is well exemplified by the 1472 will of William Ecopp, rector of the parish church at Heslerton in Yorkshire, in which he left “a string of bequests” for various pilgrimages to be performed throughout England. As Diana Webb has pointed out, these ranged from major – and relatively well documented – sites such as Canterbury and Walsingham “to a number of north-country shrines of the Virgin which are otherwise unknown as objects of

¹ “Local Pilgrimages and Their Shrines in Pre-Modern Europe,” sponsored by the International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Arts, and organized by James Bugslag. Susan Kerr delivered a paper in this session on “Image and Legend in the Pilgrimage to S. Miguel de Aralar” which does not appear here. Likewise, Stella Singer (Univ. of Pennsylvania), who delivered a paper on “‘Falsingham’ or Allegory of Place? Walsingham's Local Genius,” was unable to contribute to the current issue of *Peregrinations*, but her paper is part of an on-going research project which we hope will appear in the near future.

pilgrimage.”² Ronald Finucane has made the point that most of what we know of medieval pilgrimage shrines comes from the collections of miracles that were recorded at them.³ Written miracle collections, however, depended on the presence of both an institutional organization and literate recorders, which could only be expected where a shrine was associated with an ecclesiastical institution, such as a monastery. Thus, although Finucane has studied a variety of major and minor pilgrimage shrines in England, the local ones he selected were unusually well provided with documentation by monks or canons living in a community at the site: the shrine of St. Godric at Finchale was controlled by a Benedictine community dependent on Durham Cathedral Priory; that of St. Frideswide at Oxford by a priory of Augustinian canons. Anders Fröjmark, in his article in this issue of *Peregrinations*, makes use of similar sources to chart in admirable detail the nature of local pilgrimages to some Swedish shrines.

Most local pilgrimage shrines of pre-modern Europe, however, lacked the institutional basis for such documentation. Many of them were served by parish priests who, particularly in rural areas, would have been only marginally more literate than their uneducated flocks. A considerable number of local shrines lay outside of the institutional framework of the Church altogether, and were thus even further devoid of documentation. Moreover, the legislation promulgated by the Roman Church regarding pilgrimage also tended to leave local pilgrimages unmentioned. For understandable reasons, pilgrims traveling far from their homes for substantial periods of time were in greater need of institutional and legal safeguards. Modern scholars regarding such legislation have thus been presented with a skewed vision of pilgrimage. In the 13th century, for example, lawyers and theologians “distinguished between voluntary pilgrimages undertaken as an act of personal piety, and compulsory ones imposed by confessors or courts of law.”⁴ Although Jonathan Sumption discounts such a clear-cut distinction, this legalistic view of pilgrimage can easily be conflated with the vision of pilgrimage encouraged from above by the Catholic Church during the 19th century, when many long-standing pilgrimages were “revived” in a form purified of many traditional reasons for local pilgrimage. They tend to draw us back to the long road to Santiago, or Rome, or Jerusalem, which now conjures up a mixed vision of pious devotion and tourism.

Thus, the phenomenon of medieval local pilgrimage is difficult to grasp both through lack of documentation and through the all too frequent circumstance of being considered through the ideological screen of homogeneous ecclesiastical orthodoxy. In fact, much local pilgrimage defied such categorization, and the range of motivations for it was broad and varied. All legitimate medieval pilgrimage might fairly be seen as “acts of personal piety,” yet pilgrimages were undertaken for a vast number of reasons that immediately emphasize the radical absence of the essentially modern distinction between

² Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 148. For details of this will, see Edmund Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica: A History of English Devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin Marye Mother of God, with a Catalogue of Shrines, Sanctuaries, Offerings, Bequests, and Other Memorials of the Piety of Our Forefathers* (London, 1879), p. 43. The will is also discussed by Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 187.

³ Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York, 1995).⁴ Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975), p. 98.

the secular and the sacred. Nine-tenths of all recorded medieval shrine miracles between the 12th and 15th centuries, for example, involved physical healing of human illnesses and injuries, at least as recorded at English shrines.⁵ Benedicta Ward has sensibly pointed out that most such healing miracles were associated with local shrines.⁶ There was even some measure of opposition to non-local curative pilgrimages. The enemies of Coutances Cathedral attempted to dissuade a pilgrim from going there by asking her, “why go to a strange church to seek the help of the Blessed Virgin whose power is universal and could just as easily cure you in your own home?”⁷ On the other hand, the Coutances miracle collection tells of a local who was divinely chastised by the Virgin herself for doubting that the Virgin of Coutances was more powerful than the Virgin of Bayeux.⁸ Ward also cites the early 12th-century case of the cripple Glutinus, who prayed for a cure for ten days in Exeter Cathedral without success, after which the canons, discovering that he was actually from the diocese of Salisbury, made him return there, where he was cured. Herman, the canon of Laon Cathedral who recorded this miracle in 1113, was of the extraordinary opinion that “no one can be cured outside his own diocese.”⁹

Before the 19th century, medical knowledge and institutionalized medical care were of negligible help to the vast majority of the population, whose principal recourse was to divine thaumaturgical aid.¹⁰ Agricultural science and meteorology were similarly undeveloped, so people also resorted to the relics of the saints and miraculous images to ensure the fertility of crops and animals, to bring rains during drought or to stop the flooding of fields, to avert insect infestation, and generally to aid the essentially agricultural economy of a largely agrarian populace in the uncertain business of survival. In a time before the institution of effective police forces, people might resort to pilgrimage to recover stolen, or simply lost, articles, to apprehend criminals or to escape unjust incarceration. The people of the Middle Ages – and even, to a surprising extent, the early-modern period – lived in a “magical universe” in which a pious concern for

⁵ Finucane (1995), p. 59.

⁶ It should be pointed out, however, that whereas in the 11th and 12th centuries most miraculous cures took place at a pilgrimage shrine, by the 14th and 15th centuries, most miraculous cures took place at some distance from the shrine involved and were followed by pilgrimages to the shrine to fulfill a vow made previous to the cure, or to give thanks. This, at least, was the case in France; see Webb (2002), p. 58, citing Pierre-André Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale* (Paris, 1985). Cf. also Sumption (1975), p. 140; Finucane (1995), p. 69.

⁷ Sumption (1975), pp. 50-51.⁸ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1989), p. 120, citing John of Coutances, *Mirac. Eccl. Constatiensis* 6 in E.A. Pigeon, ed., *Histoire de la cathédrale de Coutances* (Coutances, 1876), pp. 370-72.

⁹ Cited in Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 140. See Herman, *De Miraculis S. Mariae Laudumensis*, PL, vol. 156, col. 961- 1020.

¹⁰ Even less well documented than local pilgrimage were the activities of local wise men and wise women and the “leechcraft” they practiced, which was also resorted to for medical aid.

their own salvation was not seen to be at odds with concerns we now tend to consider as “secular.”¹¹

Local pilgrimages tend to emphasize this situation far more than major ones, and our knowledge of many local cults in the Middle Ages is based solely on the Church's recorded attempts to suppress them. Negative attitudes towards local devotions were recorded all through the Middle Ages. St. Bernard, for example, looked down on “the vulgar masses who are incapable of truly spiritual feelings.”¹² More particularly, plebian pilgrimage was often censured.¹³ Not only were particular local pilgrimage practices occasionally condemned, but there was a deep distrust on the part of the church of reports of miracles at local shrines that emanated from the people rather than from church authorities. Their attitude was the same even at major shrines, where peasant testimonies could be properly screened by educated clerics. Thus, William of Canterbury, one of the recorders of Becket's miracles in the late 12th century, “expected beggars to be liars and the nobility to tell the truth.”¹⁴ The church increasingly sought to control not only reports of miracles at pilgrimage shrines, but the shrines themselves. Many local pilgrimages emerged in the Middle Ages at the graves of local hermits and holy people who were not canonically recognized as saints, and bishops sometimes felt compelled specifically to terminate devotion to these would-be local shrines. Nevertheless, “the mediaeval Church not only did not but could not control and direct popular religion. ... In fact, in so far as one can trace the movement of ideas in the history of medieval piety it is often in the reverse direction. Popular religious practices continually influence the behavior of the establishment.”¹⁵

In the 16th century, however, what was once an uneasy accommodation of many local practices became more severe. The Protestant Reformation led to widespread destruction of relics and miraculous images and condemnation of pilgrimage practices in general that erased pilgrimage from substantial parts of Europe. Even in areas which did not become Protestant, religious unrest led to the destruction of many local shrines, by the Huguenots in France, for example. Attitudes, too, were changing. The Catholic followers of Erasmus condemned many of the ideas on which pilgrimage depended, such as the thaumaturgical “specialization” of saints, which they associated specifically with Roman and Greek deities, and they denied “the notion that God's grace was more common at certain places (the basis for shrines and pilgrimage).”¹⁶ Later, the Council of Trent sought to assert clerical authority over local religious activity and to separate clearly the profane from the sacred. Their attempts, however, met with only limited

¹¹ See, for example, Stephen Wilson, *The Magical Universe: Everyday Ritual and Magic in Pre-Modern Europe* (London and New York, 2000); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971).

¹² Cited in Sumption (1975), p. 155.

¹³ Webb (2002), p. 75.

¹⁴ Finucane (1995), p. 155.

¹⁵ Sumption (1975), p. 53.

¹⁶ William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 161-62.

success. Comparisons between recorded practices and those forbidden by the church provide “[a] picture of a stubborn, combative laity that defended its own culture and religious customs against clerical intrusions.”¹⁷

Nevertheless, both the enlightened humanism of Catholic reformers such as Erasmus and legislation by the Counter-Reformation church hierarchy rapidly influenced “educated” opinion more generally. Since the Early Modern period, “enlightened” or pious critics have denounced much local pilgrimage practice – when it has not been ignored it altogether. Concerning medieval pilgrimage in general, the English historian Edward Gibbon (1737-94) railed “with astonishment and indignation [at] the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation” in the more spiritually pure age, as he saw it, of early Christianity.¹⁸ This “profane spectacle” was particularly evident in relation to many local pilgrimages. Thus, Jacques Toussaert, in a study published as recently as 1963, in describing the local cult surrounding the statue of Notre-Dame des Dunes, dug up in 1403 at Dunkerque during excavations which also revealed a previously unknown spring of water (a common conjunction, as we shall see) and which, particularly among sailors, gained a miraculous reputation that is still recognized to this day, judges:

If it is permitted to refer to a current devotion which has preserved characteristics that are still fairly medieval, one could say that it proceeds from the most varied religious sentiments, from the most pure and filial veneration to a marked superstition. For some, the Marian devotion is grounded in an authentically Christian life; for others, it is a fetishism diluted or coloured with Christianity. One can understand that sailors, with their hard and dangerous lives, particularly in ancient times, were often not very open to religious emotions, and thus relatively closed to everyday religious sentiment; their life did not facilitate, moreover, a regular religious practice, but in their distress, they recognized a devotion to, essentially, the god of the sea, to protect them in moments of danger. The ship models, offered as *ex votos* before the statue of the Virgin, do not constitute typically Christian marks of religious sentiment.¹⁹

Two comments are worth making about these value judgments. Firstly, the radical disjunction discernable between the “sacred” and the “secular” registers primarily his own, modern sense of religious values, which he is imposing on the Middle Ages. He was undoubtedly a devout Christian himself, but living in a mechanical universe very different from the medieval reality. Before barometric pressure and the Gulf Stream were known, it was believed that God made storms at sea, as often as not specifically because of the sinful lives of the sailors whose lives were endangered. Recourse to relics or miraculous images was not, in these circumstances, “superstitious.” It was part of the medieval magical universe, in which the phenomenon of local pilgrimage operated.

¹⁷ Christian (1981), p. 167.

¹⁸ 28th Chapter, section four; cited in Finucane (1995), p. 20.

¹⁹ Jacques Toussaert, *Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1963), pp. 272-73. My translation from the French.

Certainly, many of the pilgrims who made vows to Notre-Dame des Dunes, in terror, when their lives were in peril at sea and afterwards, in order to fulfill their vows, made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving and offered a votive ship model to the Virgin, may not have lived conventionally “pious” lives, but as their last recourse, they turned to the saints, as they were manifested and embodied in the relics or images they were familiar with in their own circumscribed experience. This was the basis of a great deal of local pilgrimage. Toussaert contemptuously refers to this attitude as “fetishism,” which he assumes is not “authentically Christian.” In actuality, the word “fetish,” now used generally to describe an inanimate object with magical power or through which spiritual influence may pass, was first used by Portuguese explorers, in connection with African religious figures, in the late 15th century; they derived it from the Portuguese word *feiticos* which could refer specifically to Christian relics and miraculous images.²⁰ As Jonathan Sumption put it, for the masses, “Christianity remained ... a ritual framework of life, rather than a body of coherent beliefs and commanding ideals.”²¹

Secondly, Toussaert is simply wrong when he states that pilgrimages of thanksgiving to local pilgrimage shrines, accompanied by such material gestures as the donation of *ex votos*, “do not constitute typically Christian marks of religious sentiment.” During at least the late Middle Ages, they were very typical, although this is now difficult to appreciate because almost none of these works of popular medieval religious art have survived.²² Medieval pilgrimage shrines were commonly filled with votive objects of all kinds, which not only registered, individually, belief in the thaumaturgical effectiveness of the shrine, but collectively, they materially helped to construct such belief. I will return to some of these themes later, but for now, what I would like to emphasize is that it is necessary to adopt a post-modern perspective on pilgrimage shrines. In other words, our own ideological preconceptions must be distinguished from those of the Middle Ages, when vastly different attitudes towards pilgrimage prevailed, which do not, in substantial respects, match contemporary expectations.²³

When we come to consider what is known of the phenomenon of local pilgrimage, bearing in mind the lack of standard historical sources, we are faced with considerable

²⁰ “Fetishism”, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 9 (Chicago, London and Toronto, 1960), pp. 200-01.

²¹ Sumption (1975), pp. 267-68.

²² On some rare surviving examples of late medieval wax *ex votos*, see U.M. Radford, “The Wax Images Found in Exeter Cathedral,” *Antiquaries Journal* XXIX (1949), 164-68, pl. XIX-XXI; *Iconoclasm. Vie et mort de l'image médiévale*, exh. cat. (Berne, 2001), p. 249. On *ex votos* in general, see the remarkable study by Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto. Zeichen und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zürich, 1972).

²³ Another pertinent aspect of our expectations that must be distinguished from those of the Middle Ages comes from the fact, not always obvious, that we are divided from the Middle Ages by our own scientific, technological and economic success and no longer constitute a society “with a weak coefficient of security,” in the words of Claude Lévi-Strauss, which often, he claims, “cede to a psychological therapeutic” which undoubtedly formed a part of pre-modern local pilgrimage; see Aline Rousselle, *Croire et guérir. La foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris, 1990), p. 295, note 36.

methodological problems.²⁴ As often as not, information on local pilgrimages is limited to the writing down, by early-modern and later local historians, folklorists, and religious enthusiasts, of oral traditions. Whatever the sources, tradition has attached to many local pilgrimage shrines accounts that must certainly be considered more as legendary than as historical documentation. Historians have not been kind to this potentially useful evidence: “Elaborate justificatory legends were composed afterwards to clothe them with a spurious antiquity.”²⁵ Thus did Jonathan Sumption, an important and exemplary historian of pilgrimage, write them off. More recently, more positive approaches to this material have been suggested by ethnographers who, rather than treat such legends as “historical evidence,” treat them, in a structuralist manner, as answering social needs for local populations.²⁶ A great many of these legends seek to justify the location of sacrality with respect to specific, sometimes very small communities. Many of these legends are associated with Marian shrines, although they also accrue to the shrines of local saints. What is striking among shrine legends is that, although they are tailored to specific localities and circumstances, the same topoi and patterns recur frequently in many of them.

In order to exemplify the hundreds of very similar legends concerning the origins of miraculous statues of the Virgin Mary, from all over Europe, let us consider a paradigmatic account, mentioning, as well, some common variants. Typically, the statue’s origin is miraculous. The accounts usually begin with a shepherd or shepherdess, or some other type of agricultural worker, who perhaps notices that an ox or bull in their herd keeps returning to the same spot; although it does not eat, it is fatter and healthier than the rest of the herd. The shepherd follows it, and alerted by the animal pawing the ground with its hooves and horns, digs up a statue of the Virgin. Alternately, the shepherd finds the statue in a tree. Sometimes grottoes also played a role. Immediately, a spring gushes forth from the ground at the find spot. The shepherd takes the statue to his parish church, but the next day, it has miraculously returned to the find spot, and after several such attempts, a rustic chapel is built – as it is put in countless stories – on the site that the Virgin has herself chosen. Miraculous cures and interventions soon become associated with both the spring and the statue.

²⁴ Rousselle (1990), pp. 210ff. contains some interesting discussion of method and historiography concerning the interpretation of curative shrines in Late Antiquity and the conversion period that are also relevant for a consideration of medieval and early-modern shrines.

²⁵ Sumption (1975), p. 279.²⁶ For some decades, anthropologists have been producing a growing literature on pilgrimage. A ground-breaking milestone in this development was Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978), which was, however, primarily focused on major, long-distance pilgrimage. More recently, the very interesting Introduction to John Eade and Michael Sallnow, eds, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (1991; Urbana, 2000), provides a critical update on the Turners’ approach and extends consideration more usefully to include local pilgrimage.

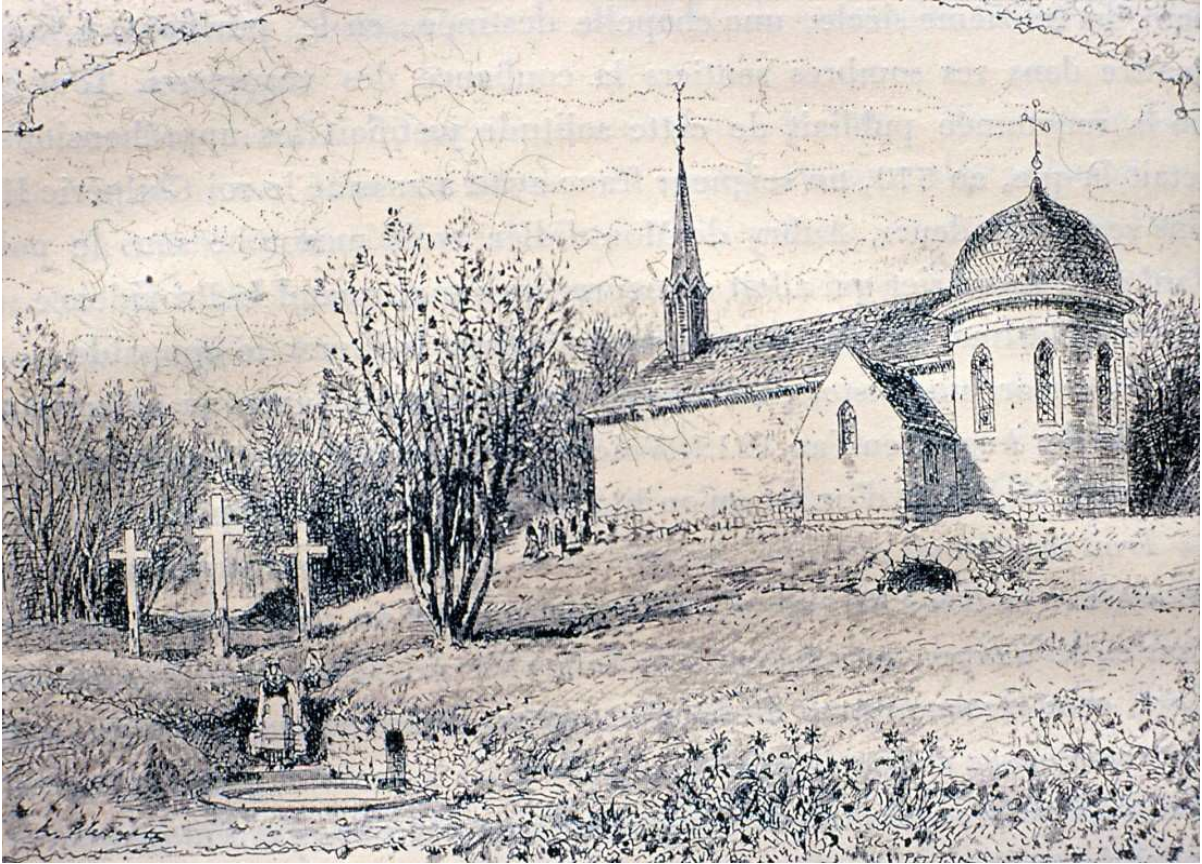


Figure 1. The chapel of Notre-Dame des Anges at Clichy-sous-Bois, as it was in c.1890
(Photo: Drochon, 1890, p. 35).

Two more concrete examples of such local pilgrimage shrines are provided by the chapel of Notre-Dame de Grâce at Scheut, which is treated in detail in Yvonne Yui's article in this issue of *Peregrinations*, and the chapel of Notre-Dame des Anges at Clichy-sous-Bois, (**fig. 1**) just on the outskirts of Paris, which, according to tradition, originated when three merchants were robbed on this site in 1212 and tied to three oak trees. After having made a vow to the Virgin Mary, the merchants were miraculously released by angels, and a spring gushed forth at the foot of the trees. A small oratory was built and provided with a statue of the Virgin, and the site became known for miraculous cures, particularly of fevers. The church has been rebuilt many times since then, but the statue and the spring are still apparent, and three crosses now mark the site of the three oaks.²⁷ The conjunction of a statue, a spring and the implied presence of trees is typical of small Marian shrines.

Such foundation legends help to validate and, in a sense, construct the sacrality of a local landscape, and they do so in a manner that considerably predates the beginnings of

²⁷ Jean-Emmanuel B. Drochon, *Histoire illustrée des pèlerinages français de la très sainte Vierge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 35-37; I. Couturier de Chefdu Bois, *Mille pèlerinages de Notre-Dame, Région A: Normandie, Artois et Picardie, Ile-de-France, Maine, Anjou, Orléanais, Blesois et Touraine, Poitou, Vendée, Aunis et Saintonge, Bretagne* (Paris, 1953), pp. 102-03.

“Christian” pilgrimage to many sites. The very same significant landscape features that crop up in relation to miraculous statues – rocks, trees, springs – were determiners of sacrality before and during the conversion period, and early missionaries and councils often specifically condemned the worship of or vows made to rocks, trees and springs.²⁸ Hardly any council, general or particular, did not proscribe some superstitious practice. The second Council of Arles in 452 and, later, the second Council of Tours in 567 both enjoined pastors to chase from the church anyone coming with vows to rocks, trees or springs: “quemcumque in hac fatuitate persistere viderint, vel ad nescio quas petras, aut arbores, aut ad fontes, designata loca gentilium, perpetrare ... ab Ecclesia sancta auctoritate repellent.” Two capitularies of Charlemagne forbade the lighting of candles or torches and rendering devotion to trees, springs or rocks.²⁹ Councils at Rouen and Toledo in the 7th century made the same condemnations.³⁰

Francis Jones has emphasized that these condemnations were repeated century after century, a clear indication of the unwillingness of the agricultural peasantry of Europe to give up the propitiatory practices that had assured their survival for millennia. Jones also detects a distinct shift in the tenor of the church's attitude towards the sacralized elements of the landscape at around the same time that pilgrimage was coming to its peak in Europe and, as well, at the same time that statues of the Virgin and other saints were beginning to appear in substantial numbers. He cites, for example, the 26th canon of St. Anselm, dating from 1102, which decreed: “Let no one attribute reverence or sanctity to a dead body or a fountain without the bishop's authority.”³¹ Rather than try to stamp out these practices, by this time, the church was trying to control them, and it would appear that this was commonly done by building chapels near such significant landscape features, and even by “baptizing” a sacred spring or tree by placing the image of a saint there. In his famous letter of 597 to St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pope Gregory the Great actually recommended such a stratagem. Virtually the same observations were made by Dom Grenier in the mid-19th century, that zealous priests substituted, with pious skill, crosses and small chapels for trees and rocks: a great number of them could still be seen in his time besides the main roads in Picardy, or else people placed relics in the trunks of trees, objects of superstitious devotion.³² This is a process that has been

²⁸ On healing shrines associated with springs and their fate during the conversion period, see Rousselle (1990). This interdisciplinary study contains an in-depth examination of the relationship between medicine and thaumaturgical healing during the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. It focuses solely on spring shrines, since they are the best archaeologically documented type of healing shrine in Late Antiquity. Understandably, as well, the shrines considered were all major shrines supported from nearby cities. She claims too finally, I believe, the abandonment of such sacral sites in favour of the burgeoning thaumaturgical regimen based on the relics of saints.

²⁹ These early decrees are cited in Dom Grenier, *Introduction à l'histoire général de la province de Picardie* (Amiens, 1856), p. 410.

³⁰ Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff, 1992), p. 22.

³¹ Jones (1992), pp. 22-23.

³² Grenier (1856), p. 410.

called “guided syncretism.”³³ One can easily believe that this process was replicated at many local pilgrimage shrines throughout Europe.

Often, as well, the inception of a local cult is extrapolated in legend back to a period long before it could reasonably have existed. This is quite obvious when statues are involved: dates are cited for them long before such statues began to appear widely in the 11th and 12th centuries. Although hardly involving a singularly local shrine, the undoubtedly late 11th-century statue of Notre-Dame de Sous-Terre in the crypt of Chartres Cathedral (destroyed at the French Revolution) was reputed by the late Middle Ages to have been made by at Chartres before the birth of Christ by the Druids, who had sent a deputation to the Holy Land to consult with the prophet Isaiah as to its manufacture.³⁴ As Richard Marks has recently noted, the chronology of medieval devotional images has not been explored in great depth.³⁵ Their numbers, nevertheless, began to multiply through the 13th century. Marks, for example, cites the 1287 synodal statutes of Bishop Peter Quinel of Exeter, according to which each church in the diocese was required to have an image of the Virgin Mary.³⁶ This proliferation of devotional images can undoubtedly be considered a precondition for the miraculous reputations that some images came to have through the later Middle Ages and Early Modern period.³⁷

Through both of these means, inscribing a local pilgrimage into a local “sacred landscape” and extending its origins deep into the past, legends associated with local pilgrimages actively constructed a sense of local identity. It goes without saying that such legends cannot be taken, in a historical sense, literally, yet there remain tantalizing connections between the devotional practices typical of so many local shrines and those of the distant pre-Christian past. In dealing with such phenomena in a slightly different context, the historian of popular culture, Stephen Wilson, refuses to consider the thaumaturgical character of sacred landscape features in terms of “residual paganism.” He discards the “remnant” theory of magic and folklore in favor of a “general” theory of the perennial nature of magic in the pre-modern era, and its ability to take from and to colonize all religions, including both Christianity and that highly fuzzy catch-all, pre-Christian “paganism.” The implications of this approach for studying local pilgrimage shrines are particularly fruitful. Although some natural landscape forms associated with medieval shrines may, indeed, have experienced a continual cultic activity that originated before the site was Christianized, this is not always the case. In many instances, general attitudes are involved that replicate at various times and in various places the same conjunction of sacral elements.

³³ Turner and Turner (1978), p. 59.

³⁴ Maurice Jusselin, “Les traditions de l’église de Chartres, à propos d’une bulle du pape Léon X concernant la construction de la clôture du chœur,” *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d’Eure-et-Loir*, vol. 15 (1915-22), 1-26.

³⁵ Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁷ Marks (2004) distinguishes between a devotional image, which would not have been the object of pilgrimage, and a cult image, which was considered to have miraculous power and which might attract pilgrimage.



Figure 2. The chapel of Notre-Dame de la Paix erected in a 600-year-old oak tree at Allouville in 1696, as it was in c. 1890 (Photo: Drochon, 1890, p. 135).

Thus, at the local shrine of St. Godric (d. 1170) at Finchale in northern England, which was founded on the reputed site of the saint's hermitage, Reginald of Durham recounts the miraculous cure, at a later date, of a woman from Esindene who, fourteen years previously had been poisoned by her husband's mistress and had lived in distress ever since. On arriving at Finchale, "she claimed to see Godric with St. Thomas and St. Cuthbert in a tree outside the church, though bystanders only saw three white birds." At that moment she was cured.³⁸ Conjunctions between Christian elements and such natural markers of the sacred as trees and springs continued to be newly constructed well into the early modern period. At Allouville in Normandy, presumably to sanctify an already established devotion to an 800-year-old oak tree in the village, the curate erected an altar to the Virgin in it as late as 1696. **(fig. 2)** (Unlike many local shrines in France, this one was preserved at the French Revolution, thanks to an ingenious stratagem of the devout local school master, who attached a sign to the tree carrying the inscription, "Temple de la Raison"!) A pilgrimage still takes place here on 2 July.³⁹

Besides inscribing local shrines into a sacral landscape, such legends also inscribe these shrines into a local social context. This is nicely illustrated by the legends associated with the obscure local shrine of St. Walstan at Bawburgh in the "splendid isolation" of rural East Anglia. Walstan is supposed to have been high born, possibly even of royal descent, which accorded him the prestige of high social status. Nevertheless, as was typical of many medieval saints, he renounced his inherited status:

St. Walstan voluntarily embraced a life of poverty, and hired himself as a common labourer to a farmer at Taverham in this county. Walstan is alleged to have given away his food, and the very shoes off his feet, in charity to the poor; but when his mistress came to rebuke him for his thoughtlessness and want of thrift, she found him barefooted, loading a cart of thorns, yet totally unhurt. The time of his death having been miraculously revealed to him, Walstan's last request to his master was, that his body might be placed in a cart drawn by two unbroken oxen, and that they should be left entirely to themselves. On two occasions they are said to have stopped with the sacred body, viz., once on the top of a hill, from which a fountain gushed forth: it is further said that they crossed over a deep pond of water as if it had been a solid mass of earth or stone. At last they are said to have reached Bauburgh, the place of Walstan's birth, where the saint was buried, and a church built over his mortal remains.⁴⁰

³⁸ Cited in Ward (1987), p. 107. See Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitaie de Finchale; appendix miraculorum*, ed. J. Stephenson, Surtees Society, vol. 20 (London, 1847).

³⁹ Jean-Emmanuel B. Drochon, *Histoire illustrée des pèlerinages français de la très sainte Vierge* (Paris, 1890), p. 135; E.-F. Laugier and Jean Gavot, "Oratoires : niches et chapelles d'arbres," *Arts et traditions populaires*, vol. 17, no. 1-2 (Jan.-June 1969), 107-18, esp. 114. The website of the commune at Allouville contains recent photographs and also shows the current local "representation" of the shrine.

⁴⁰ Richard Hart, "The Shrines and Pilgrimages of the County of Norfolk," *Norfolk Archaeology* vol. 6 (1865), 277-94, at pp. 280-81.

The church is said to have been rebuilt in 1309 from offerings to St. Walstan. The topos of oxen leading a saint's body to the location where he wanted his shrine to be is a common one that, as we have seen, inscribes the site in a sacred landscape. But in this instance, St. Walstan is also inscribed within the local agrarian social structure: he was, out of devotion, a farm labourer, just like, undoubtedly, the vast majority of his devotees.

More precision can be given to this social dimension of local medieval shrines and pilgrimage practice from the study of their early-modern and contemporary continuations. Beginning from his direct ethnographic study of religious attitudes and practice in northern Spain during the late 1960s, William Christian, Jr., made some pioneering studies of the ethno-history of Spanish pilgrimage.⁴¹ Local pilgrimage operated in a substantially different way than “long-range” pilgrimage. The distinction drawn by the Turners between localized hierarchical secular roles and statuses, on the one hand, and the “communitas” of the pilgrimage experience, on the other, needs to be rethought in the context of local pilgrimage.⁴² At the local level, socio-cultural bonds were often forged and maintained through group pilgrimages. The liminal qualities of pilgrimage were effected within the circumscribed geography of individual communities and became inscribed in a broader range of liminal phenomena that “are embodied in the collaborative ‘work’ of a tribal or early agrarian society's annual ecological and social structural round, and are obligatory for all.”⁴³ In the tightly structured and organized religious system of the central and late Middle Ages, local pilgrimages “‘regress’ from voluntaristic processes to become pseudo-tribal initiatory institutions, stressing relics, ritualistic acts, and the ‘miraculous’ properties of wells, trees, places where saints stood or rested, and other concrete objects associated with holy individuals.”⁴⁴ In this respect, many local pilgrimage shrines in the later Middle Ages and early-modern periods attracted civic pilgrimages in response to vows undertaken when the commune was endangered by disease or disaster.

⁴¹ William A. Christian, Jr., *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (New York and London, 1972); idem, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981); idem, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981).

⁴² This point is made on a theoretical level in the Introduction to John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Urbana and Chicago, 2000), p. 5. See also the discussion in Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century: The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 86-90.

⁴³ Turner and Turner, p. 231.

⁴⁴ Turner and Turner, p. 232.



Figure 3. *Retrospective visualization of the pilgrimage to Our Lady of Montaigu at Sherpenheuvel, or Sichem, Belgium, engraving, 1737 (Photo: courtesy of author).*

This is clearly visualized in a print, dated 1737, depicting the pilgrimage to Our Lady of Montaigu, or Sherpenheuvel, in Belgium. (**fig. 3**) A pilgrimage developed to a statue of the Virgin and Child in an oak tree, according to legend, before the 13th century. It is documented as early as 1304. As is so common elsewhere, a legend arose that the statue refused to be moved: a shepherd, noticing that the statue had fallen, tried to take it away, but was crushed under its weight until his master replaced it in the oak. A shrine was built on the spot; it was destroyed in 1568 during the religious wars but rebuilt in 1602, from which time the miracles began to proliferate. In 1604, the bishop of Antwerp had the tree, now dead from the depredations of pilgrims seeking souvenirs, cut down.⁴⁵ Due to the increase in popularity of the shrine, a splendid new church was built in 1609-27 on a different site, by Archduke Albert, with the town built symmetrically around it. This new church contains a large replica of the oak behind the altar.⁴⁶ The church can be seen in the print, in the centre background, but as well, the artist has imagined the statue back in its original oak. There are cripples imploring the Virgin of Montaigu for intercession, in the hope of miraculous cures, but as well, a large communal procession is snaking its way from the town towards the shrine, replete with banners of various confraternities. Although in actual fact a nostalgic fiction, this image recreates some of the pertinent social aspects of many local pilgrimage shrines, accommodating both individual and communal needs and attentions.

⁴⁵ As was the case at other Marian shrines in 17th-century Belgium, copies of the Montaigu statue were made of the wood from this miraculous oak tree, many of them in turn acquiring miraculous reputations. See H.M. Gillett, *Shrines of Our Lady in England and Wales* (London, 1957), pp. 188-91.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; Ean Begg, *The Cult of the Black Virgin* (London, 1985), pp. 159-60.

The Turners also stress that the study of any particular pilgrimage must be undertaken as part of a “field” of pilgrimages, rather than in isolation, and this approach is particularly appropriate for many local pilgrimages.⁴⁷ Another ethnologist, Alban Bensa, undertook a study of modern local pilgrimage shrines in the western part of the diocese of Chartres.⁴⁸ Based on a still-living cult that was, in the mid-20th century, struggling to survive, he identified a remarkably dense network of local pilgrimage shrines dedicated to a host of local saints. Many of them, inscribed in a sacred landscape of springs, rocks and trees, occupied a liminal position between the “human” space of the village and the “savage” space of uncultivated woodlands, or in the liminal space between cultivated fields and pasturage.

Many of these small, local shrines specialized in a particular malady or problem, the health of horses, for example, or of children. When disease or misfortune struck, there was considerable choice in which shrine a person could choose for a pilgrimage. Sometimes, the local populace chose a shrine themselves, but when they were unsure of which shrine to turn to, they consulted a local wise woman, known as a “voyageuse,” who would choose a shrine and sometimes even make the pilgrimage for their client.⁴⁹ The “voyageuses” questioned by Bensa were quickly able to recite between twenty and thirty series: sickness or problem – shrine – saint. It is unclear whether the existence of “voyageuses” in 20th-century France represents a continuation of medieval practice, or whether it resulted from a conflation of previously separate “magical” regimes. During the early-modern period, the Church took active measures to suppress the wise men and wise women who had flourished outside of a specifically religious sphere during the Middle Ages. It is possible that they reacted by inscribing themselves into a local religious context, in order to continue playing the important role they had formerly assumed in medieval village life. Nevertheless, there were certainly comparable means of choosing pilgrimages during the Middle Ages, such as the drawing of lots or the burning of candles.⁵⁰

Bensa presents this region as a peasant space organized around each unity of life: the farm, the fields, the village. The commune thus became a highly differentiated sociological space where the network of social and symbolic relations were woven between locations. Within this totality, popular medical discourse was inseparable from a knowledge and practice of the particular spaces in which it was enregistered. Thus, local networks of pilgrimage shrines formed a locally-defined medico-geographical space that depended as much on a sacred landscape as on a wealth of local saints and shrines. Within this network of shrines there were specialists and generalists, just as in contemporary medicine. One particular saint may have been invoked to bring rains, another to stop flooding. There were specialists in curing fevers, in protecting livestock, and in protection of crops against insect infestations. Although there were exceptions,

⁴⁷ Turner and Turner, p. 132.

⁴⁸ Alban Bensa, *Les Saints guérisseurs du Perche-Gouët. Espace symbolique du bocage*, Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, vol. XVII (Paris, 1978).

⁴⁹ Bensa, pp. 40ff.

⁵⁰ Sumption (1975), p. 149; Finucane (1995), p. 63.

most shrines that were focused on the relics of a local saint tended to specialize in some way, while shrines focused on a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary tended to be more generalist. Nevertheless, as is understandable, the Virgin was widely invoked for women's medical problems, for fertility and child-birth problems, and for the protection of children. One particular type of Marian shrine that, of necessity, remained entirely local was known as a “sanctuaire à répit.” Parents would bring their still-born infants to these shrines, invoking the Virgin to revive them just long enough to receive baptism, thus allowing them access to Paradise and avoiding eternal consignment to Limbo, which was thought to be the fate of the un-baptised.⁵¹

Although I have been concentrating on rural local pilgrimage shrines, since they are perhaps not so well known, there were certainly equivalent urban sacred geographies. Not all regions, moreover, were as densely supplied with local saints as that studied by Bensa. In areas where relics were sparse, miraculous images provided a limitless reservoir of sacral power to make up for the lack.⁵² The vast majority of miraculous images at local shrines were specifically images of the Virgin and Child. In Italy, with its strong ties to the Byzantine east, these tended to be panel paintings, icons in other words. In the rest of Europe, statues of the Virgin and Child were far more common. Such statues began appearing in large numbers only in the 11th and 12th centuries; yet how local Marian shrines emerged is not well documented. The history of popular Marian shrines before their very popular phase in the later Middle Ages remains in large measure unknown.⁵³

Whether local pilgrimage shrines were focused on the relic of a local saint, the site of an apparition or a miraculous image, however, they had certain functional similarities. They could, for example, respond both to individual and communal needs. Illness and injury most frequently provoked individual local pilgrimages. As Anders Fröjmark points out, in his article in this issue of *Peregrinations*, votive pilgrimage for miraculous interventions to an individual often involved small, informal groups which could generate impetus for further informal pilgrimage en route to the shrine. Epidemics or pandemics and environmental disasters or threats, on the other hand, often provoked an organized, communal response. The most common form that group invocation took was in the form of a vow (which could also form part of individual response). A confraternity or a commune vowed that if they were spared from disaster or relieved from

⁵¹ Maurice Vloberg, “Les réanimations d'enfants mort-nés dans les sanctuaires, dits « à répit », de la Vierge,” *Sanctuaires et pèlerinages*, vol. 18 (1960), 17-32. One of the best documented “sanctuaires à répit” was that at Oberbüren, near Bern, Switzerland, where the altar statue of the Virgin developed a miraculous reputation from 1485, until the shrine was closed at the Reformation in 1528. Babies thus miraculously revived and baptized could also be buried in consecrated ground, and during recent archaeological excavations, the adjoining cemetery was found to contain the skeletal remains of over 250 small infants, including some very small fetuses. See *Iconoclisme* (2001), pp. 252-53, with further bibliography.

⁵² See Webb (2002), pp. 166-69. On the relation between the reception of relics and that of miraculous images, see Freedberg (1989), esp. pp. 93-98.

⁵³ Signori, Gabriela, “La bienheureuse polysémie. Miracles et pèlerinages à la Vierge: pouvoir thaumaturgique et modèles pastoraux (Xe-XIIe siècles),” in Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo and Daniel Russo, eds, *Marie. Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale* (Paris, 1996), p. 593.

the effects of an epidemic, they would make an annual votive pilgrimage to a local shrine, that is, a pilgrimage of thanksgiving for prayers answered. This must have resembled the evocation of the pilgrimage to Our Lady of Montaigu in **figure 3**. Many local shrines attracted such communal vows, and sometimes several communes were attracted to the same shrine. Since these communal pilgrimages tended to take place on the major feast day of the shrine, a substantial inter-communal concourse would activate the sacral potential of the shrine for a brief time, before it sank for the rest of the year into rural obscurity, when it would attract only intermittent individual petitioners.

In regarding such communal activity, it is particularly clear how closely much local pilgrimage was to what must be regarded as a related, or cognate, activity, namely processions.⁵⁴ Local pilgrimages and processions might be said to be related as what structuralists call an inversion. In a local pilgrimage, people progress, often in an organized group, towards the shrine, which functions as the unique and particular repository of sacral power. In a procession, the relic or miraculous image leaves its shrine, in a similarly ordered group, in order to disseminate its sacral power through its local community. Processions tended to be resorted to for the same reasons as communal local pilgrimages. It is not at all clear what determined whether a shrine was activated by either of these two alternatives. Both could operate in tandem, as can be seen by comparing two local shrines in the neighbourhood of Florence in Tuscany. The Cathedral of Prato, about 10 km north of Florence, possessed a famous Marian relic, the Sacra Cintola, the girdle supposedly thrown down to St. Thomas by the Virgin Mary as she was rising bodily into the heavens at her Assumption. According to legend, it came to Prato in 1194, but it is only documented from the 1270s. Particularly after 1350, when Prato came under Florentine control, the women of Florence made pilgrimages to the Sacra Cintola, invoking the Virgin's help in conceiving a child. The Sacra Cintola was carefully guarded in its cathedral shrine and was only displayed on a few occasions through the year, from a special pulpit. Its sacral power was thus closely limited to its shrine.⁵⁵ Contrasting with this local pilgrimage were the processions associated with the shrine of Our Lady of Impruneta, which was located about 6 km west of Florence. Florentines regularly resorted to this miraculous image of the Virgin, but none of its recorded miracles occurred at its shrine at Impruneta: they were all associated with processions of the image to Florence.⁵⁶ Thus in Florence, as undoubtedly elsewhere, local pilgrimage and procession combined to form part of a diversified local sacral economy.

Another factor that was certainly relevant to the operation of local pilgrimage shrines was their institutional status, which varied considerably. Many rural shrines

⁵⁴ Rita Tekippe, "Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlations of Meaning, Practice, and Effects," in Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds, *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2005), I, pp. 693-751; II, pl. 331-40.

⁵⁵ Brendan Cassidy, "A Relic, Some Pictures and the Mothers of Florence in the Late Fourteenth Century," *Gesta*, XXX/2 (1991), 91-99, who cites as the most authoritative studies on the Sacra Cintola: G. Bianchini, *Notizie istoriche intorno alla Sacratissima Cintola di Maria Vergine che si conserva nella città di Prato in Toscana* (Florence, 1722); and G. Pelagatti, *Il Sacro Cingolo Mariano in Prato fino alla traslazione del 1395* (Prato, 1895).

⁵⁶ Richard C. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," *Studies in the Renaissance*, vol. 19 (1972), pp. 7-41.

appear to have begun more or less spontaneously. They might initially have attracted a pious local or a hermit, who would care for the original makeshift oratory that appeared at the site. As a pilgrimage became established, a more permanent shrine might be constructed. At the same time, it would begin to attract wider attention, and might have been subsumed into the church hierarchy by subordinating it to or incorporating it within a parish church. Outside of cities or villages, in a rural setting, the bishop might arrange the foundation of a monastery, collegiate foundation or Mendicant convent at the site, in order to oversee and regulate devotion at the shrine. Alternatively, however, many shrines continued to exist outside of the institution of the church, in the proprietorship either of the secular authorities of a commune or of a confraternity attached to the shrine. No systematic comparative study of the institutional framework of local pilgrimage shrines has yet been undertaken, but it is clear that friction often developed between competing claimants over the authority of a shrine. One of the social functions of miraculous foundation legends, in fact, appears to have been to validate the particular site and proprietorship of a shrine. Yvonne Yiu, in this issue of *Peregrinations*, examines in detail just such an instance of institutional friction over the proprietorship of a miraculous image at Scheut, in Belgium.

Both the geographical and chronological extent of local pilgrimage shrines varied considerably. It was certainly not the case that, once a local pilgrimage was established, its continued success was assured. In fact, there was considerable volatility in the attentions of local pilgrims. Reports of miracles might flare up at one shrine, making it momentarily popular, only to sink back into obscurity when the miracle reports slowed down or stopped. In many places with a certain density of potential local pilgrimages, another up-and-coming shrine might take up where a flagging shrine left off. In his study of the healing miracles associated with the relics of St. Gibrien in the abbey church of Saint-Remi at Reims in the northern Ile-de-France, Pierre-André Sigal was able to be quite detailed about one such evanescent local pilgrimage. This obscure Irish hermit saint supposedly died in 509 near Châlons-sur-Marne, and an oratory was built at the burial site. The small chapel was burnt by the Normans in c. 892, but the miraculous holy body remained intact. At that time, Count Haderic arranged for the relics of St. Gibrien to be transferred to the abbey church of Saint-Remi, probably for protection. In the time of King Philippe I, the gold and silver of his reliquary were stripped, in order to feed the poor during a famine, and it was only in 1145 that the relics could be translated to a new reliquary. This event provoked a sudden efflorescence of reported miracles, which were scrupulously recorded by one of the monks: 102 miracles were recorded between the translation, on 16 April, and 24 August, a period of about four months. Of these, typically, 98 involved miraculous cures, the vast majority occurring at the pilgrimage shrine. Since the dates of each miracle were noted, as well as the places from which the recipients of the miracles came, Sigal was able to chart their frequency and geographical range in some detail. Dividing the miracles into three principal periods and three zones, he compiled the following table.

Number of Miracles	Less than 30 km	30 – 60 km	More than 60 km	Total
16 Apr. – 8 May	27	2	9	38
11 May – 3 June	7	10	4	21
3 June – 24 Aug.	10	6	17	33
Total	44 (48%)	18 (20%)	30 (32%)	92

This table not only shows that almost half the miracles were quite local (within 30 km) but that, after an initial enthusiasm, the miracle reports began to subside. Quite remarkably, however, it also records a sort of shock-wave effect, with the majority of the miracle reports in each of the three periods involving people located farther and farther from the shrine. After this shock wave of thaumaturgical enthusiasm had played itself out, the miracle reports stopped just as suddenly as they had begun. Thus, began and ended what must have been quite a common form of local pilgrimage.⁵⁷

It is rare that enough information was recorded to be able to chart the chronology of a local pilgrimage so precisely, but the catchment areas of many other local pilgrimages can be charted geographically. Ronald Finucane has done so for the pilgrims recorded in the miracle collection from the shrine of St. Godric at Finchale, where 89% came from villages within 40 km of the shrine. In less detail, he ascertained that half the pilgrims to the shrine of St. Frideswide at Oxford lived 20 miles or less from the shrine and three-quarters less than 40 miles; 57% of pilgrims to the shrine of St. William in Norwich Cathedral came from less than 10 miles from the shrine; and three-quarters of the pilgrims to the relics of St. Wulfstan in Worcester Cathedral lived less than 40 miles from the shrine.⁵⁸ In all these cases, the pilgrimage was situated at a substantial religious institution which could both service the pilgrimage effectively and record the miracles associated with it. With less institutional support, many isolated rural shrines had far more circumscribed catchment areas. Among the local pilgrimages studied by Christine Martin in the southern part of the Ardennes region along the French-Belgian border, many rural shrines drew pilgrims from within a 15-20 km radius – in other words, about a day's walk.⁵⁹ Of course, occasionally a local shrine became better established and drew pilgrims from an entire region, but although statistics have never been compiled on this phenomenon, undoubtedly the vast majority of local pilgrimage shrines remained circumscribed within reasonable walking distance.

⁵⁷ Pierre-André Sigal, "Maladie, pèlerinage et guérison au XIIe siècle. Les miracles de saint Gibrien à Reims," *Annales E.S.C.*, vol. 24 (1969), 1522-39. See also Finucane (1995), p. 184.

⁵⁸ Finucane (1995), pp. 166-69. ⁵⁹ Christine Martin, *Pèlerinages d'Ardenne méridionale* (Liège, 1991).

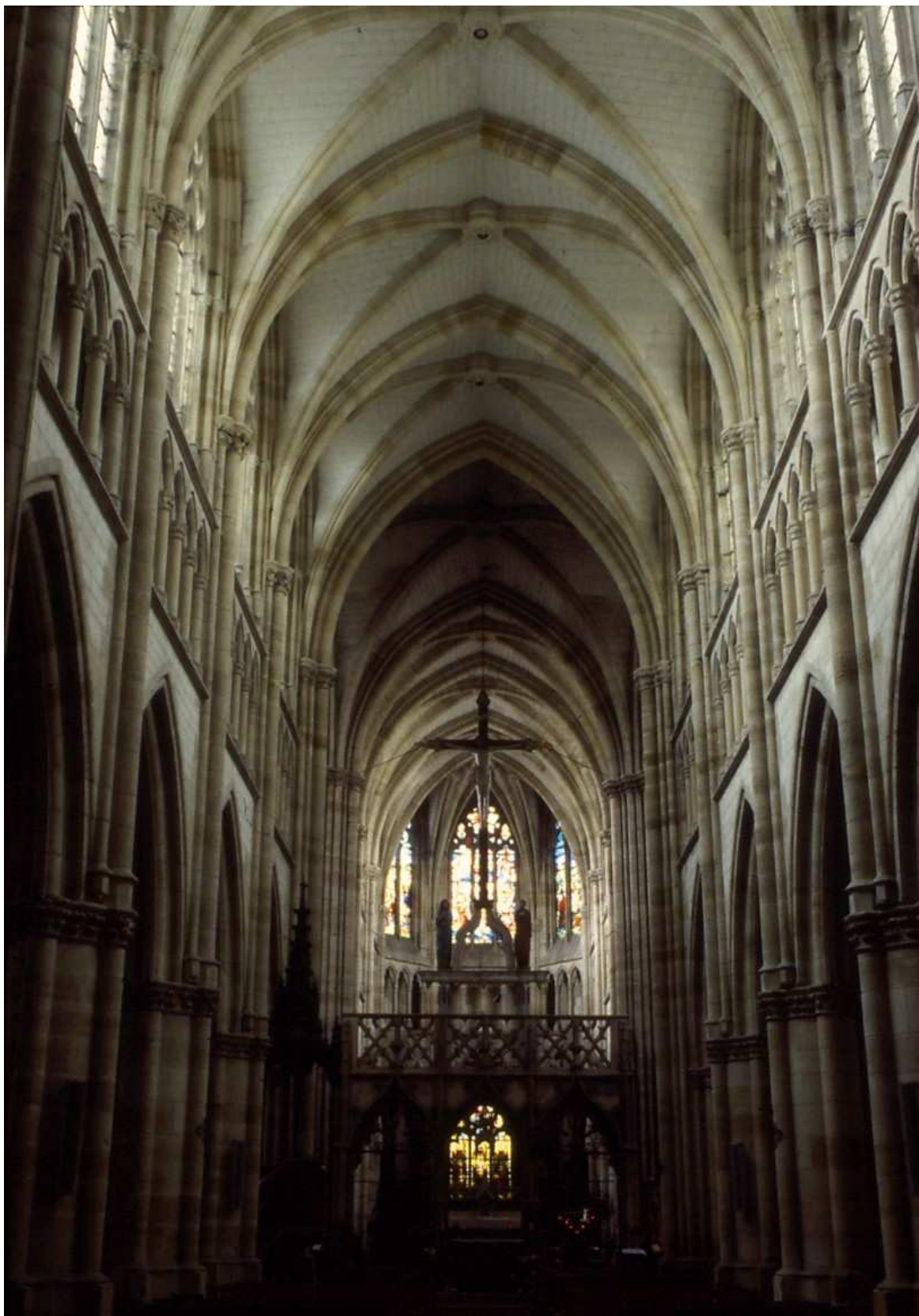


Figure 4. Interior of the 14th- and 15th-century church of Notre-Dame, Avioth (Photo: author).



Figure 5. The statue of Notre-Dame at Avioth, displayed on the litter used for its processions. The heavily restored wooden statue, probably dating back to the 13th century, is elaborately dressed, as is typical of miraculous images of the Virgin and Child. Photo: author.

The physical setting of local pilgrimage shrines varied according to their “success.” The greater the influx of pilgrims to a shrine, the more oblations it would attract. This was directly reflected in the architectural and artistic elaboration of the shrine. When a pilgrimage shrine began to attract more than just a local clientele, it could easily mushroom into a church of major architectural splendour. A spectacular example is the splendid late-medieval church of Notre-Dame at Avioth in northern France, anomalously located in an isolated mountainous forest site outside of any habitation. **(fig. 4)** According to its legends, the statue of the Virgin here **(fig. 5)** was originally located at the nearby hamlet of Saint-Brice, but during the 12th or 13th century it miraculously “fled” to its present site, where it was found under a flowering hawthorn tree. After unsuccessful attempts to move it, a chapel was built here. A spring runs under the church which is sought by women to aid in their fertility, and the shrine also functioned as a *sanctuaire à répit*, reviving still-born babies for momentary baptism. A substantial pilgrimage had developed by c. 1350, and shortly thereafter, the present church was begun on a magnificent scale.⁶⁰

In most cases, however, attention remained local, and only a modest shrine resulted. As often as not, mediocre construction necessitated constant refurbishment, enlargement and/or rebuilding. **(fig. 1)** This situation makes it difficult to arrive back at the medieval state of most local pilgrimage shrines, even in those cases where they were not intentionally destroyed at the Reformation or during the French Revolution. The continued interest in local pilgrimage shrines throughout the early-modern period transformed many shrines that are known with certainty to have had a medieval past. This creates an archaeological problem in the study of local pilgrimage shrines that has not yet been sufficiently recognized for adequate solutions to have been conceived. In general, the lack of architectural magnificence of local shrines has, in fact, resulted in indifference to them on the part of architectural and art historians. It is to be hoped that the growing social dimension of our discipline will eventually result in increased attention.

Besides the strictly architectural character of these modest shrines, which certainly deserves more attention than it has yet attracted, another pertinent factor that deserves more systematic attention is their siting, both in relation to such symbolic landscape features as trees, rocks and springs, and in relation to the network of urban spaces, arable fields, pasture land, and undomesticated forest lands in which they were inscribed. More systematic attention is needed, as well, to the exact manner in which local pilgrimage shrines functioned, in order to appreciate fully the forms that they took.

⁶⁰ E. Saillens, *Nos Vierges noires. Leurs origines* (Paris, 1945), pp. 173-74; I. Couturier de Chefdu Bois, *Mille pèlerinages de Notre-Dame, Région B: Champagne, Lorraine, Alsace, Franche-Comte, Bourgogne, Nivernais, Berry, Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Limousin, Guyenne, Gascogne, Bearn* (Paris, 1953), pp. 38-39; Vloberg (1960), pp. 22-23; Ean Begg, *The Cult of the Black Virgin* (London, 1985), pp. 171-72. For an account of the pilgrimage written by the curate in 1668, see Jean Delhotel, “*Bref recueil*” de l’état de l’église Notre-Dame d’Avioth (Colmar, 1981). On the architecture, see Paul Frankl, revised by Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp. 218-19.



Figure 6. The well in the transept of the 15th-century pilgrimage church of Notre-Dame de l'Epine, built in the countryside, 12 km from the city of Châlons-sur-Marne. Photo: author.

This is equally true of the furnishings of local pilgrimage shrines. It would appear that relics and miraculous images were normally accorded the place of honour on, above or behind the principal altar. Occasionally, they were accorded their own chapel. Wherever they were in the church, their presence was often enhanced by enclosing them within a tabernacle or reredos.⁶¹ Narrative images in the church, as well, sometimes at the aesthetic level of what is often referred to as “folk art,” sometimes commemorated the miraculous events surrounding the inception of the shrine. It is difficult to be very precise about details, however, because, in general, the interior arrangements of pilgrimage shrines suffered considerable disruption and alteration during the early-modern period, when Church authorities were attempting to purge them of practices they by then saw as superstitious. A whole range of devotional and votive practices were banned, and the material evidence for them was, to varying degrees, removed from their shrines. These practices included kissing or touching images, drinking from or bathing in springs or wells, **(fig. 6)** incubation, novenas, the lighting of candles, and the offering of *ex votos* – even singing, dancing, and the acting out of shrine legends.⁶²

Many of these practices had material components that would have powerfully affected the appearance and experience of local shrines. Shrines, at least on occasion, would have been ablaze with candles, sending a warm, flickering light scintillating over a reliquary or image, creating an intimate concentration on the sacral focus of the shrine. **(fig. 7)** Miraculous images were richly dressed and decorated, often with the very garments and/or jewelry of devotees. **(fig. 5)** And perhaps most impressive would have been the many votive offerings that accumulated in the shrine. These took varied forms. In Greece, particularly, embossed silver plaques depicted cures by means of a representation of the appropriate body part: eyes, arms, breasts, livers, etc. In western Europe, comparable three-dimensional representations modelled in wax were more common. Crutches no longer needed or the chains of prisoners freed after invoking the shrine saint might be hung about the sanctuary, **(fig. 8)** as occasionally, were more bizarre reminders of cures, such as tapeworms expelled through the intervention of the shrine saint. Some devotees offered their garments, rings or other precious metalwork as votive offerings.⁶³ **(fig. 9)** These *ex votos* both gave evidence of miraculous interventions worked by the shrine saint, and created an appropriate environment for the working of further miracles.

There are local pilgrimage shrines in some areas of Europe (and even outside of Europe) which are still filled with such votive offerings, but the vast majority of surviving local shrines have long been deprived of these central material elements of devotion and otherwise denatured of their former sacral character. Particularly in the 17th and 18th century, such instrumental elements of local pilgrimage were purged radically from their shrines.⁶⁴ This made it all the easier for pious churchmen in the 19th century to “restore” local pilgrimage shrines in a way that reflected, not the thaumaturgical particularity of the local, as it had existed for thousands of years, but the hegemonic devotional homogeneity of the universal church. The “age of miracles” is, for the most part, past, yet if one seeks it out, medieval and early-modern local pilgrimage and the shrines with which it was associated can still, with difficulty, be discerned, and their historical reality recovered.

⁶¹ Marks (2004), pp. 240-43. ⁶² For a fascinating first-hand account of the acting out of shrine legends in contemporary Agres, Spain, see Marlène Albert-Llorca, *Les Vierges miraculeuses. Légendes et rituels* (Paris, 2002). This study also elucidates many gendered aspects of local pilgrimage; see also Christian (1972). ⁶³ On *ex votos*, see note 21. ⁶⁴ Beginning in the late 15th century, small votive panel paintings began to appear at pilgrimage shrines, and they became and remained popular throughout the early-modern period. Since the 19th century, discreet marble plaques giving thanks for prayers answered have become the most common form of *ex voto*, at least in France **(fig. 7)**; see Martin (1991), p. 58.

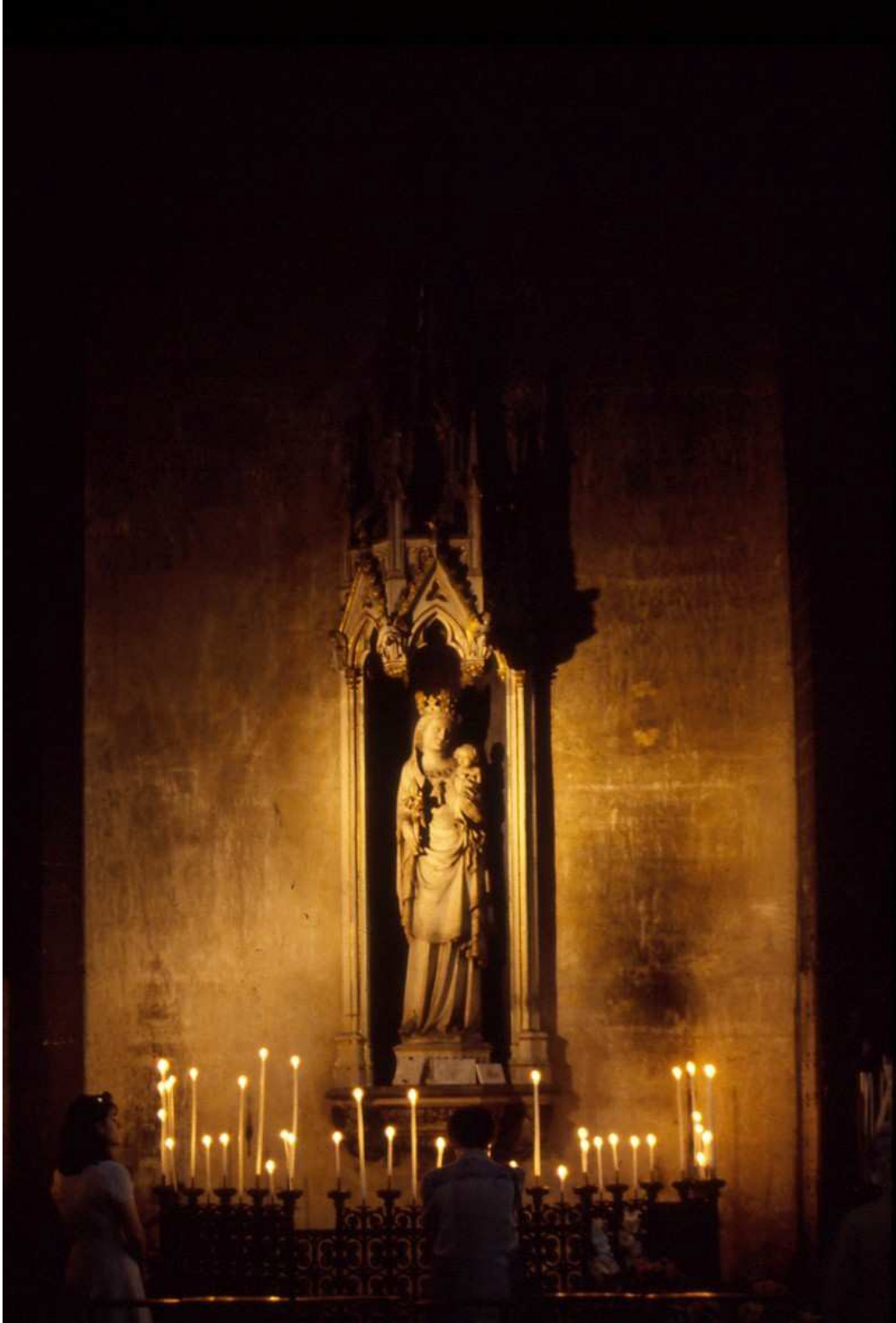


Figure 7. A 14th-century statue of the Virgin and Child in the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, with devotees burning candles before it. Note the marble votive plaques surrounding the image. Photo: author.



Figure 8. Votive chains hanging on the wall around the portal of the church of Notre-Dame at Orcival in the Auvergne. Photo: Claire Labrecque.



Figure 9. The tomb of St. Erkembode (d. 742) in the Cathedral of Saint-Omer. Formerly, pilgrims would leave their worn-out shoes as votive offerings to St. Erkembode; now mothers leave the shoes of their infants who have had difficulty walking, in thanks for his aid. Photo: Claire Labrecque.



Discipline or Security? An analysis of the power mechanisms used to regulate the late medieval pilgrimage to Notre-Dame de Grâce at Scheut near Brussels by Yvonne Yiu, University of Basel

On the eve of Pentecost 1449, a supernatural radiance was seen to emanate from Scheut by the people of Brussels. This triggered a spontaneous pilgrimage to the site. The ways in which the authorities dealt with the necessity of keeping control over a potentially disruptive mass movement like this are analysed using Michel Foucault's concepts of power. The ecclesiastical authorities attempted to implement juridico-disciplinary measures, largely to no avail, whereas the civic authorities developed a system of security which, as a strategy, proved to be successful.



Figure 1 Abraham Ortelius, Detail from *Brabantiae Descriptio*, in: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp 1591. Repro-photo from Dieter R. Duncker and Helmut Weiss, *Le Duché de Brabant en Cartes et Gravures Anciennes* (Knokke, 1983), p. 17.

Inspired by the Holy Ghost, so the secretary of the city of Brussels at the time, Adriaen Dullaert, tells us, an elderly farmer called Peter of Asscha planted an oak tree at a place called Ten Schuete, a verdant spot overlooking Brussels on the road connecting the city with Ninove. **(fig. 1)** Some years later, desirous that the travellers resting there should direct their thoughts to the Virgin Mary, Peter bought a simple wooden statue of the Virgin for three silver pennies, and fastened it to the oak tree he had planted. **(fig. 2-3)**



Figure 2 *Statue of Notre-Dame de Grâce, Eglise Sts-Pierre-et-Guidon, Anderlecht (Brussels). Photo: author.*

Figure 3 *Statue of Notre-Dame de Grâce in its current architectural setting, Eglise Sts- Pierre-et-Guidon, Anderlecht (Brussels). Photo: author.*



The devotion in which this image was held became increasingly intense with the passing of time, “it happened that [in the night before] Pentecost, in the year of our Lord 1450, which was the year of the jubilee, a year of grace and reconciliation for sinners, [...] an extraordinary, as it were heavenly brightness was seen in the sky near that place.” The actual date of this vision was Pentecost 1449; however, from a psychological point of view, Dullaert is correct in placing the phenomenon in the context of the jubilee and its emphasis on redemption.¹ Dullaert goes on to relate that

[...] beholding this radiance, or rather at the behest of the Holy Spirit [...], the people of Brussels were inflamed by such fire of devotion that on that day of Pentecost a great multitude of men and women visited the statue of the Virgin Mary with immense devotion. And as common opinion then maintained, on the first day the number of visitors far surpassed ten thousand persons.

[...] On the following three days [crowds of people] continued [to visit the site] and news thereof reached not only the majority of the people of Brabant but also the people of other provinces and neighbouring countries, so that many men and women from these places made a pilgrimage to the image. And those who had visited the site said that after invoking the name of God and praying to the Virgin they had found relief and consolation with regard to their infirmities and pain as well as to worldly dangers and adversities.²

This description of the spontaneous pilgrimage that turned an insignificant wayside statue into a venerated cult image is found in Adriaen Dullaert’s *Origo sive exordium monasterii nostrae Dominae de gratia, ordinis Carthusiensium juxta Bruxellam in Schute*. As the title implies, this text, written after 28 May 1471, is a narrative of the origin of the Carthusian monastery founded at Scheut in 1456 and called Notre-Dame de Grâce in honour of the statue.³ Dullaert was an eye-witness to many of the events he refers to and played a key role in the negotiations leading up to the foundation of the monastery. Thus, he is a very well informed but partial narrator. His *Origo* is the most important source on the pilgrimage to Scheut. (figs. 4-5) In 1480 Marcel Voet, the second prior at Scheut,

¹ Michel de Waha, "Aux Origines de la Chartreuse de Scheut: Pèlerinage 'populaire' et monastère 'patricien'," *Annales de la Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, 55 (1978), pp. 5-26. See p. 7.

² Adriaen Dullaert, *Origo sive exordium monasterii nostrae Dominae de gratia, ordinis Carthusiensium juxta Bruxellam in Schute*, edited in: *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, IV (1867), pp. 87-122. See pp. 88-90; quote p. 90, all translations my own. The relevant passages are reprinted in the appendix.

³ For the date of the manuscript, see p. 1388 in Micheline Soenen, *Chartreuse de Scheut, à Anderlecht*, in: *Monasticon Belge*, Vol. 4, *Province de Brabant*, Part 6 (Liège, 1972), pp. 1385-1427. The original manuscript is kept in Vienna, ÖNB series nova 12779. Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, *Flämische Schule II*, 2 Vols. (Vienna, 1990), Vol. 1, pp. 45-49, fig. 42-25, Vol. 2, pl. 7-8, ill. 70-74. Three copies of the text exist: Den Haag, Fonds Gérard 71 C 9, ff. 23r-59v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms. 1067; and Brussels, Archives de la ville, AVB 2649. The latter is a copy from the 17th century and is the text published in *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*.



Figure 4. Dedication Miniature: Adriaen Dullaert and his wife Katharina Bojaerts kneel before the Coronation of the Virgin, Origo, ÖNB s.n. 12779, fol. 2v. Photo: after Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, *Flämische Schule II* (Vienna, 1990), Vol. 2, pl. 7.



Figure 5. Detail of the Statue of Notre-Dame de Grâce, Origo, ÖNB s.n. 12779, fol. 3r.
Photo: Otto Pächt & Dagmar Thoss, *Flämische Schule II* (Vienna, 1990), Vol. 2, pl. 8.

likewise wrote a text on the early history of the monastery. His *Liber fundationis* draws heavily on Dullaert's *Origo* but also makes use of documents conserved in the monastery, so that especially with regard to dates, he is more precise than Dullaert.⁴

⁴ Voet's *Liber* has come down to us in a transcription made by Jean Tourneur in 1558, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Cabinet des Manuscrits 5764. J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de*

In addition to these two narratives, a wealth of documents from the 15th century pertaining to the Carthusian monastery have survived the ravages of time.⁵ These rarely mention the pilgrims, however, for although the monastery owed its existence to the pilgrimage to Scheut, the Carthusians with their emphasis on solitude avoided contact with the laity. Indeed, the daily influx of pilgrims of both sexes and the noise they made was deemed an annoyance, and in 1477 the prior of the Grande Chartreuse and the General Chapter decreed that a wall should be built segregating the monks from the pilgrims, so that they would not be hindered in the performance of their liturgical duties.⁶

Thus, the pilgrimage to Notre-Dame de Grâce is most tangible in its earliest phase, that is, in the years before the foundation of the monastery. The following discussion will therefore focus on this phase, or more precisely, on the very first year of the pilgrimage from Pentecost 1449 to the summer of 1450. Dullaert's *Origo* is the central source; Voet's *Liber* at times provides additional or corroborative material; and some of the events described have been collated with the relevant documents and charters.

Even though the sudden appearance of a new local pilgrimage was not completely without precedent – Jacques Toussaert, who examined lay piety in late medieval Flandres, cites various examples⁷ – the events at Scheut were, none the less, a massive disruption of the normal order of things. Not surprisingly, a dominant theme in Dullaert's narrative, that represents the standpoint of those in power, is how to keep things under control. The *Origo* reflects a situation in which an unexpected mass movement within the lower classes – Dullaert speaks of *populus* and *vulgus*⁸ – was experienced as a threat to the social order. Although the pilgrims were seen as a possibly disruptive force, however, there was a keen awareness of the positive potential of their religious fervour, provided that it was channelled correctly.

But how could this outburst of collective devotion be integrated into more regulated structures? The series of lectures entitled *Security, Territory, Population* that Michel Foucault held at the Collège de France in 1978 provides a useful theoretical framework for the analysis of the power mechanisms that the civic and ecclesiastical authorities employed in their attempt to master the situation.⁹

Dullaert's account informs us that the views held by the civic authorities on how to regulate the spontaneous pilgrimage differed radically from those held by ecclesiastic officials. The two contrasting stances correspond to different concepts of power described by Foucault, one being based on the law and the mechanisms of discipline, the other on the system of security.¹⁰

According to Foucault, both discipline and the law structure reality by means of the

Bruxelles (Brussels, 1906), Vol. 4, p. 172, no. 3860. See also Soenen, pp. 1388, 1402-03; and Waha, pp. 4-5.

⁵ See Soenen, pp. 1385-87.

⁶ Archives Ecclésiastiques de Brabant, Chartrier, no. 11576, acte 626. Transcription of relevant passage in appendix.

⁷ Jacques Toussaert, *Le Sentiment religieux, la vie et la pratique religieuse des laïcs en Flandre maritime et au "West-Hoeck" de langue flamande aux XIVe, XVe et début du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1963), pp. 270-71.

⁸ Dullaert, pp. 90, 93; Waha, p. 10.

⁹ These lectures were published in October 2004 based on tape recordings and Foucault's notes. Michel Foucault, *Sécurité, Territoire, Population, Cours au Collège de France, 1977-1978*, ed. by Michel Senellart (Paris, 2004).

¹⁰ Foucault, pp. 2-4, 7-8.

binary code “allowed/not allowed.” Within the two fields of the permitted and the prohibited, they specify exactly what is allowed and what is not allowed, or rather what is obligatory. In a negative form of thinking characteristic of legal codes, the law focuses on what must be forbidden, “order” being that which remains after one has succeeded in suppressing everything that is prohibited. By contrast, discipline is prescriptive. The mechanisms of discipline are aimed less at what should not be done than at what should be done. A good discipline, for example a monastic rule, tells one at every instant what one should do. Thus, within a disciplinary system, it is determined what one has to do, and by consequence, everything else, being undetermined, is forbidden.¹¹

As an event that is beyond the normal, the spontaneous pilgrimage to Scheut belongs to the category of the undetermined, and therefore, to an adherent of discipline, it is something that needs to be prohibited.

If we look at the reaction of John of Burgundy, the bishop of Cambrai, in whose diocese Scheut was located, it appears that his reasoning, as described by Adriaen Dullaert, worked very much along these lines. Dullaert relates that “murmurings” and “defamatory talk” about “the multitude of folk frequenting [Scheut], the great number of offerings, [and] the diverse miracles, or at least signs and wondrous occurrences” reached the bishop’s ears, as well as the rumour that the pilgrims were practicing idolatry as they were worshipping at an unconsecrated place.¹² By placing these utterings of discontent into the mouths of the people, Dullaert implies that the *populus* of Brussels was by no means unified in its support of the new cult. What appears to have disturbed the people most was the excessiveness of the goings-on at Scheut and their possible illegitimacy. In a paradoxical double movement, the people, by means of public protest, in itself an anti-disciplinary gesture, demanded that discipline be restored by the authorities.

John of Burgundy used this sentiment of discontent as an opportunity to take action against the new cult. Before describing the measures the bishop proposed to take, Dullaert reconstructs the ideological background that he assumes influenced the bishop’s thinking: “The good shepherd [...] probably could not tolerate the idolatry, especially as he should not tolerate it, seeing that it is written ‘Beware that you do not offer burnt offerings in every place that you see, but in all places which the Lord, your God, chooses, that is in the places consecrated to the Lord God.’”¹³ The text Dullaert quotes is based on Deuteronomy 12: 13-14 but is modified to suit the current situation, with the biblical specification that the place chosen by God will be in one of the Israelite tribes being replaced by the criterion of consecration.

As the above interpretation of the Scriptures assigns the cult at Scheut to the category of that which is “not allowed,” the logical consequence within the juridico-disciplinary system would be to intervene by administering punishment and implementing disciplinary measures. This is indeed exactly what the bishop proposed to do. Dullaert relates that John of Burgundy decided to “ride to Scheut at the head of a powerful equestrian force, to burn down the shelter [that the devout had built to protect the statue], to forbid the people to visit the site, to worship and to make offerings there and to speak

about miracles under pain of ecclesiastical punishment and censure, and thereby to completely eradicate the pilgrimage to Scheut.” Subsequently, he would transfer the image of the Virgin to the church of the nearby village of Anderlecht (**fig. 6**) in a procession and thus integrate the

¹¹ Foucault, pp. 47-48.

¹² Dullaert, p. 92.

¹³ Dullaert, p. 92.



Figure 6. Eglise Sts-Pierre-et-Guidon, Anderlecht (Brussels). Photo: author.

cult in an existing ecclesiastical establishment.¹⁴

“The horses were already saddled and ready,” when, like a *deus ex machina*, John Ruldophi, the bishop’s official in Brussels, appeared and dissuaded the bishop from embarking on this highly confrontational course of action, pointing out that he would risk causing “tumult to break out amongst the people.”¹⁵

The abrupt and violent end of the pilgrimage having thus been averted, the strategy pursued by the civic authorities of Brussels in their attempt to regulate the new cult at Scheut could be pushed ahead. This strategy is congruent with what Foucault describes as a system of security. In contrast to discipline, a system of security does not view things in terms of what is forbidden and what is obligatory. Rather, it is the attempt to control things by working within their reality and by bringing the elements of this reality into play with each other. Instead of imposing foreign imperatives (“this must” or “this must not be done”) onto a phenomenon, a system of security responds to it in such a manner that the phenomenon is progressively brought within acceptable limits by the workings of the phenomenon itself.¹⁶

Whereas the bishop of Cambrai denied the Marian cult at Scheut the right to exist because it did not fit into his concept of reality, the civic authorities of Brussels accepted the reality of the spontaneous pilgrimage and tried to gain control over it by becoming an active participant in the events. In a tactic that could be called “infiltrational” as opposed to the confrontational one chosen by the bishop, the civic authorities created a framework through which they could influence the cult from within.

In a first step the civic authorities took over the administration of the large amounts of money, candles and animals that were offered to the Virgin by the multitude of suffering people who had been cured at Scheut. Dullaert informs us that the Ammannus of Brussels, that is, the Duke’s representative in the city government, and the Senate of Brussels “unanimously decreed [...] that two reputable laymen [...] should take custody of the donations and use them to build a chapel [at Scheut] in honour of God and the blessed Virgin Mary.”¹⁷

This was a very clever course of action, as it showed the city of Brussels to be in perfect alignment with the pilgrims’ spirit of devotion. In the very expression of their sympathy with the new cult, however, namely in the plan to construct a chapel, the civic authorities created a means by which they could institutionalize the pilgrimage. With the cult’s institutionalization the scope for unpredictable behaviour amongst the visitors of the site would be reduced and consequently the disruptive potential of the original spontaneous mass movement defused.

The wisdom of espousing such a system of security is neatly illustrated by the futility of another juridico-disciplinary procedure that was carried out shortly after John of Burgundy’s aborted attack on Scheut and somewhat before the construction of the chapel began. A commission of inquiry consisting of “deputies representing the bishop of Cambrai, the duke of Burgundy and the city of Brussels” was entrusted with the

¹⁴ Dullaert, p. 93.

¹⁵ Dullaert, p. 93.

¹⁶ Foucault, pp. 48, 68.

¹⁷ Dullaert, pp. 90-91.

examination of the validity of the miracles that had allegedly taken place at Scheut. “People of varying social positions from Brussels were diligently examined” regarding their experiences at the site of pilgrimage and the conclusion was reached that nothing had occurred at Scheut that “fulfilled the four conditions required by canon law in order to qualify as a miracle.”¹⁸

Although the inquiry’s result showed that from a juridical point of view, all the excitement about Scheut was completely unfounded, this interpretation of the facts missed the reality of the pilgrims completely. For them, the experiences themselves and not their assessment by canon law was relevant.

It seems reasonable to assume that the conclusion that the statue at Scheut was not miracle-working rendered the previously-voiced accusation of idolatry all the more serious and called for disciplinary action. Such a way of proceeding, however, had been abandoned only shortly before for fear of the people’s opposition. Dullaert does not mention any measures taken based on the results of the inquisition, and this does not appear to be an omission on his part. Rather, the commission’s work seems to have brought home the realization that, although the pilgrimage to Scheut could not be fitted into any category defined as legitimate by the law, its suppression carried too high a risk of social commotion. Thus, the juridico-disciplinary approach had no option other than to capitulate before the phenomenon.

Almost with a touch of satisfaction, Adriaen Dullaert, a partisan of the cult of Notre-Dame de Grâce, comments that following the commission’s meetings – one is tempted to say despite the commission’s meetings – “ever increasing numbers of pilgrims [...] from many different places travelled to [Scheut], made their vows there, [...] and were liberated from pain and illness.” These included “the blind, the lame, the deaf, those suffering from gout of the foot, lunatics, the obsessed, the insane, [...] those suffering from long illnesses, those contaminated by leprosy, those ailing from pleurisy [...]” His list goes on and on, mentioning at least another twenty illnesses and evils, the final impression being that any undesirable state of body or mind could be cured at Scheut.¹⁹

This is obviously hyperbolic, but there is no reason to doubt that the pilgrimage to the statue of the Virgin did indeed continue to flourish. With the votive gifts offered by the pilgrims accumulating, the necessity to dispose of the funds in a suitable way became increasingly pressing.

The Ammannus and Senate of Brussels decided to continue along the lines originally foreseen and to use the “donations [...] to honour God and the glorious Virgin Mary and to increase the worship of God” by “building a beautiful and notable chapel” at Scheut.²⁰ As already mentioned, with this course of action the civic authorities implemented a system of security. Instead of negating the supernatural character of the happenings at Scheut or forbidding the pilgrimage to the site, the civic authorities accepted that this was what the people wanted and believed in and, by entering into this reality, tried to influence the phenomenon to their advantage. This strategy was indeed largely successful.

The donations made by the pilgrims were used to purchase the necessary terrain, and construction began in the winter of 1449. Voet reports that Charles the Bold, the son and heir of Philip the Good, laid the foundation stone that bore his coat of arms on 21 February 1449 o.s. (1450 n.s.). On the same day, with the permission of the bishop of Cambrai, Mass was celebrated at Scheut for the first time.²¹ The bishop also granted the members of the court permission to celebrate Mass at the site of pilgrimage three times a week using a portable altar until the chapel

¹⁸ Dullaert, pp. 93-94.

¹⁹ Dullaert, p. 96.

²⁰ Dullaert, p. 98.

²¹ Voet, fol. 14v-15r. Transcription of relevant passage in appendix.

was completed and consecrated.²² On 16 April 1450 the archbishop of Reims visited Scheut in person, heard Mass there, and granted 40 days indulgence to those who visited the chapel on certain specified dates and made a contribution towards its building and maintenance costs.²³ By Ascension 1450, work on the roof was underway and in the course of the year, the chapel was largely completed (**fig. 7-8**).²⁴

Dullaert informs us that the chapel was richly decorated with stained glass windows depicting various saints, as well as the donors and their arms. The most important window, situated immediately behind the altar dedicated to the Virgin, was donated by Charles the Bold, who held Notre-Dame de Grâce in special reverence throughout his life. The windows flanking it were given by important representatives of the Duke, the one to the south by John of Edingen, the Ammannus of Brussels, and the one to the north by Monfrandus Alaert, the Procurator General of Flanders. The next adjacent ones were donated by nobles from the Duke's court and those further down the building by citizens of Brussels, including Adriaen Dullaert.²⁵ The position of the windows thus reflects the social status of the donors.

It is conspicuous that, once the sources turn to the building history of the chapel, the anonymous Masses, whose collective desire to worship at Scheut had given birth to the pilgrimage, more or less disappear from the narrative. Indeed, with the construction of the chapel the people who had up to now played a major role in shaping the course of events were effectively, as well as symbolically, disempowered. The original act of foundation by the farmer Peter of Asscha, who affixed the image of the Virgin to a tree at Scheut, was eclipsed by a second act of foundation, the laying of the first stone of the chapel by Charles the Bold, Count of Charolais. And, highly illustrative of the appropriation of the cult of Notre-Dame de Grâce through those in power, the new chapel was built around the tree-trunk bearing the statue of the Virgin,²⁶ the physical incorporation of the statue into an ecclesiastical building visualizing the ideological integration of the cult into the church.

This movement of appropriation was accompanied by gestures of exclusion.

Permission to celebrate Mass at Scheut was granted solely to members of the court, and through the donor windows the courtly and civic elite underscore that it is they, and not the people, who have a privileged relationship to Notre-Dame de Grâce.

The indulgence granted by the archbishop of Reims (**fig. 9**) serves to exemplify the disempowerment of the pilgrims through the cult's institutionalization. Whereas previously they had prayed to the Virgin in the open country and had been granted what they wished for without the mediation of the church, they must now enter the chapel to worship, that is, an architectural space clearly codified as belonging to the ecclesiastical sphere of power. The indulgence invited them to model their wishes on concepts defined by the church, and if they desired to receive the remission of punishment for their sins promised by the archbishop, they needed to comply with the requirements stipulated by him. Confronted by such compelling manifestations of ecclesiastical power, it seems that the pilgrims, lured rather than coerced, abandoned their self-defined search for spiritual and physical relief in favour of the way of salvation proposed by the authorities.

²² Voet, fol. 14v-15r.

²³ Voet, fol. 15r. Indulgence: AEB, Chartrier, no. 11569, acte 304. Transcription in appendix.

²⁴ Dullaert, p. 100; Voet fol. 15.

²⁵ Dullaert, pp. 98-100.

²⁶ Voet, fol. 14v-15r; cp. Jozef Calbrecht, *Geschiedenis van het genadeoord van O. L. Vrouw van Gratie te Scheut* (Mechelen, 1938), p. 19.



Figure 7. Chapel of Notre-Dame de Grâce, exterior. The transept and other buildings are later additions. The entire complex was demolished c. 1980. Photo: postcard printed before 1938.



Figure 8. Chapel of Notre-Dame de Grâce, interior. Photo: postcard printed before 1938.

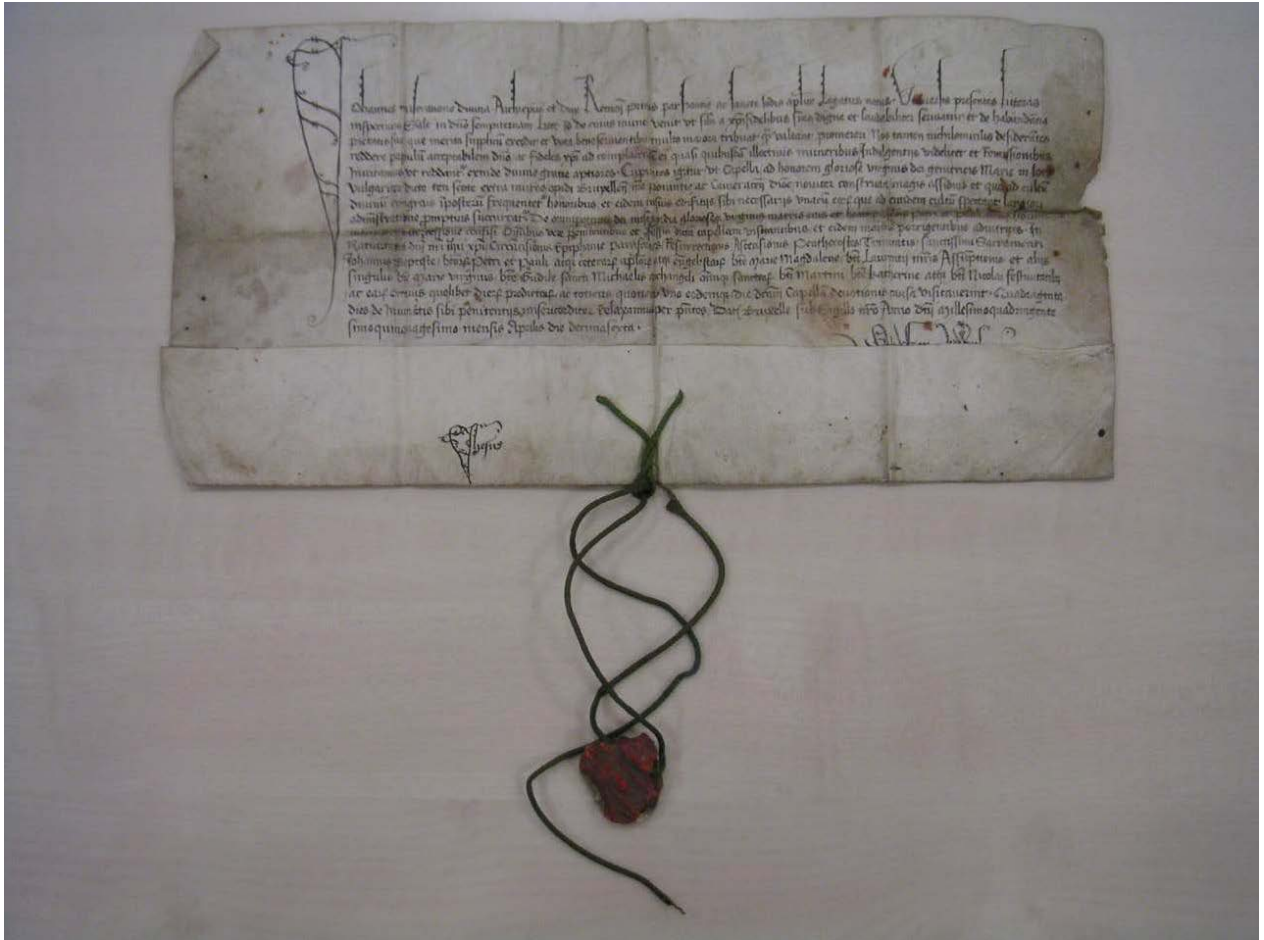


Figure 9. Indulgence granted by the Archbishop of Reims, 16 April 1450, AEB, Chartrier, no. 11569, acte 304. Photo: author.

It is important to remember that the pilgrims, even if they appear as a cohesive group in the sources, were not an organized entity but a randomly constituted group of constantly changing composition. Consequently, it is more likely than not that they were unaware of this process of disempowerment. Indeed, it could well be that the pilgrims welcomed the construction of the chapel and the granting of indulgences as an enhancement of the site. In any case, it appears that the system of security instituted by the city of Brussels led to the best-case scenario in which the possible causers of unrest unwittingly accepted their disempowerment with thanks. Both Dullaert and Voet relate that in the four years following the completion of the chapel, Notre-Dame de Grâce continued to attract the devotion of pilgrims. The gifts they brought not only covered the costs of the building but were so abundant that it was possible to purchase additional land and hereditary annuities, as well as to build a six to seven-foot high wall around the terrain on which the chapel was situated.²⁷

Thus, within the first five years of the pilgrimage's existence, the authorities

²⁷ Dullaert, p. 101; Voet, fol. 15r.

succeeded in converting a chaotic outburst of collective devotion into a well-managed local cult that was financially profitable and enriched the religious topography of Brussels and its surroundings.

Appendix: Excerpts from the sources

16 April 1450: Indulgence granted by the archbishop of Reims, AEB, Chartier, no. 11569, acte 304. My transcription.

Johannes miseratione divina. Archiep[iscop]us et dux Remen[sis] primus par Frantie ac Sancte Sedis ap[osto]lice Legatus natus. V[er]uerlis presentes litteras / inspecturis Sa[an]t[is] in d[omi]no sempiternam Licet [...] de cuius mune[...] venit ut sibi a chr[ist]ifidelibus sive digne et laudabiliter serviatur et de habunda[n]tia / pietatis sue que merita supplicu[m] excedit et vota beneservientibu[...] multo maiora tribuat q[uam] valeant promereri Nos tamen nichilominus desidera[n]tes / reddere populu[m] acceptabilem d[omi]no ac fideles chr[ist]i ad complaceri[...] ei quasi quibusda[m] illectuus muneribus Indulgentiis videlicet et Remissionibus / invitamus ut reddant. [...] exinde divine gratie aptiores. Cupi[...]tes igitur ut Capella ad honorem gloriose virginis dei genitricis Marie in loco / vulgariter dicto ten scote extra muros opidi Bruxellen[sis] n[ost]re provincie ac Cameracen[sis] dioc[esis] noviter constructa magis assidius et quoad cultu[m] / divinu[m] cong[regat]io[n]is i[n] posteru[m] frequentet [...] honoribus et eidem insuis edificitiis sibi necessariis unaru[m] eor[um]que ad eundem cultu[m] spectant largiori / admi[n]istratione p[ro]mptius succurrat [...]. De omnipotente dei misericordia glorioseq[ue] virginis martris eius et beator[um] ap[osto]lor[um] petri et pauli om[n]iq[ue] s[an]c[t]orum / mer[...] et [...]ressione confisi Om[n]ibus vere penitentibus et [con]fessis dicta capellam visitantibus et eidem manus porrigentibus adiutires. In / Nativitatis d[omi]ni n[ost]ri i[e]h[s]u chr[ist]i Circu[m]cisionis Epiphanie Parasa[...]es Resurrectionis Ascensionis Penthecostes Trinitatis Sanctissimi Sacramenti / Johannis [...]ptiste b[ea]tor[um] Petri et Pauli atq[ue] ceteror[um] ap[osto]lor[um] atq[ue] e[va]ngelistar[um] b[ea]te Marie Magdalene b[ea]ti Laurentii m[at]ris Assu[m]ptionis et aliis / singulie b[ea]te marie virginis b[ea]te Gudile sancti Michaelis archangeli om[n]iq[ue] sanctor[um] b[ea]ti Martini b[ea]te Katherine atq[ue] b[ea]ti Nicolai festivitatu[m] / ac ear[um] Octuus quolibet die[rum] predictor[um] ac totiens quotiens uno eodem[...] die d[i]c[t]am Capella[m] devotionis causa visitaverint. Quadraginta. / dies de In[...]stis sibi penitentiis misericorditer relaxamus per p[ro]p[ri]os Dat[...] Bruxelles sub Sigillo n[ost]ro Anno d[omi]ni millesimoquadringente / simoquinquagesimo mensis Aprilis die decimasexta.

1477: Passage from a letter by the Prior of the Grand Chartreuse, AEB, Chartier, no. 11576, acte 626. My transcription.

[...] s[ed] ne impedire[n]t vel minuere[n]t devotione[m] ta[m] nobit[...] q[uam] [cu]i[us]vis p[ro]p[ri]or[um] in magna multitudine cu[m] devotis oblationib[us] illic cotidie [con]flue[n]tib[us] auc[torita]te qua sup[er]a. Decreveru[n]t fieri unu[m] muru[m] intra d[i]c[t]am capella[m] p[er]manen[te] [con]tinuitate ta[m] in fundame[n]tis q[uam] in muris ac tecto eiusd[em] capella ut sup[er]ior pars orie[n]talis in q[uam] est ymago b[ea]te virgi[n]is cu[m] suo altari esset p[ro] ingressu peregrinor[um] utriusq[ue] sexu[s] illic cotidie [con]flu[ent]iu[m] alia v[er]o pars vers[us] occidentem esset p[ro] sup[er]iori p[ar]te chori mo[n]achor[um] usq[ue] gradu[m] altaris. Et novu[m] edificiu[m] appositu[m] ess[et] pro choro psalteriu[m] infra gradu[m] altaris p[ro]ut

adhuc ad oculu[m] pat[et]. Et ut [con]ve[n]t[us] ess[et] custodit[us] ne p[o]p[u]lus illic advenie[n]s h[abe]ret ingressu[m] ad mo[na]chos nec e[con]v[er]so mo[na]chi ad peregrinos nec rumor p[o]p[u]li illic aflue[n]t[i]s ip[s]os fr[atr]es in p[er]solut[i]o[n]e divinar[um] laudu[m] quo[modo]libet impediret. [...]

After 28 May 1471: Adriaen Dullaert, *Origo sive exordium monasterii nostrae Dominae de gratia, ordinis Carthusiensium juxta Bruxellam in Schute*. Passages quoted after edition in: *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, IV (1867), pp. 87-122.

(88) Imprimis igitur fuit, et verum est, quod in quodam loco, nuncupato *Ten Schuete*, extra muros Bruxellenses, et infra libertatem ejusdem oppidi, in parochia sancti Petri Anderlectensis sito, extitit quaedam amoena, viridis et parva planities, figurae triangularis, contigua viae ibidem publicae, in qua nihil seminari consuevit aut plantari, ex eo, quod ad illam planitiem conveniebant termini seu limites diversarum haereditatum circumjacentium, tribus piis locis spectantium, ut puta ecclesiae seu fabricae sancti Petri Anderlectensis, pauperibus hospitalis sancti Johannis Bruxellensis, et hospitali (89) pauperum virorum sancti Christophori, infra Bruxellam. Et apparuit locus iste in conspectu populi iter agentis tam ex situ quam ex aëre adeo amoenus, quod homines pedestres Bruxellam applicantes et labore itineris fatigati plerumque ad eandem planitiem requiem quaerere consueverunt.

Item, sancto Spiritu divinitus ordinante, venit in cor cujusdam Petri de Asscha, agricolae et ovium pastoris, aetatis lx annorum, in vicinio dicti locis commorantis, viri justus, timoratus et simplicis, quod in illo loco planitiei pro derelicto habito, et tamquam limitario a nemine possesso, et quasi ad usum transeuntium occupato, arborem quercus plantavit, ut sub frondibus illius viatores refrigerium a calore solis, et lassati ac itinere fatigati requiem invenirent. Quo sic facto, certisque annis jam effluxis, desiderans ex divina, ut praesumitur, inspiratione ac illustrati sui cordis devotione iste Petrus, quod iidem transeuntes et requiem ibi sumentes corda sua, fuis orationibus, ad beatam Virginem converterent Mariam, ac debitum ei exhiberent obsequium et honorem, emptam pro tribus denariis argenteis per eundem Petrum, prout idem Petrus mihi personaliter retulit, una simplici imagine beatae Mariae de ligno sculpta, atque in quadam capsula humili posita, affixit eandem dictus Petrus suae arbori quercus virescenti et crescenti supradictae. In cujus quidem arboris trunco, ramis jam abscissis, eadem imago adhuc hodie stat et requiescit. [...]

(89) Item hoc peracto, et postquam corda transeuntium viatorum (90) ac ibidem requiescentium devotionem ad eandem imaginem beatae Mariae Virginis quanto diutius tanto intensius sumere coeperant, accidit ipso die Pentecostes, anno Domini m iii^c l^o, qui fuit annus jubilaus, annus gratiae et reconciliationis peccatorum, ex certis signis ibidem visis, de quadam cereorum circa eandem arborem subterranea mirabili inventionem, ac certe mirabilis tamquam coelestis claritatis circa illum locum ejusdem festivitatis nocturna visione, quod populus Bruxellensis haec percipiens, adeo Spiritus sancti numine, ut opinor, in devotionem subito tractus, in tantum igne devotionis incendebatur, quod eodem die Pentecostes ex Bruxella magna multitudo hominum utriusque sexus eandem imaginem beatae Mariae Virginis cum ingenti devotione visitavit. Et, ut communis vulgi opinio tunc tenebat, fuit multitudo beatam Virginem in dicto loco illa prima die visitatum adeo copiosa, ut numerum decem millium personarum longe excessit.

Item, post haec et huiusmodi mirabili ac tamquam inspirata et devota tantae multitudinis hominum dictam imaginem accedentium visitatione seu concurrentia praedicta die Pentecostes, ut praemittitur, peracta, et tribus proximis diebus festivis sequentibus continuata, deducta est huiusmodi nova visitantium frequentatio ad notitiam non solum majoris partis populi patriae Brabantiae, verum etiam ad notitiam populi aliarum provinciarum et patriarum vicinarum, sic quod multi utriusque sexus et status homines de diversis partibus suas ad dictam imaginem venerunt peregrinationes, qui de suis infirmitatibus et doloribus ac mundanis periculis et adversitatibus post Divini Nominis invocationem et beatae Mariae Virginis deprecationem in dicto loco dixerunt se remedia et consolationes invenisse.

Item, cum multitudo languentium praedictum locum continuo visitaret ac remedia inveniret, suasque oblationes gratuitas tam cereorum quam pecuniarum, jocalium et animalium ibidem offerre coepisset, et parvula domuncula pro custodia (91) imaginis, ac receptione et custodia earundem oblationum ibidem constituta esset, huiusmodi re per dominum Johannem de Edingen, dominum de Kestergat, ammannum Bruxellensem tunc scutiferum, postmodum vero militem, illustrissimi principis domini Philippi, Burgundiae ac Brabantiae ducis, atque comitis Flandriae, Hollandiae, etc., tunc regnantis, consiliarium Brabantiae ordinarium, ad notitiam consulatus Bruxellensis deducta, convenerunt iidem ammannus et senatus, et unanimiter ordinaverunt, jure communi ecclesiastico concordante, quod ex parte ducis et oppidi deputarentur duo viri laici boni testimonii, providi et idonei, qui sciant, velint et valeant locum ipsum et bona seu apportus utiliter regere et custodire, ac eadem ad constructionem capellae erigendae fideliter dispensare; et quod de eisdem oblationibus sic gratuite apportandis, de consilio eorumdem ammanique, ex parte domini ducis et oppidi disponderetur de eisdem ad Dei et beatae Mariae Virginis honorem, prout ipsis melius et salubrius videretur expedire, donec et quousque de consensu antistitis aliter desuper esset ordinatum, cum ad ejusdem Virginis honorem per christifideles eadem oblationes gratuita ad eundem locum extiterant ordinatae et distinctae. Quod et ita factum est et executioni mandatum. Duo autem viri, qui onus hoc assumpserunt, fuerunt Johannes Cambier et Aegidius de Dielbeke, cives et incolae Bruxellenses, de officio fabrilis artis et de natione sancti Johannis. [...]

(92) Item tertio, cum apud dominum Johannem de Burgundia, episcopum Cameracensem, in Bruxella residentem, et alios homines, tam spirituales quam seculares, nescio tamen quo spiritu instigante, murmur invalesceret propter huiusmodi populi frequentantis multitudinem et oblationum copiosam receptionem, diversorum miraculorum, aut saltem signorum et prodigiorum exaltationem seu divulgationem, et potissime propter apparentem et praesumptam in huiusmodi loco nondum consecrato idololatriam, quam bonus pastor ante faciem in publico loco et profano sibi tam proximo verosimiliter pati non potuisset, prout nec de jure pati debuisset, fundatus ex textu decreti dicentis sic at litteram: “Scriptum est: Cave ne offeras holocausta tua in omni loco, quem videris; sed in omni loco, quem elegerit Dominus Deus tuus, hoc est in locis Domino Deo consecratis, seu tabernaculis divinis precibus et pontificibus delibatis;” accidit interea, quod idem (93) dominus episcopus intendens providere praescriptis diffamationi et susurratori populi, deliberavit ac in animo suo conclusit, quod ipse cum multitudine ac potentia equestrium praedictum locum personaliter accederet, atque praedictam domunculam igne concremaret, et accessum populi, adorationes et oblationes, ac

miraculorum vulgi denunciationes sub poenis ac censuris ecclesiasticis penitus inhiheret et interdiceret, eandem populi frequentationem funditus extirpando; ac tandem cum idem dominus episcopus adeo ferventer ejusdem loci destructionem ac enervationem in mente conceperat, sic quod omnes equi sui ecce jam parati et sellati extiterant animo et intentione equitandi ibidem in propria persona et praedictam suam voluntatem exequendi, ac imaginem beatae Marie adhuc in eadem arbore stantem cum processione ad matricem ecclesiam Anderlechtensem referendi, accessit subito eundem dominum episcopum, Spiritu sancto, ut praesumi potest, inspirante, venerabilis dominus et magister Johannes Rudolphi, alias Flamingi, utriusque juris doctor, pro tunc ejusdem domini episcopi officialis in Bruxella, canonicus Cameracensis, vir bonus et justus; et illius suusus consilio, ne forte tumultus fieret in populo, mansit idem dominus episcopus domi et praedictam domunculam cum imagine arbore inclusam dimisit incombustam et immotam.

Item, paulo post praescripta celebratae sunt in refectorio Carmelitarum Bruxellensium super inquisitione miraculorum tres solemnes congregationes deputatorum ex parte domini episcopi et domini ducis et oppidi Bruxellensis ordinatorum. (94) [...] Praedictis autem deputatis sic simul congregatis, convocati diligenter examinati fuerunt diversarum conditionum homines ex Bruxella, qui se dixerunt per vota peregrinationis in praedicto loco de suis infirmitatibus et languoribus remedia et consolationes recepisse ac invenisse.

Item, licet in veritate a nemine saltem sufficienter in eadem inquisitione inventum extiterit aliquod tale remedium, quod secundum rectam discretionem vocabuli proprie miraculum dici potuisset, aut pro miraculo publicari, cum illae quatuor conditiones ad verum miraculum de jure canonico requisitae nusquam in aliquo inventae fuerint, saltem sufficienter, attamen remedia quaedam exuberantia, nec non signa quaedam et prodigia ibidem in inquisitione illa audita et percepta fuerunt, quae tam ex fide credentis ac devotione cordis per gratiam ac beatae Virginis intercessionem quam per naturam dici poterant processisse. [...]

(96) Item post praetactas deputatorum congregationes continuantibus magis et magis populi diversarum patriarum peregrinantis devotione et frequentatione, perceptum est, prout hodiernis temporibus adhuc percipitur, multos diversis partibus peregrinantes, et vota sua ad hunc locum voventes, remedia, sanitatem et consolationes senisse et acceptasse, ac a suis doloribus et infirmitatibus liberatos fuisse, utpote caecos, claudos, surdos, podagricos, lunaticos, obsessos ac phreneticos, epaticos, longa infirmitate detentos, lepra contaminatos, pleureticos, lentericos, febricitantes, caput ac renes dolentes, squinanticos, pestilenticos, guerra, incendio, naufragio, submersione, partus et anhelitus difficultate, furto, rapina et undarum tempestate, sterilitate, spinteris inglutinatione, et animo propter adversas fortunas prostratos, aliisque diversis tam capitis et pectoris quam aliorum membrorum infirmitatibus et hujusmodi currentis mundi periculis oppressos, prout quisque indigentium postulavit. [...]

(97) Item, consideratis praedictis, et praehabita super his deli- (98) beratione matura, visum est praedictis dominis ammanno et senatui Bruxellensi, quod honestum et rationi congruum esset, quod praedictae oblationes tunc jam datae et aliae in posterum apportandae ad Dei et Virginis gloriosae Mariae honorem et ad divini cultus augmentum in illo loco deberent expendi et converti; et quod ad illum finem terrae necessariae de eadem pecunia deberent comparari, et una pulchra et notabilis capella in dicto loco construi et aedificari. Quod maximis sumptibus et expensis, Deo auxiliante, factum est

atque completum; cum huiusmodi capella de albis atque excisis lapidibus ibidem una cum spisso et rotundo muro longitudinis in sua rotunditate stadiorum de praedictis oblationibus sit constructa, habens tectum de petris coopertum ac pulchras, altas et latas fenestras vitreas artificiose cum imaginibus sanctorum et repraesentationibus ac armis donatorum depictas. Harum unam stantem retro altare beatae Virginis propriis expensis fieri fecit illustrissimus princeps ac dominus Carolus de Burgundia, comes Cadralesii et dominus de Bethunia, etc., filius unicus, herus et successor domini Philippi, ducis tunc regnantis. Secundam vero fenestram, proxime in latere partis meridionalis stantem, una cum tabula altaris vitrea seu vitrata, fieri fecit praedictus dominus Joannes de Adenghen, dominus de Kestergate, ammannus Bruxellensis, qui etiam postea quam plurima dona eidem loco sua diligentia tam a Ludovico, tunc Delphino, postmodum auxilio dicti Philippi ducis rege Franciae facto, quam ab eodem Philippo duce ac aliis utriusque sexus et status procuravit et impetravit. Tertiam vero fenestram illius lateris solvit dominus Joannes de Potires, dominus de Archi, miles et consiliarius et camerarius praedicti Philippi ducis. Quartam autem fenestram solvit et donavit quidam nobilis de Portugallia, de familia dominae Isabellae ducissae. Quintam autem fenestram ejusdem lateris meridionalis non minus artificiose et purchre depictam, pro nunc choro fratrum inclusam, solvit et donavit quidam no- (99) bilis et gratosus juvenis, moribus et statura formosus, Petrus de Villa, de territorio Pedismontium oriundus, filius Dominci.

Ab alia autem parte lateris occidentalis in choro Nostrae Dominae stant duae aliae fenestrae, earundem longitudinis et latitudinis, quarum unam, videlicet proximiorum fenestrae dicti domini Caroli, solvit et donavit quidam civis Gandensis, nominatus magister Monfrandus Alaert, meus dilectus in Studio Parisiensi anno mccccxxiv in collegio *Ave Maria* scholasticus, sodalis et commensalis, ac, tempore donationis, praedicti domini Philippi ducis in suo comitatu Flandriae procurator generalis, qui etiam certa alia clenodia et praetiosa ornamenta altaris serica et purpurea eidem capellae donavit. Aliam autem et septimam fenestram solverunt et donaverunt Guilhelmus de Pape, nobilis, et Joannes Blankaert, mercator, cives et incolae Bruxellenses.

In choro autem fratrum, partim ex choro beatae Mariae sumpto, sunt factae in latere meridionali tres fenestrae vitreae, aequales forma, et longitudine, et latitudine cum repraesentationibus personarum donatricum. Quarum primam versus altare solvit domicella Maria de Vorda, relicta quondam Guilhelmi de Mazenzele, senioris apothecarii super Galo..., avia uxoris meae. Secundam autem fenestram, proxime stantem, fieri fecimus et solvimus Catharina Bogaerts, mea conthoralis, et ego. Tertiam autem fenestram fieri fecit et solvit domicella Margareta de Mazenseele, mater uxoris meae. A latere autem opposito a parte occidentali factae sunt etiam in eodem choro duae fenestrae vitreae, aequalis formae, donatae et solutae per Johannem de Lovanio et Johannem Mosselman, carnifices, et Judocum Simonis, clericum guldae.

Octavam quoque fenestram vitream et rotundam stantem super januam, qua ex navi ecclesiae chorum intratur fratrum, fieri fecit et solvit Johannes Cambier, de arte fabрили, civis et incola Bruxellensis, ac oeconomus dictae capellae, vir pru- (100) dens, litteratus et astrologus. Quae omnia suprascripta nominaliter ad memoriam revoco, ut Dei cultores dicti loci, praesentes et futuri, tanto ferventius pro animabus praenominatarum personarum ac benefactorum, tam vivorum quam defunctorum, sic Dominum Deum ac

beatam Virginem, matrem suam gloriosam, dignentur et valeant exorare. Quae omnia hic memorata apud Deum in libro vitae inveniuntur inscripta. [...]

(101) Item praescripta capella, ut praescribitur, aedificata, cooperta et jam ad Dei ac beatae Virginis Mariae honorem consummata, atque hominum peregrinantium spatio jam fere quatuor annorum devotione continuata, et comparatis ex supercrescente apportu circumcirca certis terris, juxta eandem capellam jacentibus, nec non uno hereditario censu sex florenorum renensium et et duorum petrorum aureorum; [...]

1480: Marcel Voet, *Liber Foundationis*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Cabinet des Manuscrits 5764, passages from fol. 14v-15r. My transcription.

(fol. 14v) Anno igitur supradicto [1449] o[mn]ibus necessariis ad dictum opus preparatis et habita prius a diocesano et duce philippo [...] cplo[?], ac parochia anderlectensi licentia, ut oportet ut retulit Herman[n]us supradictus metuendus du[ci]s Karolus der[.]erl[.]iis p[ro]ut unicus heres et filius eiusdem ducis Philippi p[ro]festo cathedre[?] die sabbati in ieiunio primaru[m] lapidem suis armis insigni, tum huius capelle posuit. Et eodem die de consensu Epi[scopus] cameracensis prima[m] missam in parva domu[n]cula ibi stante ut p[er]missu[m] est celebrari fecit, et deinceps idem Episcopus licentia[m] dedit quod ex tunc illi de curia principis in eadem (fol. 15r) celebrare possent per se, aut per aliu[m] donec capella que desuper construebatur esset perfecta et consecrata. Et ex tunc ceperunt ibidem misse celebrari. Eadem autem estate subsequente muri capelle, usq[ue] ad tectum imponendu[m] fueru[n]t erect[.] et ibitunc opus dimissum.

Aide literam de licentia Ep[iscop]i cameracensis et quod in capella super altare portabile possit celebrari ter in ebdomada in [...] libro stz[?] de literis huius modi. Anno L Junii xxvii^a.

Item vide literam de petia terre super qua[m] capella efundata in [...] libro de literis hereditatu[m] anno L.

Item post hec in aprili du[m]odo construeretur capella venit huc in propria persona ad visitandum n[ost]ram D[omi]nam de gra[tia] et ad audiendu[m] missam Jo[ann]es Archiepiscopus remensis qui con tulit certis diebus per annu[m]. et quoties quis uno die ex devotio[n]e dictam capellam visitarverit et ad ip[s]ius edificiu[m] eleemosinam tribuerit xl dies indulgentiaru[m]. Vide literam seu copiam eius in [...] libro de huiusmodi anno m.cccc.[...] [...] xvi^a aprilis ante pasca.

Item anno m cccc l in p[ro]festo ascensionis d[omi]ni du[m]modo dicta capella cooperiretur s[ed] accidit quidam casus lamentabilis de quo q[ui]a satis declaratur in libro de origine hui[us] dom[us] ideo hic silendum puto qui vel maligno sp[irit]u cooperante aliasae negligentia an indiscreta custodia evenisse putatur eodem [...] anno ip[s]a capella in exterioribus p[er]fecta fuerat.

Predicta itaq[ue] capella edificata et cooperta ad dei et n[ost]re D[omi]ne de gra[tia] honorem completa et fere spatio quatuor annoru[m] ho[mo] illuc peregrina[n]tium devotione continuata ex apportu supercrescenti ultra exposita p[ro] edificiis quasdam terras circa eandem capellam iacentis emerunt de quibus vide copias l[ite]ra[rum] in [...] libro de heriditatibus anno[rum] m.cccc.liii. et mcccc.liiii et una[m] blaiam corona[m] unde vide literas ibidem anno[rum] m cccc xlvi et m. cccc. xlix [...] alia ut p[er] [...] ibidem de quibus aliqua f[ueru]nt quitata. Quibus terris circa capellam eandem in modu[m] cimiterii

murus ad altitudinem vi vel vii pedum constructus fuit pro levi structura facienda ad expertandum pro magis competenti in futurum facienda.



***“Per viam asperam et valde longam”*: Voyages of Pilgrims to Local Shrines in Late Medieval Sweden**

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In late medieval miracle collections and acts of canonization proceedings, people who are seldom found in other sources come forth and tell us about their experiences. Their tales reach us through a filter of translation, edition and choice by the clerical recorders of miracles, but the requirements of a process of canonization were such that the material left by the scribes has a high degree of trustworthiness when it is used for the questions dealt with in this paper. As the title says, our focus is on the voyages of pilgrims to local shrines in late medieval Sweden.¹ In fact, it is my belief that most pilgrimage was local or regional in that period.

1. At the time of Pentecost, 1376, a woman by the name of Gunnild traveled to the newly-founded monastery at Vadstena in central Sweden, where the relics of the Blessed Birgitta had been buried slightly less than two years earlier. She told the recorders of miracles there that her home was in the parish of Romelanda in the Kingdom of Norway.²⁹³ She had been paralytic for five years, but after a vow made to the servant of God, that is Birgitta, she quickly regained her health so completely that she could make the hard and very long journey to the monastery at Vadstena (*ad monasterium Wastenam per viam asperam et valde longam*). In fact, she had covered a distance of c. 155 miles (250 kilometers). She was accompanied by two other women, a neighbor named Thora and a *miraculée* (a woman healed) named Thorborgh, from a nearby parish.³

¹ This paper was first presented at the 40th Congress of Medieval Studies at the University of Western Michigan at Kalamazoo, Michigan, on 6 May 2005, in the session sponsored by the International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Arts. A second version was presented at the symposium *Saints and Sermons* in Bergen, Norway, on 2 September 2005. I do not intend here to make a contribution to the discussion of the usefulness of late medieval miracle collections for social history. For this, I direct the reader to the discussion by Christian Krötzel in “Parent–Child Relations in Medieval Scandinavia According to Scandinavian Miracle Collections,” *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 14 (1989), pp. 23–25, and, more recently, by Cordelia Heß in “Heiligenverehrung in Preußen: Die Kanonisationsakten Dorotheas von Montau als Quelle zur Mentalitätsgeschichte,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens*, vol. 19 (2004), pp. 11–13.

² In what has, since 1658, been the Swedish province of Bohuslän.

³ *Acta et processus canonizationis beate Birgitte*, ed. Isak Collijn (Uppsala, 1924–31), pp. 132–33 (henceforth cited as A.&P).

2.

Gunnild, Thora and Thorborgh are three of a considerable number of pilgrims to the shrine of the Blessed Birgitta at Vadstena who are known to us thanks to the efforts made in the new monastery to document miracles that could help in obtaining the canonization of their founder. The recording of miracles was, for the most part undertaken between the summer of 1374 and the summer of 1376. During the following years, hearings were held concerning the miracles. These hearings were partially a follow-up of miracles contained in the original collections, but they also resulted in the recording of new miracles. In 1379, a formal process of canonization was opened in Rome, at which six persons from Sweden gave evidence.⁴

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While awaiting the canonization of their saintly founder, the Bridgettines of Vadstena also occasionally recorded new miracles.

In the following, I will refer not only to miracles of the Blessed Birgitta, but also to miracles collected in the fifteenth century to promote the canonization processes of three other Swedes. Miracles collected to promote the cases of Bishop Brynolf Algotsson of Skara and Bishop Nils (Nicolaus) Hermansson of Linköping were recorded between 1401 and 1417, while miracles associated with Catherine of Vadstena, the daughter of Saint Birgitta, were recorded between c. 1416 and 1477. None of these processes led to the canonization of the saint in question (at least they have not done so yet).

3.

These fourteenth- and fifteenth-century collections of miracles from local shrines in Sweden provide a relatively rich body of material for the study of medieval patterns of voyage. We shall now focus on four different topics on which information may be gathered from the *miracula*:

- 1) Traveling alone or in groups
- 2) Men, women and children
- 3) Dangers on the route
- 4) Expressions of piety

⁴ For the canonization process of Saint Birgitta, see *inter alia* Tore Nyberg, "The Canonization Process of St. Birgitta of Sweden" in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome, 2004), pp. 67–85.

1) Traveling Alone or in Groups⁵

The three Norwegian women mentioned above apparently formed a small group of their own. The same is true in numerous cases where pilgrims could not have their tales validated by other persons from their own parish. In these cases, the only witnesses cited are people of high status—clerics or noblemen—who happened to have been present when a tale was recorded, but who could not possibly have had a personal knowledge of the circumstances behind the story. Sometimes, the reason why witnesses are not present is explicitly stated, as in the case of a woman from Visnum in the province of Värmland, who had traveled more than 100 miles (165 km) to reach the shrine. She told her story “alone without witnesses, whom she had not been able to bring with her because of the long distance between her home and Vadstena.”⁶

Lone pilgrims are, however, less typical than pilgrims traveling with one or more friends and neighbors. We often find sentences like “*hec mulier cum multis vicinis suis ista secum testantibus*” or even “*cum [...] multa vicinorum turba [...] Wastenae veniens*.”⁷ When the miracle consisted in a stillborn child coming to life, for instance, neighbor women who assisted in the childbirth might follow the child’s mother to the shrine and give witness.⁸

Groups of pilgrims on their way to a shrine often joined with other groups en route. In some cases, it seems probable that a group of pilgrims inspired residents of a parish that they went through to make a vow to the saint and then follow them to the shrine. This is probably the case with two miracles recorded in Vadstena on 13 January 1375, one concerning people from Tuna in Dalarna (Dalecarlia), 190 miles (300 kilometers) from Vadstena, the other concerning people in Hovsta parish north of Örebro, which lay on the route of the first group of pilgrims.⁹

In a tale from 1376, we hear about a voyage in Norway involving a group of more than a hundred people. When one of them experienced a miraculous healing of his limping horse after a vow to the Blessed Birgitta, the hundred-odd others followed him to Vadstena to bear witness to the miracle. Most of them were probably residents of the town of Skänninge and its surroundings, not far from Vadstena.¹⁰ We might guess of such a large group making a common journey to Norway that they were, in fact, pilgrims to the shrine of Saint Olav in Nidaros. This is not explicitly stated, but the time for their journey, the end of June through the beginning of July, can be shown to have been favored by pilgrims to

⁵ There is abundant literature on traveling in the Middle Ages. Among the more recent contributions is Thomas Hill’s essay “Unterwegs nach Dänemark: Zur Reisekultur in vormoderner Zeit” in *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg*, ed. Lars Bisgaard et al. (Odense, 2001), pp. 33–50.

⁶ *Processus seu negocium canonizacionis b. Katerine de Vadstenis*, ed. Isak Collijn (Uppsala, 1942–46), p. 115: “*solitaria sine testibus, quos secum nequaquam ad testificandum producere poterat propter maximam distanciam domus eius a Vastenis*” (hereafter cited as *Proc. Kath.*). Also A.&P, p. 136: “*Testes secum de terra sua non habuit nisi filiam suam*.”

⁷ This woman testified to this together with several neighbors of hers,” or even, “came to Vadstena with a multitude of neighbors;” A.&P, p. 139, 157.

⁸ As in the case of the woman Margareta from Björskog in 1375; A.&P, p. 116. On the same pilgrimage, Margareta herself testified to a miracle tale told by another woman from the same parish, who apparently had been part of the same group of pilgrims. The identification of Margareta in the second miracle is, however, uncertain; A.&P, p. 116.

⁹ A.&P, pp. 112–13.

¹⁰ A.&P, pp. 137–38.

Nidaros from another miracle tale.¹¹

This leads us to the question of organized voyages of groups of pilgrims. In my work with the miracle accounts, I have often found instances where pilgrims from neighboring villages or parishes turn up at the shrine on the same date, a circumstance that might indicate the presence of some organizing force. In some cases, the order of the tales has been changed in secondary versions of the collection, which makes it necessary to refer back to the oldest extant manuscript version to identify the original order.¹²

It is never stated in the collections studied here that such and such person was the organizer of pilgrim groups. Instead, evidence may be gathered from the recurrence of certain names in the collection, like those of the parish priests, Arnaldus of Himmeta and Gregorius of Kil, both of whom returned on different occasions accompanied by different parishioners.¹³

A special type of organized pilgrimage was the appearance of a large company of Cistercian nuns from nearby Vreta Abbey at the shrine of the Blessed Nils of Linköping in 1405.¹⁴ As nuns were normally not supposed to leave their monasteries, those who had experienced miracles often preferred to send other persons to the shrine to bear witness. This is true for the prioress of Skänninge Dominican nunnery as well as for a Cistercian nun of Vårfruberga Abbey, both of whom sent proxies who were not nuns to the grave of the Blessed Catherine in Vadstena.¹⁵

Nobles could be accompanied by servants on their pilgrimage. This is true for Hans Smekor, one of the first pilgrims to Vadstena, who made his humble pilgrimage with bare feet, but accompanied by “*famulo suo*” (his servant), as well as by his noble companions.¹⁶ When the late King Karl Knutsson’s daughter Magdalena arrived at Vadstena in 1472 to testify to a miracle, she was accompanied by no less than fifty servants.¹⁷

2) Men, Women and Children

Students of gender relations, and of relations within families, can find rewarding material in miracle collections. Beata Losman, Christian Krötzel, Göran Bäärnhielm, Janke Myrdal and others have used Swedish miracle accounts for this purpose.¹⁸ Children who

¹¹ “Två svenska biografier från medeltiden,” ed. Henrik Schück, in *Antiqvarisk tidskrift för Sverige*, vol. 5 (1895), pp. 389–90 (hereafter referred to by its number in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina: BHL* 6101–02). In other words, pilgrims to Saint Olav’s shrine at Nidaros chose to be there at other times than around his feast day on 29 July.

¹² Examples of this are given in my *Mirakler och helgonkult: Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltiden. Miracles et cultes de saints: Le diocèse de Linköping au bas Moyen Age* (Uppsala, 1992), e.g. pp. 116–17.

¹³ For Arnaldus, see Uppsala University Library, Cod. Ups. C 15 f. 97v, 98v (in the collection of miracles that was used during the canonization process, the order of the tales had been changed: A.&P p. 113, 116, 117). For Gregorius, see A.&P, pp. 118, 124–25, 130–31.

¹⁴ BHL 6101–02, p. 346. The nuns even reappeared for a hearing about the miracle in 1417: *Sankt Nikolaus av Linköping kanonisationsprocess*, ed. Tryggve Lundén (Stockholm, 1963), p. 212.

¹⁵ Skokloster manuscript No 15, in quarto, in the Swedish National Archives f. 114r, 117v.

¹⁶ Data varies between testimonies. Birgitta’s daughter said that he was accompanied by his relatives, while two other witnesses said that he arrived at Vadstena “*cum famulo suo*,” A &P, pp. 340, 464, 470.

¹⁷ *Proc. Kath.*, p. 22.

¹⁸ Beata Losman, “Barnafödsel och kvinnosexualitet i mirakelberättelser (Miracles From the Late Middle Age Tell about Childbirth and Women’s Sexual Life)” in *Kvinnors rosengård*, ed. Hedda Gunneng *et al.* (Stockholm, 1989), pp. 142–56, 205; Christian Krötzel, “Parent–Child Relations in Medieval Scandinavia According to Scandinavian Miracle Collections,” *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 14 (1989), 21–37 (see above, note 1); *idem*, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag* (Helsinki, 1994), see my review in *Speculum* vol. 72 (1997);

experienced miracles were accompanied on their pilgrimage by their father, their mother, or both. I cite as an example a woman from the then Danish province of Scania (Skåne) who, with the help of another woman from the same village, carried her seven-year-old son on her shoulders on a ten-day journey to Vadstena.¹⁹

There are a few cases in which children or adolescents are mentioned without any reference to parents. In 1376, a sixteen-year-old boy from the parish of Lommaryd came to Vadstena to be cured from possession by demons, without any parents being mentioned. We cannot know for sure, however, that he really was alone at Vadstena. A sixteen-year-old boy was considered to be of age and competent to witness, and thus other witnesses were perhaps not considered necessary when the miracle was recorded. From another miracle tale, we also know that a nobleman from the same parish was present at Vadstena on the same day, so he may have accompanied the boy there.²⁰

A particularly fascinating story among the miracles of Saint Birgitta tells of two women from Scania in Denmark who, on their long way back home from a visit to the grave of the Blessed Birgitta at Vadstena at Easter 1376, passed through a large forest. There, they were attacked by a cruel robber (“*a quodam latrone magne crudelitatis et fortitudinis*”), who took them with him deep into the forest, stripped them, robbed them, and prepared to drown them in a well. The robber was scared, however, when voices were suddenly heard in the forest. He ran away, whereupon two women appeared and saved our Scanians. They considered their rescue to be a miracle, brought about as a result of their prayers to the saint. Thanks to information provided by the women, the royal bailiff in these parts could soon arrest the robber, who was immediately hanged.²¹

Was it really possible for women to travel alone, or in small companies, on the long, sparsely used, and dangerous roads through medieval Sweden? Were the Peace Laws of Birger Jarl from the previous century efficient enough for women to feel secure on the roads? Can the tale of the two Scanians be used as support for an affirmative answer to these two questions? If this tale were our only piece of evidence, it could be argued that the *miracula* genre implies a tendency to emphasize the gravity of the situation from which someone is rescued by the saint’s intervention, in this case the solitary and exposed position of the two women.

The same issue could be raised concerning the story of a woman who, returning from a long business trip (*negociis*), broke through the ice on the bay of Bråviken in 1471 but was miraculously saved. No companions or witnesses to the accident are cited, but of course, there is a possibility that the woman, or the recorders, suppressed reference to any witnesses in order to emphasize the danger of the situation and the magnitude of the miracle.²²

Göran Bäärnhielm and Janken Myrdal, “Miracles and Medieval Life: Canonization Proceedings as a Source for Medieval Social History” in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome, 2004), pp. 101–16.

¹⁹ A.&P, p. 131.

²⁰ ¹¹¹ A.&P, pp. 141–42. The text refers to the young man as “*homo*,” where one might have expected “*juvenis*.” Even more unclear is a case with a twelve-year-old boy from Västmanland in 1472. A priest cited as witness may have been the priest of the boy’s parish, but more likely an *altarista* of Vadstena, *Vita Katherine*, (Holmis, 1487; facsimile edition by Tryggve Lundén, Uppsala, 1981), pp. 85–86.

²¹ A.&P, pp. 126–27.

²² Skokloster manuscript No 15, in quarto, f. 71r, 103v.

These, however, are not the only examples of women traveling alone. In most cases, the fact that female *miraculées* told the story of their healing to the recorders of miracles without any witnesses from their own villages to support them is the only evidence we have that they traveled alone.²³ In other cases, as with the previously mentioned woman from Visnum in Värmland, the absence of local witnesses is explicitly explained by the long distance from their home to the shrine.²⁴ The solitude of these women on their road to the shrine does nothing to magnify the saint. On the other hand, the citing of witnesses was a requirement of the genre; so these cases give considerable strength to the conclusion that women actually traveled alone.²⁵

The historian Thomas Szabó at the Max Planck Institute has done some interesting work on the security of, and protection accorded on medieval roads. For example, in a Truce of God (*Treuga Dei*) from Narbonne, dating from 1054, women on the roads were among those who received special protection. Pilgrims were protected by decisions at the Second (1139) and Third (1179) Lateran Councils, though nothing particular is said about female pilgrims in those decisions. Royal roads, *viæ regiae*, are protected in the so-called *Leges Henrici* of 1115 in England.²⁶ Protection of roads and pilgrims was thus a priority for legislators in many countries.²⁷ That the dangers of the road were, nevertheless, many and insecurity ubiquitous is, however, clear from Professor Szabó's paper at the Fortieth Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo in 2005, as well as from the literary, legal and iconographic sources presented by Dr. Gertrud Blaschitz from the Austrian Academy of Sciences at the same congress.²⁸ We will return to this subject under our third heading below.

Gender relations in Sweden during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are also illustrated by tales in which men send their wives on pilgrimage, or on other missions, or prevent them from going on pilgrimage. I will cite here two examples out of several.

- A man in Norra Lundby parish sent his wife to the grave of the Blessed Bishop Brynolf in nearby Skara to fulfill a vow to the saint, according to a testimony at canonization proceedings at Skara in 1417.²⁹
- In 1470, a tailor in Rinna parish sent his wife to her brother at Vadstena in order to procure a remedy for her intestinal worms, but as it went, she was instead

²³ This is true for a woman and her daughter from Ödsmål in Norway in 1376; *A.&P.*, p. 140. For a widow from Ryssby in southwestern Småland, see *A.&P.*, p. 140; and for two women with a thirteen-year-old girl from Norway in 1388, see *A.&P.*, p. 609.

²⁴ See above, note 6.

²⁵ A recent study by Cordelia Heß on the acts of the canonization process of the Blessed Dorothy of Montau presents evidence of women traveling alone also in the Prussian lands of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century; "Heiligenverehrung in Preußen: Die Kanonisationsakten Dorotheas von Montau als Quelle zur Mentalitätsgeschichte," (see above, note 1), pp. 15–16, 19.

²⁶ Thomas Szabó, "Die Entdeckung der Strasse im 12. Jahrhundert", in *Società, istituzioni, spiritualità: Studi in onore Cinzio Violante*, vol. 2 (Spoleto, 1994), p. 925.

²⁷ This is true also for the Nordic countries, but I have not so far extended this study to Swedish legal sources.

²⁸ Thomas Szabó, "The Danger of Traveling and Security on the Road," and Gertrud Blaschitz, "Threats and Hazards on Middle High German Roads."

²⁹ *Vita S. Brynolphi*, p. 173 (testimony to article 39). Another example is *BHL* 6101–02, p.351–52: in 1405, a burgher in Nyköping forbade his wife from making her pilgrimage to Linköping to thank the Blessed Nils for her healing. Nevertheless, the vow of pilgrimage was originally made by the man for his wife. In any case, the man finally repented and accompanied his wife on her pilgrimage.

miraculously cured by the intervention of the Blessed Catherine.³⁰

It is thus a common expression in the miracle tales that a woman was sent by her husband on different missions. When, on the other hand, a woman in Skärstad parish was cured, but for some reason unspecified in the text had her husband make a pilgrimage for her, it is not said that he was sent by her but only that he performed the pilgrimage.³¹ It may also be noted that, in one case where testimonies to the same miracle were gathered on two different occasions, the woman ascribes to herself a more active role on the second occasion than that ascribed to her on the first.³²

3) Dangers on the Route

When discussing dangers encountered on the route, we will not confine ourselves to dangers encountered by pilgrims, but we will also mention cases where road accidents or other adversities resulted in vows to a saint and an ensuing pilgrimage.

Road accidents leading to a vow to the saint are common in medieval miracle collections. I will give a few examples here. In one accident, a child fell from a carriage and a heavy sack of malt fell on top of him, when the heavy load caused the horses to run too fast on a downhill slope near Vadstena.³³ In another tale tells us about a man who drove his horses so violently that a bar on the carriage broke and almost killed him—an early case of reckless driving.³⁴ One man rode his horse so violently that he fell from it and broke his arm.³⁵

When a person who was ill or possessed by demons could not make a pilgrimage by him- or herself, different means of transport were used, such as carts, stretchers or horse-drawn vehicles. An example of the latter is a pilgrimage in January 1408, during which the horses were scared and bolted when Linköping Cathedral, the goal of the pilgrimage, came into sight. The poor man, who was brought on pilgrimage by family and friends, fell out of the carriage, but was raised up by his parents so that he also could see the cathedral, and from then on, he started to recover.³⁶ The home of this man was situated 35 miles (55 kilometers) from Linköping. In view of the season, the route that was used was probably the frozen river Stång, and the bolting of the horses may have taken place at the passing of the torrents at Tannefors which is, in fact, the place where the cathedral is first seen.

³⁰ *Vita Katherine*, pp. [63–65]; *Proc. Kath.*, pp. 78–79.

³¹ Skokloster manuscript No 15, in quarto, f. 118r.

³² *Vita Katherine*, pp. [55–56]; *Proc. Kath.*, pp. 101–02: the nobleman Peter Frändesson in Vånga parish sent his wife to Vadstena with their daughter in 1471. In a later testimony by the child's mother, she ascribed to herself a more active role.

³³ *Vita Katherine*, pp. 57–58. A somewhat similar case is that of a farmer near Linköping who was injured when his carriage fell over on top of him; *Sankt Nikolaus av Linköping kanonisationsprocess*, p. 360.

³⁴ *Vita Katherine*, p. 100.

³⁵ *Proc. Kath.*, pp. 116–17.

³⁶ BHL 6101–02, pp. 365–66; *Sankt Nikolaus av Linköping kanonisationsprocess*, pp. 328–29.



Crossings of rivers and streams were dangerous enterprises, both in winter and in summer. We have already heard of a woman who went through the ice on the bay of Bråviken with her horse-drawn vehicle.³⁷ In another story, a group of merchants from Skänninge town lost a pack, containing all the money they had earned at a market in Värmland, when the packhorse carrying the heavy pack slipped off a ferry at the passing of a torrent. Needless to say, their search for the pack was unsuccessful until they had made a vow to the Blessed Catherine of Vadstena.³⁸

The shadow of war is often present in the miracle tales, most frequently in the miracles of the Blessed Catherine. Already in the first Swedish miracle ascribed to Saint Birgitta, a ship carrying her relics from Prussia to Sweden in May 1374 was redirected to a safe harbor because of the situation of war in the country.³⁹ In 1470, pirates employed by enemies of the Swedish king attacked a merchant ship carrying burghers from Vadstena, Skänninge and other towns.⁴⁰ Less dramatic is the story of a woman from Scania who could not fulfill her vow of pilgrimage to Vadstena for two years because of

many troubles (*“propter adversitates multas”*), possibly referring to the state of war between her country, Denmark, and Sweden in the year of the miracle, 1470.⁴¹ She eventually arrived at the goal of her pilgrimage, but another less-fortunate pilgrim was captured as a spy on the road between Berg parish near Växjö in Sweden and Ronneby in Denmark in 1472.⁴² In this tale, however, it is not clear whether the verb *“peregrinaretur”* in this text should be read as “was on pilgrimage” or simply “traveled abroad”. To my knowledge, Ronneby is not known to have been a goal of pilgrimage. A robber’s attack on two women from Scania has already been discussed.⁴³

1) Expressions of Piety

In his or her voyage to the shrine, the pilgrim often chose to express piety by walking barefoot—at least on the final part of the way—and/or forgoing linen clothes. Expressions like *“nudis plantis”* and *“sine lineis”* are very common in the miracle tales when reference is made to the content of the vow or to the pilgrimage itself.⁴⁴ Already, in the first miracle said to have occurred on the Swedish mainland after the arrival of the relics of the Blessed Birgitta, the above-mentioned nobleman Hans Smekor, who had made blasphemous statements about the saint, repented by making his pilgrimage “in great humility, with a most simple garment, and bare feet, for two long days’ journey” (*“in maxima humilitate pauperimoque habitu nudis pedibus per longas duas dietas”*).⁴⁵

In 1475, 36-year-old Nils Jeppsson, who lived near Malmö in Scania, fell from a tree and was severely injured. In his testimony, he said that, after being confined to his bed for half

³⁷ See above, note 22. See also *A. & P.*, pp. 159–60: a rider broke through the ice in the winter of 1375.

³⁸ *Vita Katherine*, p. 69.

³⁹ *A. & P.*, p. 146.

⁴⁰ *Vita Katherine*, p. 59. A similar story, from the following year, is recorded in *Vita Katherine*, p. 70.

⁴¹ Skokloster manuscript No 15, in quarto, f. 104.

⁴² *Vita Katherine*, p. 75.

⁴³ See above, note 21.

⁴⁴ For examples, see *A. & P.*, pp. 138, 141, 177; *BHL* 6101–02, pp. 385–86; Skokloster manuscript No 15, in quarto, f. 118rv; *Proc. Kath.*, p. 87.

⁴⁵ See above, note 16.

a year, he had a vision in which Saint Birgitta herself told him to make a pilgrimage to her monastery at Vadstena in the Kingdom of Sweden. He should undertake his pilgrimage as a beggar who would go from door to door, and ask for necessities. Furthermore, when he came to his goal, he should make offerings of two wax arms at the altars of Saint Birgitta herself and that of her daughter Catherine. The wax arms were to be procured with alms collected during the journey. Whether or not the humble mode of pilgrimage chosen by Nils Jeppsson was a necessity due to his poverty or an act of piety in accordance with his vision, his tale evidently made impression on the people present in Vadstena at his arrival, and it was later included in great detail in the acts of the canonization proceedings of the Blessed Catherine.⁴⁶ The goal of the registrars in this case as well as in all the other cases discussed above was, of course, to provide evidence of the saint's reputation for holiness (*fama sanctitatis*), but in so doing they also put together a most useful source of material for later historians of spirituality and everyday life.

⁴⁶ *Proc. Kath.*, pp. 177–79. See also Anders Fröjmark, “The Miracles of St. Bridget and her Daughter St. Katherine” in *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order*, ed. James Hogg, (*Analecta Cartusiana* vol. 35, 19; *Spiritualität heute und gestern* vol. 19; Salzburg & Lewiston, NY, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 70, 71, 73.



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 descendents, 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 Royaumont 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

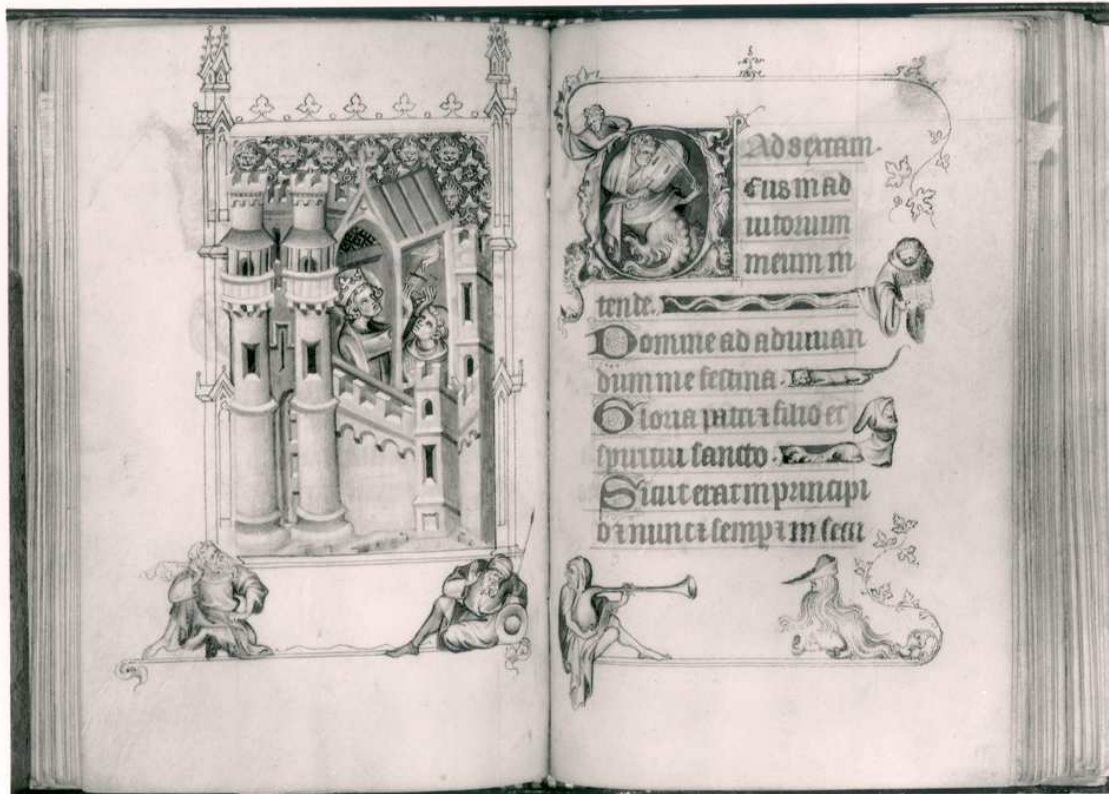


Figure 5: Louis receives lost prayerbook, Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325-8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2), Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, f. 154v-155r

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 praebeuit, 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 leprosies 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 française*, (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.



Saint Armel of Brittany: The identification of four badges from London

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In the sixth century, Saint Armel travelled from Wales to Brittany (France) founding several monasteries that now bear his name.¹⁸⁷ One day, a dangerous dragon appeared and began to prowl the district where the Welshman founded an oratory, attacking the inhabitants.¹⁸⁸ When Armel could no longer bear to witness the ravages of the monster, he decided to meet (not unlike Saint George) the beast in the cave where the dragon lived, but unlike George, Armel, using sacred water, lured the dragon out, whereupon it became as meek as a lamb.¹⁸⁹ Tying a stole around the neck of the monster, Armel led the dragon to the top of a mountain. There, he ordered it to plunge into the river below, freeing the populace from its menace. To commemorate this event, the mountain was dubbed Mont-Saint-Armel. Armel is believed to have died around either 552 or 570, but his earliest-known cult and *vita* only date from the twelfth century.¹⁹⁰ He was mainly venerated in Brittany and surroundings, but the saint was revered in England as well.

The memory of Saint Armel was kept by the pilgrimage cult that produced pilgrim badges in his honor. This article examines a group of these badges found in London that show the Welsh-Breton saint. Two of these badges, now in the Museum of

¹⁸⁷ The monasteries were called Saint-Armel-des-Boscheaux and Plou-Ermel (or Ploërmel). See Pierre Jakez Hélias, *Dictionnaire des saints Bretons* (Paris, 1979) : 28-31 and Albert Le Grand, *Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique* (Paris, 1901): 383-387.

¹⁸⁸ Le Grand (1901): 383-385.

¹⁸⁹ Martha of Bethany also used sacred water to tame a monster that threatened the inhabitants of Tarascon in the Provence, where the female saint did her missionary work.

¹⁹⁰ Farmer and Le Grand mention 552 as the year of the saint's death. Le Grand (1901): 385 and David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (1992): 29. Réau mentions the year 532, probably an erroneous borrowing. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien. III: Iconographie des Saints. Tome I* (Paris, 1958-59): 140-141. According to Kirschbaum, the saint died in 570. Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christliche Ikonografie. Teil V* (Rome, 1968-1976): 246.

London, have been identified incorrectly. In the past, the figure has been hesitatingly identified as Saint George trampling the dragon. Other badges showing the same subject have also been published, but without a satisfying outcome regarding their subject matter. Indeed, all of these images bear the same iconographic elements that, without a doubt, identify the saint as Armel. By focusing on this group of badges, the figure depicted not only regains his true identity, the new attribution brings to the fore questions about a forgotten cult of medieval England.

Former identifications: John Schorn and George

In 1986, Michael Mitchiner published his extensive collection of medieval badges and ampullae that was put up for sale shortly afterwards. Among many other objects, the catalog contains a badge, found at the Billingsgate waterfront in London,¹⁹¹ which, according to Mitchiner features “a long boot with devil’s head emerging” visible next to the central figure. At first, this element would suggest a label of the uncanonized popular saint, Sir John Schorn who conjured the devil into a boot. However, as the shoe is almost meandering alongside the saint, the identification as a boot seems rather forced.

Years later, Brian Spencer published part of the collection of pilgrim’s souvenirs of the Museum of London; mostly objects found in the British capital in the seventies and eighties after dredging works of the Thames, including a badge that is almost identical to the above-mentioned badge in the former collection of Michael Mitchiner.¹⁹² **(fig. 1)** Another find at Southwark Bridge shows the same figure, but this time rendered in much more detail.¹⁹³ **(fig. 2)** Spencer connected an unidentified fragment with a dragon in Mitchiner’s book that could have been part of a similar badge.¹⁹⁴ Spencer identified the depicted saint on all these badges as George, but he observed: “St. George is normally shown trampling the dragon, and these unfamiliar iconographical features leave open the

¹⁹¹ Michael Mitchiner, *Medieval Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (Sanderstead, 1986): 232, no. 869: badge, 31 x 27 mm, found at Billingsgate foreshore, London.

¹⁹² Brian Spencer, *Museum of London. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 7: Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London, 1998): 186-187, no. 206h: badge, height 29 mm, found at Vintryhouse and coffer-dam, London, Upper Thames Street, London, 1988-89.

¹⁹³ Spencer (1998): 186-187, no. 206g: badge, 45 x 38 mm, found at Southwark Bridge, London.

¹⁹⁴ Mitchiner (1986): 233, no. 874: fragment of a badge, 21 x 30 mm, found at London Bridge North, London. “This could be the devil from a badge of Saint George, but other possibilities exist (e.g. John Schorn, St. Margaret).”

possibility that this particular group of badges may refer to a soldier-saint other than St. George. They seem unlikely to have commemorated John Schorn, however, as has been claimed.”¹⁹⁵



Figure 1: *Badge of Armel found in London, pewter, height 29 mm. Museum of London.*

¹⁹⁵ Spencer (1998): 187.



Figure 2: Badge of Armel found in London, pewter, 45 x 38 mm. Museum of London.

The unusual iconographical features of the badges – the chasuble over the suit of armor, the cowl behind the head and the dragon on a leash – point to Armel. The badges represent the most significant miraculous event in the monk's life: the fight with the dangerous dragon. The relatively-large and detailed badge found at Southwark Bridge (**fig. 2**) accurately reproduces the different iconographical elements of the miracle story. In his left hand, the kneeling saint holds either an aspergillum or a cross-staff and, in his right hand, he holds the end of the stole which is tied around the neck of the dragon. The monster itself lies below the knees of the saint in a posture of submission. The beast turns its head to look at the victorious saint. The smaller badges found at Billingsgate and Vintryhouse (**fig. 1**) show the same, but rather simplified scene. Armel kneels here as well. The saint's chasuble is clearly visible, though the suit of armor can no longer be detected, except perhaps the armored shoes with their typically round toes. Here, Armel does not trample the beast. Instead, the snake-like body of the dragon crawls up alongside

the edge of the badge. As seen on the badge from Southwark Bridge, the saint keeps a firm hold of the stole that is tied around the neck of the creature.

The Devotion to Armel

The early cult of Armel spread from Brittany to the surrounding lands, such as Normandy, Touraine, and Maine. Later, in England, the saint's popularity grew after the succession of Henry Tudor (1456-1509) who became king of England and Wales in 1485 as Henry VII. In his funerary chapel in Westminster Abbey, among the statues of a multitude of saints, Armel is immortalized.¹⁹⁶ The saint is depicted in the usual way, as a priest wearing the chasuble and cowl, but unlike a typical priest, he wears gauntlets. In his right hand, Armel grasps the end of a stole that keeps the dragon in its place.

The events that preceded Henry's succession stimulated his devotion to Saint Armel. When the future king Henry was only fourteen years old, his uncle, Jasper Tudor, took him to Brittany to protect him from his Yorkist adversaries.¹⁹⁷ The young boy probably came in contact with the saint during his long stay on the Breton peninsula. The noble and courageous Armel - resembling Saint George in many respects – personified several characteristics that would appeal to a nobleman. Henry's veneration of Armel possibly increased because of their common Welsh ancestry. From his father's side, Henry stemmed from Welsh royal lineage as did Armel who was a wealthy Welsh nobleman before he gave away his fortune to the poor and left his country.¹⁹⁸

Yet, a specific event firmly embedded Henry's faith in the saint. When the aspiring king tried to return to England in 1483 to claim his throne, his ship became separated from his fleet and was threatened with shipwreck. Only after invoking the name of Armel did Henry VII safely reach the shore.¹⁹⁹ In 1485, Henry finally arrived in his native Wales and ascended the throne after a crucial battle at Bosworth Field with the help of Welsh and Breton troops. As indicated by the statue of Armel at his funerary chapel at Westminster, Henry VII maintained a special devotion for this Welsh-Breton

¹⁹⁶ Helen Jeanette Dow, *The Sculptural decoration of The Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey* (Edinburgh, Cambridge, Durham, 1992): 9.

¹⁹⁷ For the early years of Henry Tudor, see Stanley Bertram Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1972): 15-49 and Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *The First of the Tudors. A Study of Henry VII and his Reign* (London, 1980): 17-28.

¹⁹⁸ Le Grand (1901): 385.

¹⁹⁹ Farmer (1992): 29.

saint his entire life. The king's interest probably stimulated the devotion to Armel in England, especially in London. In 1498, the saint was even included in the Sarum calender.²⁰⁰

The Provenance of the Badges

Even though the badges of Armel might have come from a cult site on the Breton mainland, it seems likely that they were produced in the British Isles. All of the objects were found in London at different archaeological sites. There are no traces of similar badges on the European Continent, not even on the Breton peninsula. Moreover, the smaller badges of Armel show some significant visual similarities with the pilgrimage souvenirs of Henry VI from Windsor (**fig. 3**) and other badges that circulated throughout London.²⁰¹ Like the souvenirs from Windsor, the badges of Armel are datable to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The production seems to have coincided with the period after the succession of Henry Tudor. The solid identification of these badges point to a hitherto-overlooked English devotion to Saint Armel, centered in London during the reign of Henry VII. Further research on pilgrim souvenirs (such as presented here) promises to uncover even more popular, but forgotten forms of devotion in the later Middle Ages.

²⁰⁰ Kirschbaum, V: 247.

²⁰¹ Mitchiner (1986): 229, nos. 850-852 and Brian Spencer, "King Henry of Windsor and the London Pilgrim," *Collectanea Londiniensia. Studies in London archaeology and history presented to R. Merrifield* (London, 1978), 2: 237, 238, 251-252, nos. 17-26. During the reign of Henry VII, the cult of Henry VI (1422-1471) that had been suppressed by Richard III, was given a new stimulus. Spencer (1998): 189. For another stylistic parallel, see also a late fifteenth-century badge of John Schorn, Mitchiner (1986): 232, no. 870.



Figure 3: Figure of Saint Armel, Funerary Chapel of Henry VII, Westminster Abbey.



***Figure 4:** Badge of Henry VI found in London, pewter, 29 x 26 mm. Present whereabouts unknown.*



CINEMA PARADISO: RE-PICTURING THE MEDIEVAL CULT OF SAINTS

By M.A. HALL

Transmission, appropriation, and change are fundamental to the notion of cultural continuity; continuity is often achieved through change. It is with some frequency that this presents itself as a self-evident pattern when one studies medieval material culture. Most recently this was the case in an analysis undertaken by the author on the cult of saints in medieval Perthshire (Hall 2006). There an observation was made on the continuation of relic cults in our apparently more secular world and out-with – but frequently overlapping with – the orthodoxy of the main religious bodies. In the wake of the release of Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of the Christ* (US 2003) the media were full of stories of the mass production of holy relics, including nails and crowns of thorns, many of them available via the Internet. The popularity of Peter Jackson's film trilogy, *The Lord of the Rings* (NZ/US 2001-03) created a huge demand for relics relating to the film (and to the author of the book from which the films were adapted, J R R Tolkien) including scams based around faked costumes from the film (Cameron-Wilson & Keen 2004, 159). Historically contextualised phenomenon these may be (they are most definitely of our times) but such relics of Tolkien or of the filmed Christ stand for many in the same psychological relationship to parts of our cultural landscape as the relics of saints did for some of our medieval forebears. I wish to examine this contemporary, part-continuing and part-appropriated notion of the cult of saints by looking at filmed depictions of saints, primarily in European tradition of cinema but also (to a lesser degree) its American off-shoot, i.e. the Hollywood tradition. Just as the colonization of America can be viewed as the last great medieval migration (see for example White Jnr. 1965) so the U.S development of cinema has its roots in European technological and cultural innovation. Cinema is not, of course, a medieval cultural form but its evolutionary trajectory can perhaps be seen as rooted in aspects of medieval material culture, particularly the plastic arts, manuscript illumination and printing and the performing arts, particularly religious drama with its propensity for movement. Cinema's moving pictures of the saints stand on the border between faith and psychological anguish and its manifestations (on two levels, that of a given character in a film but also as cinematic or visual metaphor). As pieces of material culture they are broadly proportional to our own complex relationship with the cult of saints, as was medieval material culture to the medieval cult of saints. The cult of saints as a cultural form has also evolved and is not confined to a medieval temporality. It has evolved but continues to fulfil many of the same spiritual and psychological purposes, something that its portrayal in cinema helps to record. The present paper can be read as a chapter both in the cultural biography of cinema and the cult of saints.

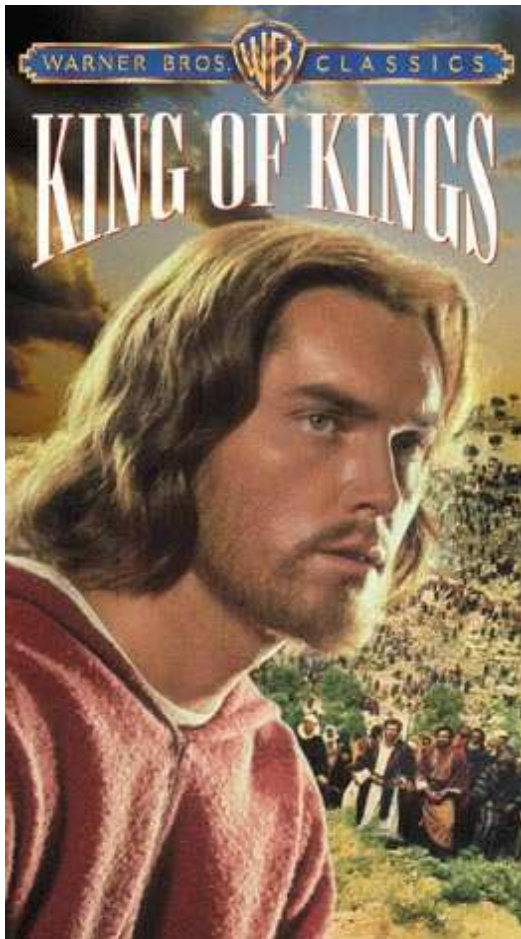


Figure 1: Movie Poster of King of Kings, 1961. Photo: Anonymous Collection.



Figure 2: Movie Poster of Il Vangelo Secondo Matteo, 1964. Photo: Anonymous Collection.

Films that deal with the cult of saints fall into three main categories: biographical approaches to a particular saint, historical or contemporary dramas in which the cult of saints has a role (pivotal or incidental) and documentary or semi-documentary studies of the cult of saints as a contemporary phenomenon. The three categories are not exclusive and often they overlap but in the interest of clarity I propose to treat them discreetly. In terms of the biographical approach to particular saints this gives us by far the largest category of films. As one might expect the life of Christ is a popular cinematic subject and is a good example of where the categories structuring this analysis overlap, for the films of Christ break-down into three main categories where: Christ is the main subject, Christ is a supporting figure in a historical drama and Christ or a Christ-like figure has a role in a contemporary drama. Of the bio-pics there are at least 15 of these, most rather turgid and lamentable, though the 1960s Hollywood pair of *King of Kings* (1961) (**fig. 1**) and *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965) are notable for their hippy-generation Christs. Both are in marked contrast to P P Pasolini's *Il Vangelo Secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to St Mathew*, IT 1964), (**fig. 2**) a rhythmically poetical black and white portrayal that captures the humanity of Christ and emphasises his socially levelling role

(some would say his Marxist credentials). It is a film that stands in marked contrast to Pasolini's earlier anti-clerical Crucifixion short contributed to the film *RoGoPaG* (IT 1962). *Il Vangelo...* is also the film which has probably had most influence on the later re-picturings of Christ, notably *The Miracle Maker* (UK/US 1999) an authentically orthodox, not to say didactic, animated version with lively characterisations and a socially subversive dimension. More unorthodox is Martin Scorsese's *The Last Temptation of Christ* (US 1997) which also focuses on Christ's humanity, very much his personal humanity, that of a lived-life afflicted by all the temptations faced by every man. The eponymous temptation is that of Christ's dying vision of a full and sexual life with Mary Magdalene. In the medieval period this would have been an act of heresy but in a changed contemporary context compellingly defines Christ's life as fully human, though at the same time (and unintentionally) it also fuels the liminal or fringe fires of the conspiracy theory that posits Mary Magdalene as the Holy Grail (i.e. the vessel via which Christ passed on his blood-line), a notion given popular credence most recently by the fictional *Da Vinci Code* (Hall 2005 and the 2006 film). Finally we have the already mentioned *The Passion of the Christ*. This is in some ways orthodox and in others not: it fuses elements from all the gospels into one story with additions of its own and tries to persuade us of its verisimilitude by being filmed in (subtitled) Aramaic. It is visceral in the extreme and heavily concerned with inflicted pain and redemption. These elements have rather misguidedly led to its labelling as a "medieval vision".

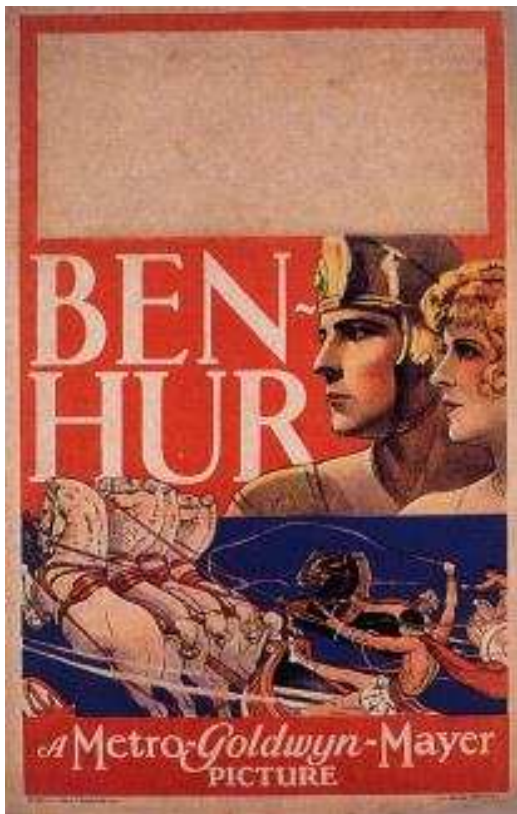


Figure 3: Movie Poster of Ben Hur, 1926. Photo: Anonymous Collection.



Figure 4: Movie Poster of Quo Vadis, 1951. Photo: Anonymous Collection.

The category of Christ as a supporting character in historical dramas comprises mostly Hollywood epics of the 1950s and 1960s (though there are earlier films); most of them weighty, worthy and rather dull but not without some colour and flashes of insight. They include *Ben-Hur* (US 1926 and 1959), (**fig. 3**) *Quo Vadis* (US 1951), (**fig. 4**) *Barabbas* (US/IT 1962), *The Robe* (US 1953) et al. They are usually set at the time of Christ's crucifixion or in its immediate aftermath. They do not usually center Christ as a character (i.e. his screen time is usually brief) and as a result generally give more telling portraits, with strong accents on redemption and forgiveness. *Quo Vadis?* is also notable for re-picturing the martyrdom of St Peter and the very medieval symbolic miracle of Peter's pilgrim staff set into the ground and sprouting into a tree. *The Robe* and its sequel, *Demetrius and the Gladiators* (US 1954) presence their Christ primarily through the relic of his robe, gifted to Demetrius on his conversion to Christianity and of which he becomes its keeper.

In the third category there are some half-dozen or so contemporary dramas in which Christ or Christ-like figures appear. Three recent examples of note are Denys Arcand's *Jesus of Montreal* (CAN 1986) – in which the priest of Montreal Basilica in charge of the annual Passion Play institutes changes that update the play and impact on the lives of those involved – Bruno Dumant's *La Vie de Jesus* (FR 1996) – a hard-edged updating in the cynical context of petty crime and drug abuse – and Alison MacLean's *Jesus' Son* (FR 1999), which also charts a hard-edged road to redemption. An earlier foray into anti-clericalism and a critical dissection of Catholic dogma is Luis Bunuel's *La Voie Lactée* (*The Milky Way*, FR/IT 1968) in which two tramps undertake a Bunuelesque pilgrimage from Paris to Santiago de Compostella, (**fig. 5**) their various adventures including an encounter with Christ. In contrast a number of more straightforward, sentimental portraits include *The Passing of the Third Floor Back* (UK 1935), (**fig. 6**) *Strange Cargo* (US 1940), *The Face* (SWE 1958) and *The Fugitive* (US 1947). Of valuable note is Francesco Rosi's *Cristosiè Fermato a Eboli* (*Christ stopped at Eboli*, IT 1979) a powerful political metaphor in this studied journey through anti-fascist politics in rural Campania of the 1930s.



Figure 5: Movie Poster of *La Voie Lactée* (*The Milky Way*), 1968. Photo: Anonymous Collection.

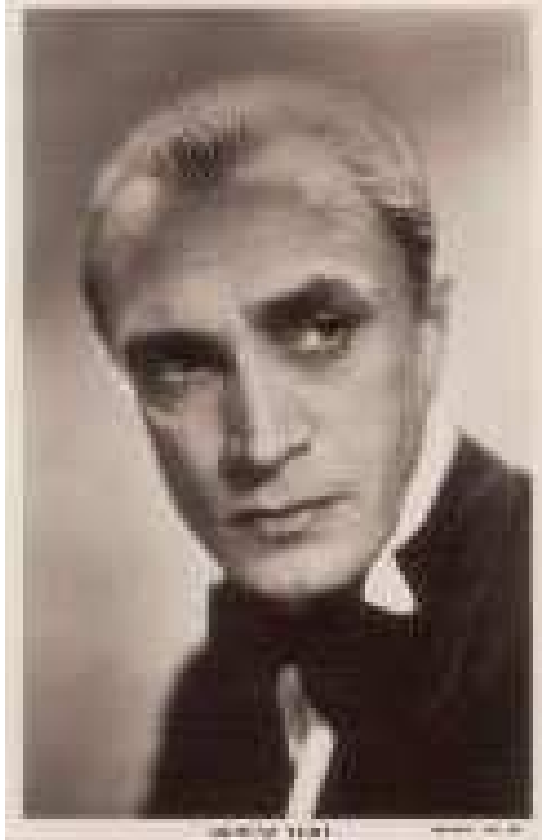


Figure 6: *Publicity Still of Conrad Veit from The Passing of the Third Floor Back, 1935. Photo: Anonymous Collection.*

Christ, of course can be seen as the well-spring of the cult of saints. His life and the impulse to religion are brilliantly satirized in *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (UK 1979). In a key scene, Brian's new followers see affirmation of his spirituality in a gourd he has given away and in one of his lost sandals (variously interpreted as signs of holiness and as rejections of materiality). The sandal is an astute observation and links into a long history of sacred feet that extends beyond Christianity. For example it evokes both Celtic inauguration rituals in the early medieval period, which in several places (notably in Ireland) is known to have included stone footprints and actual shoes (in Scotland the most well known of the footprints is at Dunadd¹) and with Christian pilgrimage: the footprint of Adam was a pilgrimage destination for both Christians and Muslims on a mountain top in Ceylon (as described by Ibn Battutah, see Mackintosh-Smith 2002, 247-9) and by the 16th century a common form of amulet was the measure of Christ's foot and that of the Virgin Mary. The foot and the shoe (perhaps the most intimate representation of any body part) had a wider ritual significance: the concealing of shoes within buildings was common across Europe from the medieval period on, mainly for purposes of averting evil and bringing luck (Merrifield 1989, 127-36). In later medieval England pilgrimage to the shrine of John Schorn, parish priest at North Marston, Bucks – who reputedly conjured the devil into a boot and trapped him there – was so popular that in 1478 the Dean of Windsor (Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Winchester) secured the transfer of John's shrine to St. George's Chapel; over 70 pilgrim badges are known (Spencer 1998, 192-95 and Merrifield 1989, 134-5). The foot was

clearly a body-part capable of symbolising the whole body or person and so also was the shoe, which as an item of dress so closely takes on the shape of the body part it covers. Its symbolic value was well known in the Roman period – foot-brooches are a common find as votive deposits (indeed the most common object-shaped enamelled brooch from Roman Britain is that in the shape of a shoe or sandal-sole – see Johns 1996, 177-8). Foot or rather footwear-shaped badges and amulets remained popular in the later medieval period and several examples are known from the Low Countries (van Beuningen *et al*, 2001, 316).

The link between feet and Christianity appears to have been made early: in the Coptic tradition Christianity was brought to Egypt by St. Mark. On arriving in Alexandria his first convert was a cobbler who repaired his worn sandal (Cannuyer 2001, 19). The story combines a religious symbolism with an awareness of the necessities of daily life. The sandals of other apostles were also culted. Trier Cathedral's relics include the presumed sandal of St. Andrew, kept in an elaborate reliquary surmounted by a golden right foot with diamond sandal straps (Henderson 1977, 15; Nees 2002, 231 and pl. 134).² Somewhat ironically we get a glimpse of the church's economic necessities through foot-related placenames. A cluster of Pictish-originating names around the church centre of Abernethy, Perthshire has been analysed by Simon Taylor and they include a Pittenbrog or 'holding/estate of the shoes', indicating a piece of land whose income/produce was dedicated to providing footwear to the religious community in Abernethy. At a later date, Shoe Lane, London, referred to an endowment of land to provide footwear to a monastic community (Taylor forthcoming; Hart 1972). Feet were of course generally essential to pilgrimage, and the sheer act of movement across the landscape would have given the culting of feet an extra resonance.



Figure 7: Movie Poster of *The Song of Bernadette*, 1943.
Photo: Anonymous Collection.

To return to the cinematic path, even more prolific than films of Christ are cinematic re-picturings of St. Joan of Arc (see Farmer 1992 for a synopsis of this saint). Medieval female saints are infrequently depicted in film and often more recent saints are preferred, e.g. St. Bernadette of Lourdes (which, of course, is also a tale of Marian devotion) in the sanitised, unquestioning *The Song of Bernadette* (US 1943, d. H. King). **(fig. 7)** Film critic James Agee astutely commented on this film: ‘A tamed and pretty image, highly varnished, sensitively lit and exhibited behind immaculate glass, the window at once of a shrine and of a box office.’ ; in fact a not untypical combination for a medieval saints’ shrine. Generally however the female saints are confined to supporting role in cinema which makes it all the more surprising at first glance to see the huge attention lavished on St. Joan. She was only officially canonized by the Vatican in 1920, but the popular lauding of saints that were not always officially recognised is a persistent trait of medieval Christian practice (e.g. St. William of Perth, St. Guinefort and John Schorn, see Hall 2006, Schmitt 1983 and Spencer 1998, 192-95). From the perspective of the Catholic church she is venerated as a holy virgin rather than as a martyr (another medieval tradition) and it took the Church nearly 500 years to fully accept its role in what was basically a political murder (she was burnt at the stake as a heretic). This acceptance of guilt happened partly in response to the huge popularity she had acquired by the 20th century. Joan is an interesting liminal figure in terms of medieval sainthood but it is primarily her political martyrdom and her gender that has attracted the attention of film-makers, though, of course, both these aspects are linked to her sainthood. She is not what one might call a typical saint (if such exists) but, in terms of her filmography, she confirms the divergence between Catholic-influenced sensibilities (fused with a Marxist outlook) and secular ones (mainly evidenced in American popular cinema but not exclusively). In Hollywood saintly virtues have generally been transformed by capitalism into innumerable Santa Claus’s who work the miracle of endowing greed-induced materiality. Even where there is a glimmer of light any thoughtful ambiguity is often replaced by a drowning sentimentality, as, for example, in *It’s a Wonderful Life* (US 1946 d. F. Capra).



Figure 8: Movie Poster of *Joan of Paris*, 1942.
Photo: Anonymous Collection.

St. Joan's story has been filmed at least 14 times (see Lerner 1996, 54-59; and individual entries in Shipman 1984 for some examples) but this tally rises when one includes those films that allude to Joan as an example or that model their central character on her and her symbolic value, e.g. *Joan of Arc* (US 1949) and *Joan of Paris* (US 1942). (**fig. 8**) Of the direct filmings four have been made in the last decade, most recently the French version by Luc Besson, *Joan of Arc* (2000), but her film pedigree stretches back to the earliest decades of cinema, including Cecile B. de Mille's *Joan the Woman* (US 1916). In 1928 came C T Dreyer's Danish, austere masterpiece, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, FR/IT). Lacklustre Hollywood versions followed in 1948 (*Joan of Arc*) and 1957 (*St. Joan*). The 1948 version starred Ingrid Bergman who went on to play Joan for a second time on film, in the 1954 Italian version, *Giovanna d'Arco al rojo* (*Joan of Arc at the Stake*), directed by her then husband Roberto Rossellini. Before that she had also played Joan on the stage. Frenchman Robert Bresson's elliptical, stripped down version which again focussed on the final hours of Joan's life, *Le Procès de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Trial of Joan of Arc*) followed in 1962. Like Dreyer's film its prime source was the minutes of Joan's trial. St Joan is, of course, a French national and anti-royal heroine so it is not surprising that the French film industry has found her so appealing; but the European versions of her life also draw out the moral and spiritual complexities of a notable female saint who out-warriors many of her male contemporaries.

This exploratory foray into the subject cannot be exhaustive but one or two other saints deserve mention. First amongst them is St. Francis of Assisi. His story has been most recently filmed in 1972, as *Brother Sun, Sister Moon* (IT, d. F. Zeffirelli), a film

which lacks any medieval grit and gets (revealingly) side-tracked by presenting Francis in the contemporary early 1970s guise of a flower-power hippy. Indeed this updating so incensed Hollywood producer Stanley Kaufman that he commented on the film, in a pithily medieval vein: 'If I were Pope I would burn it.' Much more successful is the re-telling or re-picturing, *Francesco Giullare Di Dio* (*Francis, Jester of God*; IT 1950, d. R. Rossellini) which employed non-professional actors (including Franciscan monks) and emphasises the rejection of materialism and violence in a warm, earthy manner. It included a final scene in which Francis's brothers all spin around until collapsing giddy, the direction each is pointing to in their prone positions then becomes the direction each must travel on their preaching journeys – a brilliant visual evocation of the spirit breathing where it will (see *Un Condamne* ... below), but also of one aspect of medieval divination. The structure of the film also skilfully evokes its medieval source material because the film comprises a series of episodes each preceded by its own intertitle captioning the sequence, rather like a medieval combination of word and image in any number of tableaux and saints' lives sequential paintings. Rossellini went on to make a bio-pic of St. Augustine of Hippo and earlier had filmed a somewhat more caustic (because scripted by Federico Fellini), allegorical re-telling of the nativity in which a shepherdess permits her seduction by a stranger she thinks is St. Joseph so she can give birth to the Messiah: *Il Miracalo* (*The Miracle*, IT 1948). The filming of saintliness was an abiding concern of Rossellini's and we will meet it again shortly in its role as a backdrop to contemporary drama. Film critic Robin Wood (1980, 892) has adroitly analyzed this concern of Rossellini's

... as both mystical and practical: mystical, inescapably because the concern is with inner spiritual movement and perception, with mysteries only partly susceptible to explanation; yet Rossellini's saints are invariably recognisable human beings – they are like ourselves and we register their holiness as an extension of potentialities we intuitively understand and share. Its achievement is almost invariably linked with the confrontation of the fact of death and with the acceptance of the otherness of things: the human being becomes aware of his smallness in an infinite universe which is infinite above all in its possibilities of 'being'. The moment of self-realisation for Rossellini involves a simultaneous awareness of the strangeness and frivolity of things: everything is different, 'other', yet everything relates. Such an awareness dissolves the obstinacies of the personal ego, the self is released from its prison, the wholeness of the world is apprehended through the manifold otherness of creation. Through this experience the identical reaches the joy of acceptance and is transfigured.

St. Nicholas puts in a reasonably authentic medieval appearance as a supporting envisioned character in *Millions* (see below) but his filmography has tended to focus on his later cult manifestation as Santa Claus/Father Christmas, basically a Victorian re-invention that over-emphasises his seasonal role as gift-giver and turns him into the patron saint of capitalism and so sanctioner of greed. Of the numerous films that feature Santa Claus the theme of sanctioned greed is strong and often endorsed, usually with a weak, sentimental attempt to identify Father Christmas with the true meaning of Christmas (including *Miracle on 34th Street*, *Santa Claus*, *Santa Claus 2* and *Santa Claus*

the Movie), though the most recent foray into this territory, *Bad Santa* (GY/US 2003, d. T. Zwigoff) bravely attempts to do so with a criminal Santa whose redemption at least avoids sentimentality.

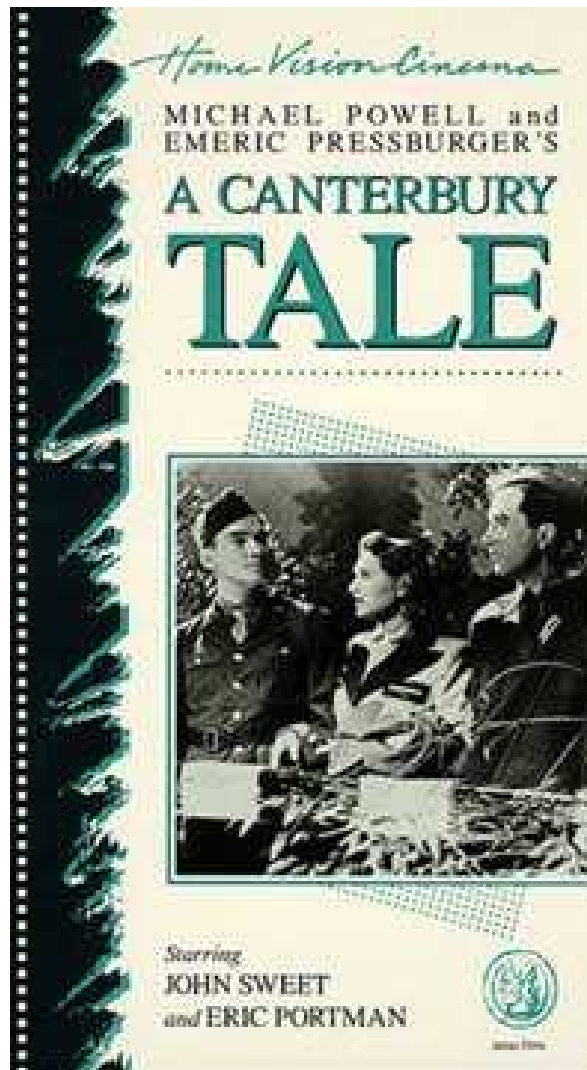


Figure 9: Movie Poster of *A Canterbury Tale*, 1944.
Photo: Anonymous Collection.

There is one film deserving consideration that makes no specific, explicit reference to a saint, but does make an implicit one, to St. Thomas a Becket and his shrine at Canterbury. The film is *A Canterbury Tale* (UK 1944, w., d. and p. M. Powell & E. Pressburger), (**fig. 9**) which thorough its title and narrative structure echoes or references (indeed the opening scene reconstructs) both Chaucer's literary evocation of pilgrimage – *The Canterbury Tales* – and actual pilgrimage to Canterbury. It is set during World War II and follows the fortunes of two soldiers and a land-girl. It concludes with a mass at Canterbury Cathedral (to mark the departure of troops before D-Day) that imparts a sense of the miraculous to the revelation that the land-girl's fiancé, long-presumed dead-in-action is actually alive. But this is an elusive thread and the film does not dwell on any

continuing cult of saints but instead emphasises a sense of what one can only call a changing-continuity and a rootedness in the landscape that the pilgrim's way conveys.

If we turn to our second category of films in which the cult of saints is more incidental or rather not concerned with a single, specific saint we might note to begin with that the magic lantern of cinema is almost the ideal artistic medium for depicting miracles (as it is for exposing them) for in the framework of belief-suspended that it can create it gives faith a convincing, real-world reality. This has never been more brilliantly achieved for a depiction of the medieval past than by Ingmar Bergman in *The Seventh Seal* (SWE 1957), structured as a film essay on the Dance Macabre and the devastating impact of the Black Death. It boasts a riveting and haunting sequence in which a vision of the Virgin Mary, as queen of Heaven, gliding across the ground through the early morning mist, beside a camp of travellers. Returning to Italy, E. Olmi's 1978 film *L'Albero Degli Zoccoli* (*Tree of Wooden Clogs*) includes a scene in which a woman's cow, found to be ill, is prayed for by its owner and it miraculously recovers. It graphically illustrates the popular Catholic culture in which the Italian peasantry were both liberated and confined. Olmi's camera observes the belief in saints and also politically condemns the social hierarchy with which it was entwined: the act of making a pair of child's clogs out of one of the landlord's trees so that the child could walk to school is done so without the landlord's permission and so the family is thrown off the land, with no trace of miracle to save them. A more sceptical tone is taken by F. Fellini in *La Dolce Vita* (IT/FR 1960), which plays its early miracle scene straight, but identifies it with popular, public hysteria, whilst prompting his audience to identify with the jaded, cynical journalist observing the event. It is almost the reverse to Rossellini's obverse, *Viaggio in Italia* (*Journey to Italy* FR/ IT 1953) in which a British couple whose marriage we have watched disintegrating are finally reconciled at the point immediately following a miracle (a man holds up his crutches) as a crowd watches a Marian procession in Naples: we are invited to see the reconciliation as a second miracle.

Perhaps the most spiritually focussed evocation of the miraculous is to be found in Robert Bresson's *Un Condamné à Mort s'est Echappé* (*A Condemned Man Escapes*, FR 1956), the (real-life) story of a miraculous escape on the eve of his execution (thus evoking an episode from the life of St. Peter) of a French resistance fighter from a German prison. The film's alternative title is *The Spirit Breathes Where It Will*, a reference to Jesus' words to Nicodemus in John 3. This axiom can be said to inform another of Ermanno Olmi's films, *La Leggenda del Santo Bavitore* (*The Legend of the Holy Drinker*, IT/FR 1988) which charts the spiritual salvation of an alcoholic living on the streets of Paris, a salvation that is tracked through the alcoholic's visions of St. Theresa of Lisieux. Theresa, like Bernadette mentioned earlier, is a modern saint, still virginal but much gentler than her medieval counterparts. One final film remains to be considered within this category: *Millions* (UK 2004, d. Danny Boyle). A key strand of this film is that one of its principal characters is Damian, a 10 year-old boy who has visions of the saints. At various plot-points in the film's comic narrative he is visited in turn by St. Clare, St. Joseph, St. Francis, St. Nicholas and St. Peter. They are visually presented as real characters though the implication is that they are psychological manifestations of Damian's troubled, Catholic-educated mind, struggling to cope with the recent death of his mother. But the film is not adamant about this and creates ambiguity around the question by having the saints – especially Peter – directly intervene in

Damian's life, raising questions about the power of faith and the metaphysical qualities of film. Damian's practice of the cult of saints is very stripped-down: we never see a church, an altar, a relic or an actively employed depiction of a saint. Damian's faith is very much an inner, non-material spirituality. When the saints appear they are a fusion of medieval and contemporary. Their dress is very much simple, even ascetic, medieval dress (with, for example, apostolic robes preferred to ostentatious papal ones for Peter) and their language (with regionally and nationally identifying accents) and manners (both Clare and Peter are smokers). We have a moving picture of holiness that is allegorical and veiled but also functions pragmatically.

Turning to the final category, documentary or semi-documentary studies of the cult of saints as a contemporary phenomenon, the number of films is much more limited. A number of the films already discussed are from the Italian Neo-realist school, the aesthetics of which give us natural, real-world looking depictions of contemporary practice, including religious festivals and processions. *Viaggio in Italia* and its Marian procession has already been cited. Watching the film makes it evident that the procession is a real event appropriated by the film for its narrative and for its ecstatic miracle of a cured cripple. Indeed, the film takes great pains to give its viewers a real social backdrop. Through out the film Ingrid Bergman's character visits a number of museums and archaeological sites, which allow her to make a bridge between now and then. One of the sites she visits is that of the temple of the Cumaean Sibyl and cult of Apollo, which she explores, led by an elderly male guide who tells her of the sibyl's association with young lovers and ecstatic prophecies. This visit, along with that to the Christian catacombs in Naples and the enforced participation in the Marian procession creates a sub-text in the film about the continuity and evolution of popular religious cult practice or syncretism. This accords well with more academic understandings of cultic continuity and appropriation. It has been noted for example that the close association between the sibyl and Rome led early Christians to consult her in their quest for evidence from pagan sources for the truth of Christian beliefs (Hornblower & Spawforth 1999, 1401). This can be seen as a reflection of a deeply rooted psychological response that can be paralleled in medieval attitudes, a way of wrapping-up continuity within change. By the end of the 15th century, for example, the recognized moral behaviour and good conduct of the pagan (but Christian tolerant) Roman emperor Trajan made him an honorary Christian to those late medieval eyes, one important enough to take his place in the cult of saints (see for e.g. the Burgundian Trajan tapestry, 'Trajan and Herkinbald', in which Trajan's remains are treated as holy relics, in Buri and Stucky-Schürer 2001, 41-63, pl. 32-35).

A parallel strand of documentary-like realism can be found in the cinematic supporting role given to the primary school Nativity play (a distinct modern day equivalent to medieval religious drama and again skilfully satirised in *Monty Python's Life of Brian*). As a manifestation of Nativity cult its filmic depictions are concerned less with the Nativity than with childhood (e.g., *Penny Serenade* US 1941, d. G. Stevens and *The Long Kiss Goodnight* US 2000, d. R. Harlin) or comic irony and the parodying of the adult world (e.g. *Love Actually* UK 2003, d. R. Curtis and *Millions*).

The remaining two films are more overtly documentaries. *Temenos* (UK/FR 1998, d. Nina Danino) is a visual exploration of places in Europe where the Virgin has "been seen" (including Lourdes, Fatima and Medjugorje) which on the surface is almost the

complete opposite of the medieval notion of sanctity, for it focuses on the places within their landscapes and their stillness and less on the creative appropriation of those places by people. This focus on place is also the driver of the documentary *Scared Sacred* (CAN 2004, d. Velcrow Ripper), which charts Ripper's five year pilgrimage (1999-2004) to the world's ground-zeros or sites of great human catastrophe, including Bhopal, Cambodia, Sarajevo, Auschwitz, Hiroshima and New York. It succeeds in revealing the link between sacredness and suffering and how places can become holy because of what people do or did there and how those events are responded to.

NOTES

1. For the use of footprints in the Irish context see Lane and Campbell 2000, 247-9 and pl. 28; at 248 they note comparisons from Ireland as analysed by Fitzpatrick, who suggests that paired footprints, where they occur, may have had an ecclesiastical rather than royal function. See also MacCana 1973, 160-66. For Dunadd see also Campbell 2003, 43-60; other Scottish examples include Finlaggan, see Caldwell 2003, 61-76. Footprints could also be linked to the cults of heroes, notably King Arthur, e.g. see Thomas 1988, 38-43.

2. Shoe and foot relics may have been more common than their meagre survival suggests: in Ireland there was the enshrined shoe of St Donard of Maghera, a brazen (i.e. a metal reliquary) shoe of Fínán of Kinnitty and the post-medieval shrine of St Brigid's shoe, see Bourke 2000, 10. Powerful feet could be manifested in other ways: royal St Wenceslas of Hungary is commemorated in the carol *Good King Wenceslas*, which includes reference to him leaving heated footprints in the snow which sustained his retainer.

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N.B. Production details and credits for all the pre-1985 films mentioned in the text can be found, along with the unreferenced short quotes, in Halliwell 1984 and 1985 and also Shipman 1982 and 1984; for post 1985 films see the British Film Institute's monthly film magazine, *Sight and Sound*.

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Popular and Precious: Silver-Gilt & Silver Pilgrim Badges

By Sarah Blick, Kenyon College

Medieval pilgrim souvenirs were popular objects, mass-produced in the millions over the course of several centuries. Since the late nineteenth century, tens of thousands have been recovered, and almost all of these were made of low-cost materials such as lead and pewter, which means that all classes of pilgrims, even the very poor, could afford to take one home with them. Yet, for those with high status and great wealth, such modest souvenirs did not match their social prestige. To remedy this, wealthy pilgrims commissioned pilgrim souvenirs made of gold, silver, and silver-gilt. Unfortunately, the intrinsic value of these precious tokens made them good candidates for the melting pot, so until now, no pilgrim souvenir made from precious metal has been found. However, in the last few years several badges have been discovered, confirming the medieval written documentary evidence.

We know from written sources that the media used in pilgrim badges depended on the status of the recipient. For example, Philip the Good, when visiting the shrine of the Virgin at Bolougne, purchased a gold badge for himself, silver and silver-gilt examples for the courtiers in his retinue, and pewter badges for his servants.²⁰⁷ The great difference between a humble badge and one made of precious metal lay not only in their sheen, but in their price: a single gold badge cost almost 300 times more than a badge made of pewter.²⁰⁸ Those who paid no attention to the class distinction indicated by medium were mocked, as was Louis XI of France who insisted on wearing a shabby hat adorned with a simple lead pilgrim badge.

While the majority of pilgrims could not afford gold, silver, or silver-gilt, many still longed for their luxurious look, color, and luster. To satisfy such wishes, during the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century, pilgrim badge artisans imitated the look of gold by using brass and stamping it into thin badges (as thin as tin foil). Called *bracteate*, these badges started to be produced around 1480, when Nuremburg traders began to export brass throughout Western Europe. The same technique was used for tin, silver, and silver-gilt. To strengthen these flimsy pieces, artisans sometimes attached decorative backing plates to the *bracteate* badges. Nonetheless, for upper class patrons, badges made of the only finest materials would do.

In the last several years the diligence of metal detectorists combined with the cataloguing expertise of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the KUNera database have uncovered several silver-gilt and silver pilgrim badges. It is likely that over the next decade or so even more will be uncovered, expanding our picture of popular devotion as

²⁰⁷ Kurt Köster, "Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen" in L. Kriss-Rettenbeck and G. Möhler (eds.), *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (Munich, 1984), p. 206 (203-223); Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (London, 1998), p. 12.

²⁰⁸ Spencer (1998), p. 12.

expressed materially for the upper classes. In the meantime, here are a number of recently-discovered pilgrim badges made of precious metals.



*Figure 1: Pilgrim Badge of St. Nicholas, 15th century, silver-gilt.
Photo: Portable Antiquities Scheme.*

The first badge shows a (now-headless) St. Nicholas behind three children. **(fig. 1)** His left arm rests on the head of one child and his right (now gone) was probably raised in blessing. Cradling all of the figures is a crescent moon. Nicholas, as bishop of Myra in the 4th century, became known for miraculously reviving three dead children who had drowned in a vat of brine by the hand of an evil inn-keeper. By reviving them, he became known as a patron saint of children, giving rise to the story of Santa Claus. This badge, dating to the 15th century and produced for a shrine to St. Nicholas, might have originated in one of the two major centers devoted to the saint—Bari, Italy, or St. Nicolas-de-Port, France. It measures 15 mm x 15 mm, is gilt silver, and weighs 1.12 grams. For further information, see

http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/hms/pas_obj.php?type=finds&id=37540.

The remaining badges are part of a larger group of precious metal pilgrim badges, all devoted to St. George, and all dating from the 15th century. They measure from 16 x 13 mm to 26 x 20 mm. The relatively-small badges all depict the armored George on horseback, trampling the dragon underfoot, sword raised in his right hand. The cult of St. George, though popular in England since the time of the First Crusade, expanded exponentially when his feast day was promoted to a major festival (as important as Christmas and Easter) after Henry V's 1415 battle victory at Agincourt. The focus of the

cult was at St. George's chapel at Windsor, where after 1416, the heart of the saint was kept.²⁰⁹

Most relevant to this group of badges was "The George," a jeweled badge which formed part of the insignia of the Order of the Garter. As Brian Spencer noted, its design most likely influenced some of the less-expensive, base-metal pilgrim badges.²¹⁰ It is even more likely that it influenced badges made of precious metals. Indeed all show a superficial similarity. Two badges (**figs. 2 and 3**) feature the active rider slaying the curling dragon's body, which forms a semi-circular base, though **fig. 3** appears more balanced visually within the curve, while **fig. 2**'s composition with the curlique of the dragon's tail and its arched neck matched with the head and tail of the horse give it a square appearance.



Figure 2: *St. George Slaying the Dragon, pilgrim badge, silver gilt, 15th century, 16 x 13mm. Found in December 2001 in Briston, Norfolk, England.*

Photo: Portable Antiquities Scheme.



Figure 3: *George Slaying the Dragon, pilgrim badge, silver gilt, 15th century. Found in 2004 in Essex, England. Photo: Portable Antiquities Scheme.*

Three more complicated and slightly later badges picture and even more agitated battle between the two foes. (**figs. 4 5, and 6**) The first, **fig. 4**, found in 2004, illustrates the saint wielding a gigantic sword (stretching the length of his mount) as the horse tramples the twisting and turning snake-like dragon. The sinuous tail of the dragon gyrates upward, threatening to engulf George. The rippling motion creating an active outline which is dynamically centered with the central X of George and his horse's body. Although harder to read at a distance, close up the badge rewards careful viewing. Found by a metal detectorist, it can be viewed at

²⁰⁹ Spencer (1998), p. 186.

²¹⁰ Spencer, (1998), p. 186.

<http://www.gallery.forumukdetectornet.co.uk/showphoto.php?photo=64&si=george%20dragon> (free registration required) The second badge, (**fig. 5**) equally complex, also depicts George turned with his torso and head facing the viewer, while his legs remain in profile. The tail of the horse echoes the dragon's splay of limbs below, making this badge somewhat difficult to decipher.

See <http://www.let.kun.nl/ckd/kunera/showitem.php?nummer=8317&lang=uk> for more details.

The third badge also displays a complicated vision, though more delicate than the last. (**fig. 6**) George, outfitted in splendid armor, raises his sword as his horse gracefully stomps the dragon below. That the horse's head turns slightly to us rendered in perfect foreshortening reflects the time it was created, when knowledge of linear perspective became widespread. The dragon, with its alligator-like scales and body differs from the serpent-like dragon of the last badge. The high quality of this badge is reflected in its medium, pure silver. Until the cataloguing work of the KUNera database, this badge, while found in the 19th century, remained unknown to pilgrim badge researches. Thus, for further information, see

<http://www.let.kun.nl/ckd/kunera/bbthumb.php?album=311&noph=84&offset=63&nophp=0&ntop=9&pageid=311>



Figure 4: *St. George Slaying the Dragon, pilgrim badge, silver gilt, early 16th century, 26 x 20 mm. Found 2004 (find site not recorded, but discovered in England).*

Photo: UK Dectector Net Gallery.



Figure 5: *St. George Slaying the Dragon, pilgrim badge, silver, early 16th century, 2.65 cm x 2 cm. Found in Basel in 2003. Photo: KUNera Database; Historisches Museum Basel, 2003.69.*



Figure 6: *St. George Slaying the Dragon, pilgrim badge, silver, early 16th century, 2.25 cm x 1.9 cm. Found in Basel in the 19th century. Photo: KUNera Database; Historisches Museum Basel, 1882.114.16.*

This brief article merely calls attention to the existence of silver-gilt and silver pilgrim badges. There are a good many precious metal badges not mentioned here, more importantly, there is a good deal more research to be done, particularly in regard to the class and function of the group of St. George badges. Exactly how were they used and how many originally formed an even-more elaborate pin with chains and pendants, such as this example made from pewter? (**fig. 7**) With more discoveries, the picture will become clearer, and with luck, even an elusive example of a gold pilgrim badge may be found.



Figure 7: *George Slaying the Dragon with pendant, pilgrim badge, pewter, 15th century, 46 x 34 mm. Found in 2004 in Amsterdam, Holland. Photo: KUNera Database; Amsterdam, Archeologisch Depot, RUS-71.*



WERE FOSSIL SCALLOP SHELLS EXPLOITED DURING THE MIDDLE AGES?

By Mark A. Hall, Perth Museum & Art Gallery

Helping a colleague recently to prepare a fossils exhibition I was surprised to find a fossil pecten or scallop shell (see accompanying illustration). This particular example comes from Suffolk, East Anglia (where it occurs in some abundance). To a non-geologist it is remarkable in not being rock-bound, but to all intents and purposes like a “fresh” (the geological term is *living*) scallop. Such relatively recent fossils weather quite readily out of their *Pleistocene* (i.e. Ice Age) geology and in Britain they are particularly common in East Anglia (Anderton *et al* 1979, 257-59; for Pectenidae in general, including the St. James’s scallop sub-species, see Tebble 1976, 55-69 and Murray 1985, 89-90). Fossil scallops have along geological history from the Triassic onwards, though typically it is only in Tertiary deposits that you get loose sediments and loose shells.



Fossil Pecten from Suffolk, England. The colouration is staining from the geological deposit.

© Perth Museum & Art Gallery

It struck me that such readily accessible scallop-shell fossil beds could well have been a source for pilgrim shells during the medieval period. We know that in the past a range of fossils were found and interpreted, both during antiquity (e.g. see Mayor 2000) and medieval times, including belemnites (variously known as thunderbolts, Devil's fingers and St. Peter's fingers), gryphea (known as the Devil's toenail) and crinoid stems (known as St. Cuthbert's beads) (see Bassett 1982). It struck me as being not implausible that where fossil pecten were readily accessible that they could be exploited as pilgrimage souvenirs (legitimately or otherwise). As long ago as 1970 it was proven that the amino acid content of Pecten shells declines progressively with the age of the fossil (Akiyama and Wyckoff 1970, 1097). It may be a useful field of enquiry to see if there is a correlation between known pilgrimage souvenirs and their geology – can pilgrim scallops be identified as of fossil origin and if so can they be traced to their geological deposits?

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Review of Michael Viktor Schwarz's, *Visuelle Medien im christlichen Kult. Fallstudien aus dem 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, Böhlau (Wien / Köln / Weimar 2002)

**By Viola Belghaus,
TU Dresden / EPHE Paris**

Even more than the ongoing debate regarding the German education system, books like this serve as a gauge for the difficulties of the state-financed university system. In times of shrinking budgets, resulting in crisis of justification and intensified struggles between the different subjects, art history is also seeking its new methodological position within the humanities. The only way out of this dilemma seems to depend on their adaptability to the, in public discourse strongly present, keywords of information and communication and their medial and technological innovations. For that reason, a field like media studies (Medienwissenschaft) has achieved a principal position within the university subjects, conveying its paradigm of media into nearly all other fields of research.

With nothing less than a “medial turn,” Michael Viktor Schwarz announces his new book. It assembles independent case studies of well known and most widely discussed examples of western art history, combined under the common focus of their mediality. The central point is focused on the specific relationship of image and reality, describing and defining the different levels of their representation of reality thereby achieving virtual reality, restricted representation or symbolic references. The functional role of the images as media within the process of communication Schwarz describes particularly with reference to their material character including their functions, context, stylistic devices and their artistic character. He adamantly refuses the notion of transforming art history into a history of images (*Bildwissenschaft*), where, in his opinion, the specific shape of the works of art are neglected.



Figure 1: Mourning Virgin from Naumburg Screen, Naumburg Cathedral, 1245-60.
Photo: H.J.B. Stanley



Figure 2: Halberstadt Crucifix, Romanesque Period. Photo: Arnold Pettigrew.

With his first example, the author focuses the highly-problematic and often-debated question of the function and role of images in medieval society. With its exceptional rood screen and the remarkable donor sculptures, the celebrated western choir in Naumburg has inspired many descriptions of different characters and from different origins. Out of this reception (which always emphasized the stupendous realism of the sculptures) Schwarz develops the concept of their immediate appearance (*Unmittelbarkeit*), which forms the leitmotif of his analysis. Therefore the author understands the presence of the represented figures, especially of the crucified Christ at the screen portal, as part of their medial effect resulting from a specific contract of perception (*Wahrnehmungsvertrag*). Rather than generating the distance between image and observer, it simulates within its immediate appearance the virtual reality of epiphany. Schwarz clarifies this tension between presence and representation by referring to the generic conceptions of rood screens and rood crosses. Compared with the function of the architectural type of rood screens, the juxtaposition with the eastern choir in Naumburg very clearly demonstrates the different conception of the Naumburg screen. The eastern choir with the ensemble of rood screen, altar and the now-lost rood cross on the one hand encloses the choir as a clerical space, defining on the other hand a place for laity and their liturgical setting. The screen of the western choir, however, functions less as a border and more as a threshold and portal. **(fig. 1)** Moreover, one can observe some significant

distinctions to traditional types of rood crosses. Compared with the rood cross of Halberstadt, (**fig. 2**) Schwarz strengthens the independence of the solution at Naumburg, where the Crucifixion is placed within the portal rather than above the screen, achieving its liturgical presence by abstaining from all symbolic and allegoric systems of references still used in Halberstadt. In this context Schwarz refers to the anthropological theory of liminality²⁰² describing how cultic communities during their ritual encounter with God are able to overcome the limitations of time and space within transitory moments. The immediate appearance of the crucified God prepares, while passing the threshold into the other sacral space of the Naumburg choir, an intensified liturgical experience that includes Christ's epiphany during the Eucharistic ritual. Whereas the Halberstadt Cross, with its symbolic references, clearly demonstrates its status as an image and therefore enables a didactic usage, the Naumburg Cross indicates the tension between didactic and evident qualities of the medieval imagery. Consequently Schwarz explains the different conception of the Naumburg sculpture explicitly, not in stylistic terms (as transition from Romanesque to Gothic) or with new forms of piety (the practice of *compassio*), but rather as a media discourse reflecting the function and the power of images. Even though in theological discussion the function of imagery is strictly limited on didactic purposes, Schwarz focuses a clerical use of images. Numerous narratives of miraculous images and affective approaches to religious imagery document an elitist image discourse, where overcoming the strict borders of image and prototype was absolutely allowed and desired. Even though Schwarz's analysis provides an appropriate description of the specific quality of representation, the still striking fact remains, why would a medium of this elitist discourse been placed towards the nave of Naumburg cathedral – a place always accessible for the laity?

²⁰² T.L. Carson, *Liminal Reality and Transformational Power* (Lanham, Maryland 1997), 85-88.

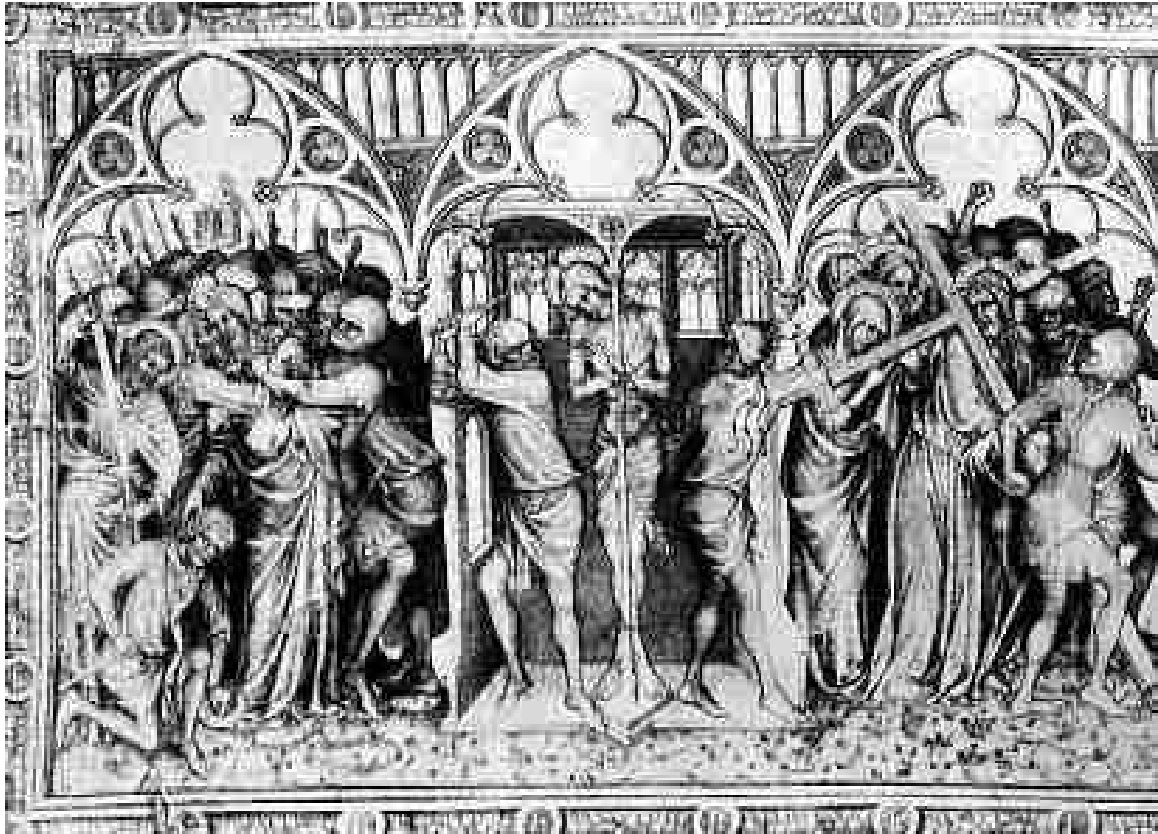


Figure 3: Detail of *Parement de Narbonne*, 1375-80, Louvre. Photo: C.M. Radcliffe.

This question is pursued during the following chapters, reflecting once again the mode of representation within liturgical furnishings, focusing an illusionistic fresco in Assisi and the *Parement de Narbonne*. (fig. 3) Schwarz characterizes the representation of a sedilia in San Francesco as part of an illusionist liturgical furnishing demanding commemoration and liturgy by the visitors and the clerics of the church. The illusionistic character once again, with its exact description of details and impressions of improvised elements, suggests that the painting belongs to the real space of the church, therefore providing a discourse which explains different degrees of reality and levels of unreality. Confronting the beholder, for example, with the actual appearance of the heavenly figures within the altarpiece of the chapel, the former experience with the illusionistic sedilia enables the beholder to identify the artistic character of that illusion – thereby rebinding the presentation into its context of picturality. In this case, the realism serves not as a trigger or an increase in the quality of immediate appearance, on the contrary, it refers to the difference of image and prototype. A similar phenomenon, Schwarz presents, can be seen in the *Parement de Narbonne*, with its grisaille painting fitting into the practice of medieval Lenten observance²⁰³ on one hand, and on the other hand reflecting a phenomenon which Rudolf Preimesberger's has described as a self-referential discourse

²⁰³ M. Teasdale Smith, "The Use of Grisaille as a Lenten Observance," *Marsyas. Studies in the History of Art*, VIII, 1957-59, 43-54.

of art.²⁰⁴ The striking contrast of colorlessness and artistic character questions, according to Schwarz, the relation of cultic use and artful fashioning. The *Parement*'s function as a covering for an altarpiece during Lenten observance as its principal role does not supply a substitute for imagery, but rather removes the existing imagery out of sight. Thus Schwarz understands the mode of representation as a functional and media specific decision in which the representation of an image defuses the visual presence of the image. The role of grisaille painting is therefore not to be described as a simulation of art, like Preimesberger understood its purpose, but rather as a representation of an absence or temporal invisible image.



Figure 4: Tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele, Canterbury Cathedral, 1424-26.
Photo: Sarah Blick.

While Schwarz hitherto focused almost solely on pictorial media describing even sculpture as images, within the following chapter he questions one of the principal issues of medieval images expounding the problem of body, image, and embodiment within tomb sculpture. The archbishop's Henry Chichele tomb in Canterbury Cathedral is a well-known example used to apply Ernst Kantorowicz's influential theory of the king's two bodies.²⁰⁵ (fig. 4) Seldom contradicted and further developed during recent years, Schwarz once again puts the predominate implications of a double portrayal as representation of, on the one hand, official and on the other hand, individual, body under discussion. He doubts a visual implementation of the theory of the two bodies within the so-called double-decker tombs concerning the tradition of medieval tomb sculpture.

²⁰⁴ R. Preimesberger, "Zu Jan van Eycks Diptychon der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* LIV 1991, 459-489.

²⁰⁵ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton 1957.

Nonetheless, it remains an indisputable fact that the *Gisant* forms the traditional type of tomb sculpture, whereas the *Transi* represents a younger invention, not able to establish a former tradition and thus remaining as an exceptional case. Assuming that the individual (*Transi*) is enlarged by the official body (*Gisant*) and in a strict sense yet to be completed, seems to be a highly-problematic and vague thesis without any evidence found in written or material records. Rather than emerging from political theology, Schwarz proposes that the practice of funeral liturgy explains the typical difference of the transient corpse and the tomb image used to present official dignity. With reference to perpetuated funeral lay out (Tomb of Henry II of England in Fontevrault Abbey) and to the usage of effigies (during the funeral ceremony of English and French kingship), Schwarz indicates the *Transi* models defined their function most of all as the corpse's liturgical deputies. Some illuminations from manuscripts containing poetics of death and lamentation prove the idea of a present corpse during requiem and other liturgical funeral practices. Moreover, these illuminations likewise illustrate different modes of representation – the reality of the decomposed corpse and the conventionality of the tomb image – strengthened by inscriptions where a fictional speaker addresses the audience, thereby suggesting a real presence. Hence the different modes of representation should not be described as a comparison of the official and individual body, but rather as representation of a present corpse juxtaposed with a commemorative image illustrating the former presence of a living. The *Gisant* portrays that which is entirely past, while the appearance of the *Transi* illustrates eternal presence and truth.

In the two final chapters, using Raphael's Sistine Virgin and the self portrait of Anton Pilgram in Vienna Cathedral, Schwarz works out some specific problems of early modern image culture. First, he describes recent research on the famous Virgin as part of the liturgical furnishing of San Sisto in Piacenza.²⁰⁶ Outlining the calculated strategy of glances and gestures applied to the altar with the presented host and the rood cross, he emphasizes its implied references to Christian doctrine and their visual and substantial manifestations. The image's specific shape Schwarz considers, in a second step, as rivalry between the visual appearance of the image and the substantial presence of the host, therefore contributing a reflection on the ability of painting to visualize the invisible. Thus approaching the positions of early modern art theory, he relativizes, with his last example, the largely-discussed commonplace of the development of the individual during Renaissance art and theory. The self portrait of the artist Anton Pilgram serves less as a proof for individualization, than as an example of a strong typology of portraiture which stages the artist's piety and places his self into the church community.

Even though Schwarz analysis without exception contains new and revealing insights and provides stimulating questions, he does not actually describe the mediality of the image. That different forms of picturality are linked with different forms of liturgical usage remains a rather old and well-known fact and is, as a result of a new methodological approach, not weighty enough. In addition, some of his major terms are used in a highly variable manner. For example, the function of realism is described in one case as being used to overcome the difference of image and prototype (Naumburg) and in another case to reinforce the same difference (Assisi). From the viewpoint of the

²⁰⁶ P. Ceschi Lavagetto, "L'immensa dolcezza e grandissima utilità. Il coro di San Sisto a Piacenza," Bologna 1989; A. Prater, "Jenseits und diesseits des Vorhanges. Bemerkungen zu Raffaels sixtinischer Madonna als religiöses Kunstwerk," in: *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* XL, 1991, 117-136.

demanding a medial history of images this arbitrariness of definition is critical. Moreover, the author, by defining his central term of mediality explicitly as a term of form and not of function, excludes central issues of a medial-orientated art history the reader would expect. One wonders, why Schwarz is obviously not interested in the form and function of prints – a new technology always linked with the media revolution – why he seems to lack any interest in the relationship of text and image, etc. Furthermore, his metaphorical writing is highly problematic – particularly in case of a foundation of a new methodological approach, a more precise terminology would have been desirable.

Despite this criticism, the author displays an instructive and stimulating history on the various roles of images in religious cults, including the material and formal shape of his analyzed examples, with more consequence than many other art historians. Nevertheless a medial history of art has to be written elsewhere.



FEATURED WEBSITE

William Allen's Image Archive

<http://www.clt.astate.edu/wallen/digits/archive.htm>

William Allen, Professor of Art History and Director of the Center for Learning Technologies at Arkansas State University has taken thousands of photos of art-historical sites for his own teaching. Since 2000, he has generously made these accessible to fellow teachers and medieval art aficionados on his website archive. While many of these monuments are not medieval -- a good portion of them are. Even better, the stunning photos include excellent details of often-hard to photograph works (such as interior mosaics and wall paintings).

For art historians, Dr. Allen also runs the website Digits, which gives practical advice for teaching art history and incorporating new technologies. Check it out at:

<http://www.clt.astate.edu/wallen/digits/>



Iznik (Niceae), Hagia Sophia, painting, north aisle. Photo: William Allen.



Chapel of St. Gabriel near Tarascon, 12th century. Photo: William Allen.



Architecture on the Pilgrimage Road to Loches

Born in Kansas, William J. Smither attended Wichita State University, the U. of Kansas, Wisconsin, and Tulane University where he received the Ph.D. in 1952. After teaching Spanish and Portuguese at Tulane for 35 years he retired as emeritus professor in 1982. During that period he also served as Director of the Language Laboratory and as Acting Dean of Newcomb College (Sophie Newcomb Memorial College of Tulane U.). Besides articles, reviews, and research in second language teaching, he published *El Mundo Gallego de Valle-Inclán* in 1986. Medieval Spanish studies at Wisconsin and subsequent interest in the Santiago pilgrimage as an element of Spanish culture, civilization, and art led to extensive photography, some of which was used in one of Smither's courses.



*Exterior from the south side. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

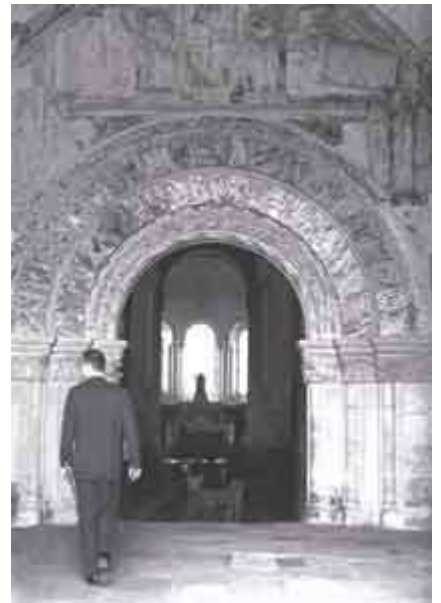
*Exterior from the south side showing some of the apse. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*





*Upper portion of the east tower. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

*Portal of the narthex/inner vestibule. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Lower portion of the portal of the narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

*Upper portion of the portal (archivolts) of the narthex facade.
Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period,
(Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Dream of the Magi (sadly damaged). Archivolt, extreme upper-
right of narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th
Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Archivolts of the portal of the narthex facade. Loches Church of
Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire),
Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Detail of archivolts of the narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint
Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire),
Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



Detail of archivolts of the narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither



Detail of archivolts of the narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither



Detail of archivolts of the narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither





*Detail of archivolts of the narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

*Holy Water font to the right of the portal of the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Fantastic Animals, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

Fantastic Animals, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither



View of the nave looking toward the altar. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither

Nave vaulting showing the spring of the third bay (with dome) from the front entrance. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither





*Nave pier and arch spring. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

*Squinch construction of dome in the nave. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Interior side aisle. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

Heroic Fable, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither



Exterior view of church from the north. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither

View of tower with cornice and brackets. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither





*View of tower with cornice and brackets. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

*Interior view of the nave during Mass. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Dream of the Magi (sadly damaged). Archivolt, extreme upper-right of narthex facade. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

Bi-lobe Creature, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither



Griffins, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither

Fantastic animal, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither





Heroic fable, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither



Face with Ionic-style curls, capital sculpture in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.

Photographer: W.J. Smither



Sculptural console with figures in the narthex. Loches Church of Saint Ours, 12th Century, Romanesque Period, (Indre et Loire), Touraine, France.
Photographer: W.J. Smither

Architecture on the Pilgrimage Road - Eunate



Church of Eunate, Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither

Church of Eunate, Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither





*Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Canecillos (Modillons), Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Canecillos (Modillons), Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

*Mason Marks, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Mason Marks, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*

*View of Columns, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*





*Column Capital, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Column Capital, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Column Capital, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
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*Column Capital, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Column Capital, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



*Entrance to the church, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*





*The colonnade to the left of the entrance, Church of Eunate,
Navarra, Spain, Romanesque Period.
Photographer: W.J. Smither*



Miscellanea

“The great monastic libraries of medieval Europe, contrary to the popular stereotype, were not silent study halls for cloistered monks. They were noisy places where scribes, bookbinders and other artisans collaborated to create the astonishing illuminated manuscripts that flourished in the age before Gutenberg. Some visitors called them ‘houses of mumblers’ because the monks liked to recite their texts out loud while they copied them. These, too, were living places, devoted not just to book preservation but to bringing scholars together to work with each other in the three-dimensional world.”
--from “Libraries as places to linger and mingle” by Alex Wright Christian Science Monitor January 13, 2006

“Gerald of Wales, as a boy, preferred to build sand churches and monasteries to sand castles.”
--from Gerald of Wales (trans. Loomis) 1985, p. xiii; T.A. Heslop, “Late Twelfth-Century Writing about Art, and Aesthetic Relativity,” in G.R. Owen-Crocker and T. Graham (eds.), *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C.R. Dodwell* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1998), pp. 132-35.



Medieval chained library, Hereford Cathedral. Photo: Sarah Blick.



Short Notices and Announcements

Two English Saints Shrines Discovered



Nave, choir area Lichfield Cathedral, 13th century



Lichfield Cathedral, England, 1265-1320

Archaeologists discover Saint Chad's Burial Place and Shrine

Archaeologists working at Lichfield Cathedral have uncovered the church built to house the grave of St Chad; together with the “Lichfield Angel” - part of the shrine created c. 700 by Bishop Hedda to mark the resting place of Lichfield’s first bishop. When Chad became the fifth bishop of the Mercians in 669 he moved the bishopric from Repton to Lichfield. Chad died March 2, 672 and the Venerable Bede wrote that he was buried “close by” the Church of St. Mary, but that his body was later transferred to the new church of St. Peter. Unfortunately, the precise location of neither of these churches was known. Now archaeologists under the guidance of Dr. Warwick Rodwell have revealed that both St. Peter’s Church and St. Mary’s Church lie under the floor of the present cathedral.



Their finds in the nave include: St. Peter’s Church, the Chad’s shrine, and a number of high-status later burials around the shrine. The remains of St Mary’s Church were

discovered in the 1990s during a major program to replace broken limestone flooring, but it wasn't until the remains of St. Peter's Church were found that it was possible to definitively identify the remains found in the 1990s as St Mary's Church – the church where Chad preached. Most significantly at the east end of the site a sunken chamber was discovered with the subsequent embellishment of a canopy marking its honor. Such a structure suggested a shrine or grave and the position and the description accorded with the description by Bede leading scholars to identify it as the original position of the shrine of St Chad.

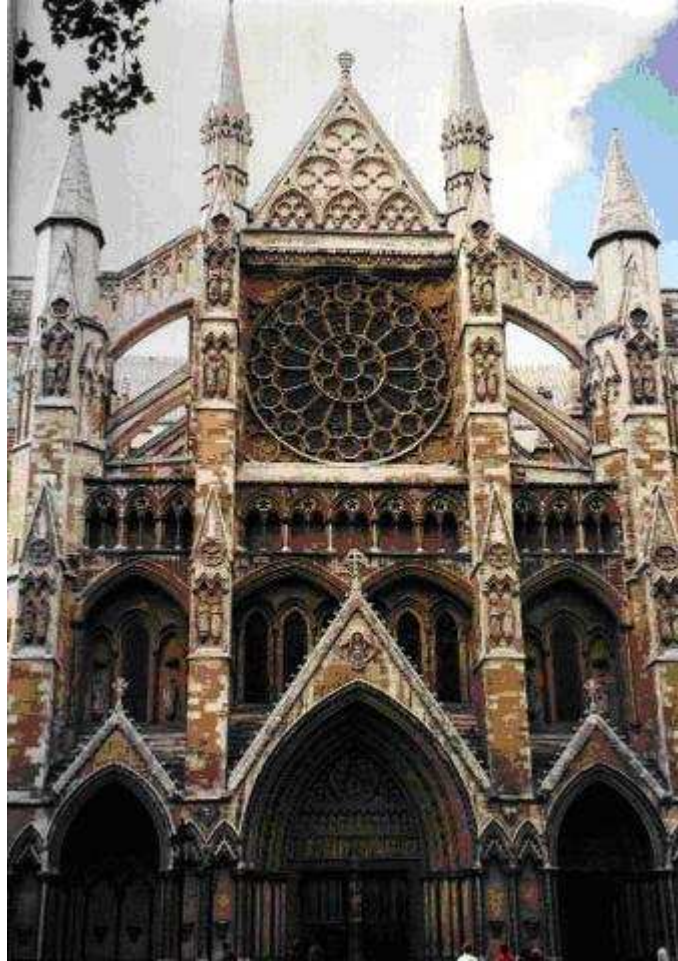
The remnants of Chad's shrine have revealed the 'Lichfield Angel' composed of three adjoining fragments of an Anglo-Saxon sculptured panel made of cream shelly limestone. Remarkably, the piece retains a good deal of its original polychromy. It may be the left panel of an Annunciation, but despite extensive excavation, no matching figure of the Virgin Mary has yet been discovered. Professor Rosemary Cramp, a senior expert in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, described the 'Lichfield Angel' as being of "European importance". She added: "This carving is crucially important for the light it throws on the chronology of Anglo Saxon sculpture. Only a handful of sites have produced sculptures which are archaeologically stratified as belonging to the pre-conquest period. This piece is unusual in that an almost complete panel of a casket has been carefully re-buried, some time before the Norman Conquest ... This piece provides something of a missing link between England and the continent in the revival of late antique styles, a revival which on the continent is demonstrated in manuscripts and ivories, not large scale carvings. The conservation of the 'Lichfield Angel' and its formal, stylistic and iconographic analysis is obviously of crucial importance."

--Re-written from the press release from Lichfield Cathedral's website

<http://www.lichfield-cathedral.org/angel.htm>

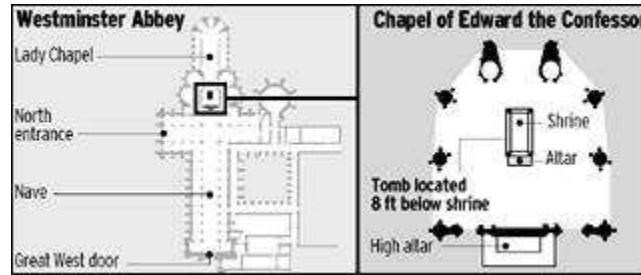
Original Tomb of King Edward the Confessor discovered in Westminster Abbey

Using radar technology during conservation work on the medieval Cosmati pavement near the high altar, archaeologists led by Dr. Warwick Rodwell found the burial site of the king and saint Edward the Confessor. When examining the construction of the Cosmati pavement, which dates from 1268, using a very high-frequency radar to a depth of about 20 inches, the archaeologists intensified the power of the radar to analyze deeper sections of the pavement. To their great surprise they found chambers, vaults, and foundations dating back over 1,000 years to the founding of the Abbey.



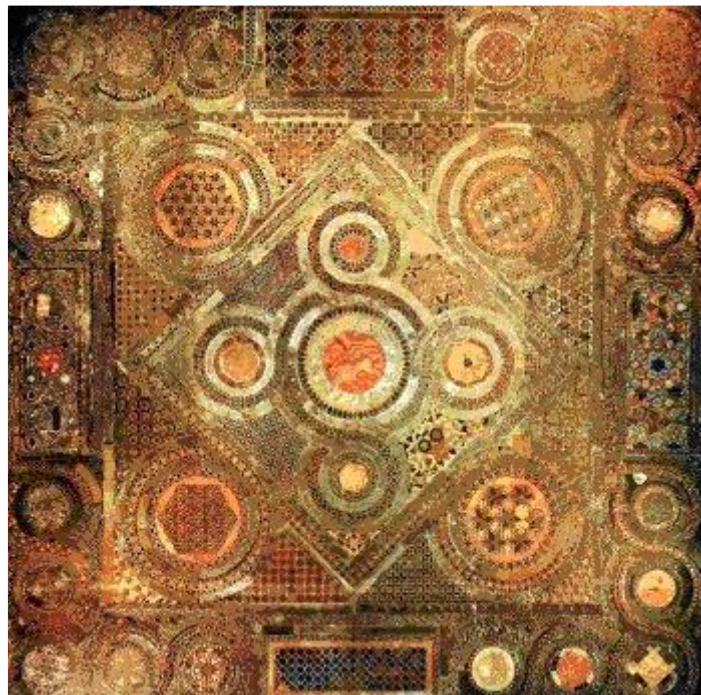
Until now it was assumed that the original tomb of Edward the Confessor was near the present high altar, because medieval records tell of him being buried there. But the new findings reveal that Henry II moved the altar in the mid-13th century. Edward's original tomb is located 10 feet behind the modern-day altar, directly under the area of the shrine built to honor the saint in 1269.

Under the pavement behind the present high altar, is a tomb where Henry III is believed to have been temporarily laid to rest in 1272. This was an empty chamber at that time as it had previously held the body of Edward the Confessor before the saint's remains were disinterred and transferred a few feet up and across to the shrine in 1163. In 1290, Henry's remains were moved to his own sumptuous tomb in the north ambulatory, again just a few feet away. In the same year Eleanor of Castile (Queen of Edward I) died suddenly and was temporarily placed in the old tomb while her own burial place in the northeast corner of the chapel was being prepared.



The radar picked up two distinct features. First, adjoining the shrine, and presumably continuing underneath it, is a substantial chamber with an arched or vaulted roof. This lies directly below the present shrine altar. While the east-west dimension of the chamber cannot be measured due to the position of the present shrine, the width is approximately 2m, and the radar has defined the curvature of the vault as about 1m in radius. The floor of the chamber lies about 1.75m below the present floor.

The second discovery is a rectangular feature, immediately adjoining the chamber on the west, and of about the same width. It has the characteristics of a pit for access to the main chamber, the filling of which appears to be a series of horizontal layers of different materials. These may be interpreted as alternate layers of soil and rubble carefully packed in the pit, a well-known medieval practice adopted to prevent subsidence.



13th-century Cosmati pavement in Westminster Abbey

Under the altar steps there is evidence that suggests the presence of two shallow

tombs, side by side: one has an arched roof, the other is flat-topped. Another unknown tomb was found north of the altar, lying partly in the sanctuary and partly under the stone screen erected in 1441. In addition to this, under the Cosmati pavement around the Confessor's shrine, several hitherto-unknown graves were discovered. There are single tombs flanking the shrine on the north and south, and a line of what appear to be small graves – potentially royal children – across the east end.

There are no plans to excavate the tomb because any such work would destroy the medieval pavement.

--Re-written from *Telegraph* article by Jonathan Petre, February 12, 2005 and from Westminster Abbey's website:

http://www.westminster-abbey.org/20051202_royaltombs.htm

A French silver coin has been found embedded in the keel of a medieval ship uncovered on the banks of the river Usk in Newport three years ago.

The discovery of the 15th Century coin is being interpreted as a sign that the ship came originally from France. Scholars believe the coin was new and was intended to be a good luck charm. The Newport ship is the most complete surviving 15th Century vessel discovered in recent years. It was found on the banks of the river during the construction of The Riverfront arts centre. The coin, wrapped in tarred caulking, was discovered in one of the timbers being studied by the city council's ship recording team.



It was placed in a hole cut above the ship's keel at the point where it connects to the stem-post, the timber which forms the bow. The two timbers would have been the first the ship's builders put in position and archaeologists believe the coin was inserted as a good luck charm.

The coin has been identified as a *petit blanc* of the Dauphin Louis de France, who became Louis XI in 1461. Minted between 1440-56, the coin comes from Dauphiné, an area of south-eastern France traditionally held by the Dauphin, the eldest son of the king of France. The outward face of the coin shows a cross and is inscribed in Latin "Blessed be the name of the Lord."

--Re-written from *BBC* news report

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/4686056.stm