

THE SANCTITY OF LOUIS IX

THE SANCTITY OF LOUIS IX

*Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of
Beaulieu and William of Chartres*

TRANSLATED BY LARRY F. FIELD

EDITED AND INTRODUCED BY
M. CECILIA GAPOSCHKIN AND SEAN L. FIELD

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ithaca and London

Copyright © 2014 by Cornell University

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book, or parts thereof, must not be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher. For information, address Cornell University Press, Sage House, 512 East State Street, Ithaca, New York 14850.

First published 2014 by Cornell University Press

First printing, Cornell Paperbacks, 2014

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The sanctity of Louis IX : early lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres / translated by Larry F. Field ; edited and introduced by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean L. Field.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8014-5137-9 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-8014-7818-5 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Louis IX, King of France, 1214–1270. 2. France—Kings and rulers—Biography. 3. Christian saints—France—Biography. I. Field, Larry F., translator. II. Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia (Marianne Cecilia), 1970– editor of compilation. III. Field, Sean L. (Sean Linscott), 1970– editor of compilation. IV. Geoffrey, of Beaulieu, died approximately 1274. *Vita et sancta conuersatio piae memoriae Lvdovici quondam Regis Francorum*. English. V. William, of Chartres, approximately 1225–approximately 1280. *De vita et actibus inclytae recordationis Regis Francorum Ludouici*. English. VI. Title: Life and comportment of Louis, former King of the Franks, of pious memory. VII. Title: On the life and deeds of Louis, King of the Franks of famous memory, and on the miracles which declare his sanctity.

DC91.A2S26 2014

944'.023092—dc23 [B] 2013023199

Cornell University Press strives to use environmentally responsible suppliers and materials to the fullest extent possible in the publishing of its books. Such materials include vegetable-based, low-VOC inks and acid-free papers that are recycled, totally chlorine-free, or partly composed of nonwood fibers. For further information, visit our website at www.cornellpress.cornell.edu.

Cloth printing 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Paperback printing 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Discipulis nostris

CONTENTS

List of Figures and Maps ix

Preface xi

List of Abbreviations xiii

Note on Sources and Translation Policies xv

Introduction 1

1. Three Early Letters on the Sanctity of Louis IX 61
2. Geoffrey of Beaulieu's *Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks, of Pious Memory* 69
3. William of Chartres' *On the Life and Deeds of Louis, King of the Franks of Famous Memory, and on the Miracles That Declare His Sanctity* 129
4. Pope Boniface VIII's Bull *Gloria Laus* 160

Appendix: The Manuscript and Printing Histories of the Texts 173

Select Bibliography 185

Index 191

FIGURES AND MAPS

FIGURES

1. Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns 5
2. Autograph letter of William of Chartres 35
3. The opening page of Geoffrey of Beaulieu's *vita* 70
4. The opening page of William of Chartres' *vita* 130
5. The sealed original of Boniface VIII's canonization bull 161

MAPS

1. Thirteenth-century France and the Ile-de-France region xviii
2. Europe and the Mediterranean 12
3. Paris about 1270 28

PREFACE

Louis IX of France (r. 1226–70) is one of the iconic figures of the European Middle Ages, among the most famous kings and best-known saints of the high medieval period. This volume offers the first English translations of two of the earliest and most important accounts of his life: the *vitae* (saint's lives) by the Dominicans Geoffrey of Beaulieu (written around 1274–75) and William of Chartres (written shortly thereafter). The *vitae* are preceded by translations of three closely associated letters: one relating Louis IX's death, written by his successor Philip III from North Africa on 12 September 1270 and entrusted to Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres to carry back to the churches of France; a second in which Pope Gregory X on 4 March 1272 asked Geoffrey to send him his recollections of Louis; and a third from the Dominican Provincial Chapter of France (the province to which Geoffrey and William both belonged as friars) to the College of Cardinals dated 8 September 1275 urging Louis' canonization. Taken together, these *vitae* and related texts demonstrate how Louis IX was being remembered and promoted in the years immediately following his death, before the formal canonization proceedings of 1282–83 that led to his official enrollment in the catalogue of saints in 1297. For purposes of thematic and chronological comparison the volume also includes Boniface VIII's canonization bull itself, here translated into English for the first time.

The introduction provides background information on Louis IX and his two Dominican biographers, analysis of the historical context of the 1270s, and a thematic analysis of the texts. Although this material is geared toward students, much of it should be of interest to specialists as well, since Geoffrey and William are little-known figures and this early period in the development of Louis' hagiographic legend has often been overlooked. Finally, in an appendix (aimed at specialists) we include an essay on the manuscript and early printing histories of our texts.

We would like to thank Peter Potter at Cornell University Press for his support from the beginning of this project, the press's anonymous readers for corrections and critiques, and Gavin Lewis for expert copy editing. Sean Field thanks the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Vermont for a Lattie Coor Faculty Development Award, and Cecilia Gaposchkin thanks the Nelson A. Rockefeller Center for a Faculty Research Grant; these awards made possible essential manuscript-checking trips to Paris. Sean Field would also like to thank his students in History 195 and 224 in 2011–12 for testing out the translations and critiquing the introduction. Our particular thanks are due to Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Adam Davis, Xavier H  lary, Anne E. Lester, Patricia Stirnemann, and Simon Tugwell, O.P., for their expert help, to William Chester Jordan for years of encouragement (and for reminding us of Louis' dark side), and to Charlotte Deno  l and Ghislain Brunel for kindly facilitating access to manuscripts and documents at the Biblioth  que nationale de France and the Archives nationales de France. Finally, our deepest thanks goes to each of our families, for years of understanding support.

A final word about how this co-authored book took shape. Larry Field handled the initial work of translation, while Sean Field checked existing editions of the texts against extant manuscripts. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean Field then edited, revised, and provided notes for the translation, and wrote the introduction and appendix. Everything was then passed back and forth between all three contributors in multiple drafts, until everyone could live with the result. Sean and Cecilia, however, would like to credit any particularly inspired translation choices to Larry Field's original rendering of the Latin, while hoping that the editing process did not introduce an excessive amount of clunky literal-mindedness.

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Archives départementales
AN	Paris, Archives nationales de France
BL	<i>Beatus Ludovicus</i> , in <i>Blessed Louis, the Most Glorious of Kings: Texts Relating to the Cult of Saint Louis of France</i> , ed. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, trans. with Phyllis Katz (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 106–51
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
HLF	<i>Histoire littéraire de la France</i> , 41 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1832–1974)
Kaeppli, SoP	Thomas Kaeppli, with Emilio Panella, <i>Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum</i> , 4 vols. (Rome: Ad S. Sabinae, 1970–93)
om.	Omitted (words in one version of a text that occur in another version)
PL	J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series latina</i> , 221 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1844–64)
Quétif and Echard, SOP	Jacques Quétif and Jacques Echard, eds., <i>Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1719–21; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1959)
RHGF	M. Bouquet et al., eds., <i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1876). (Individual volumes in this series are cited by volume number in the introduction and appendix, but without volume numbers in chapters 2, 3, and 4, where only one volume is cited throughout each chapter. For full bibliographical details, see the Note on Sources and Translation Policies below.)

- WSP, *Vie* William of Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, ed. H. François Delaborde, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 27 (Paris: A. Picard, 1899)
- WSP, *Miracles* Percival B. Fay, ed., *Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite: Les miracles de saint Louis* (Paris: Champion, 1932)

NOTE ON SOURCES AND TRANSLATION POLICIES

For a more substantial treatment of the manuscript and printing histories of these texts, and further details on editorial policies behind our translations, the reader should consult the appendix. The editions and manuscripts that served as the base texts for our translations must be listed here briefly, however, to explain references in the notes.

Philip III's letter is based on the version printed in Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. 1 (Paris: Crapelet, 1850), 189–92 (#CCLVII), compared with BnF ms. lat. 5526, fols. 138r–139v (the basis for Guérard's edition), and lat. 9376, fols. 65rb–65vb.

For Gregory X's letter we have compared the two printed texts known to us: Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (Rome: Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1729), 503; and Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France, Le siècle des fondations* (Rouen: Cagniard, 1898), 648 n. 1.

For the letter of Jean of Châtillon and the French Dominicans, we have compared Jean de Rechac, *La vie du glorieux patriarche S. Dominique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Huré, 1647), 652–54, and Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France*, 648–49 n. 2.

The base text for Geoffrey's and William's *vitae* is the most recent edition, found in *RHGF*, vol. 20 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1840), 3–27 (Geoffrey), and 28–41 (William) [= *RHGF* in the footnotes to chapters 2 and 3], compared against BnF ms. lat. 13778 [= *A* in the footnotes, the manuscript used for the *RHGF* edition] and (for Geoffrey) lat. 18335 [= *B* in the footnotes, unknown to the *RHGF* editors].

Boniface VIII's bull is translated from the edition in *RHGF*, vol. 23 (Paris: Welter, 1894) [= *RHGF* in the footnotes to chapter 4], 154–60, compared against AN J 940 no. 111.

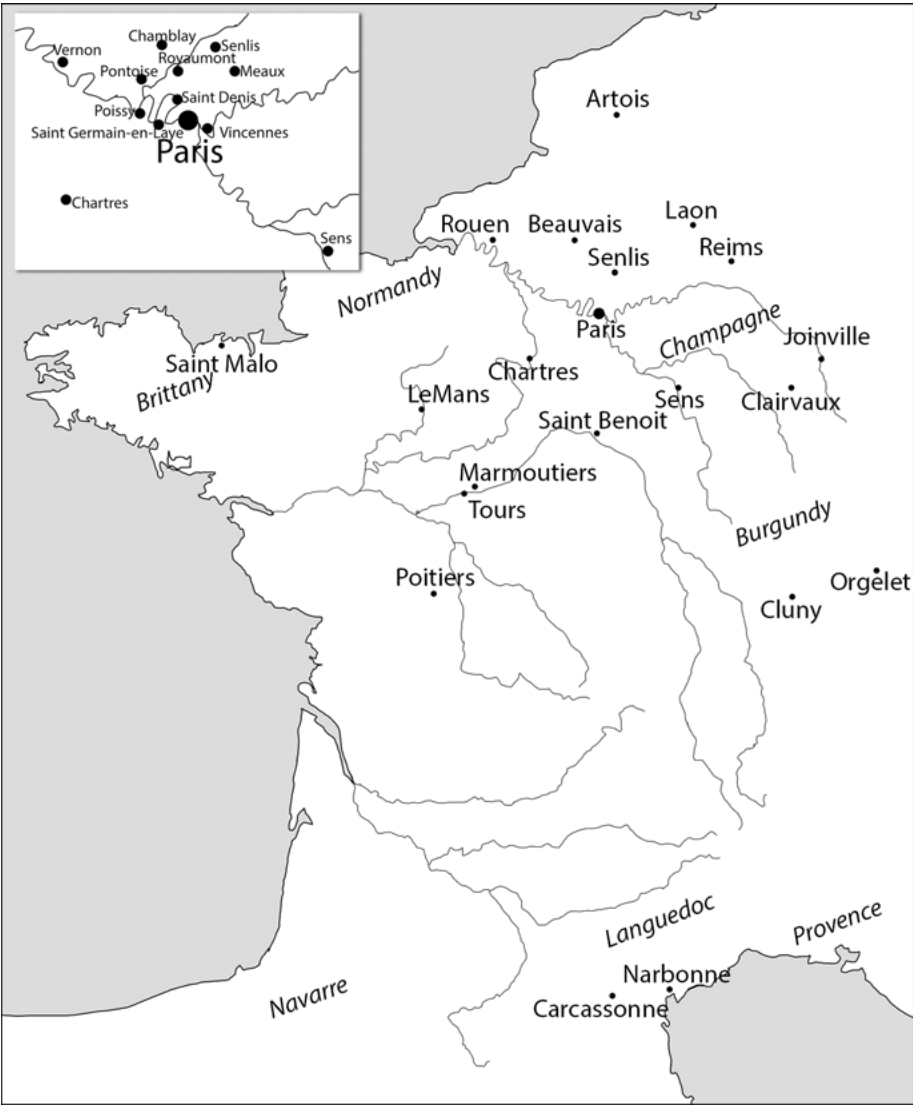
In the translations, we have sought a balance between fidelity to the Latin phrasing and production of idiomatic English prose. For most

of the *vita* by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and all of Boniface VIII's bull, we have had the benefit of Louis Carolus-Barré's earlier French renderings. Carolus-Barré, however, translated only pars. 7–14 and 16–44 of Geoffrey and omitted chapter headings (interestingly, he worked from Ménard's 1617 edition, not from the 1840 *RHGF* edition).¹ His omission of Geoffrey's lengthy comparisons of Louis with the biblical King Josias highlights the fact that our authors tend to begin with elaborate rhetorical flourishes foreign to modern sensibilities. The three preliminary letters, in fact, stick to a highly emotional style throughout. Geoffrey, William, and Boniface, by contrast, each settle into more straightforward narration. Geoffrey continually refers to his charge to omit nothing, repeatedly offering slightly apologetic notes that various traits of the king "should not be passed over." William is more direct in his Latin and more concrete in his overall style as a storyteller, while Boniface (in spite of a typically elaborate brand of papal Latin) in fact provides the most straightforward chronological narrative of Louis' life. Readers will likely detect some of these shifts of register as the authors move from preliminary rhetoric to core narration, since we have tried to allow our English to follow the authors' lead in this regard.

Paragraph breaks generally follow the base editions, except that in Boniface's bull we have broken the text up into a greater number of paragraphs. Paragraph numbers (and any other text) within square brackets, however, are always our editorial insertion. The *RHGF* editions put overt biblical quotations in italics, but neglect to identify most other biblical citations and echoes. Translations of biblical passages (also in italics in our translation) are based on the Douay-Rheims translation, but modernized and taking account of differences between the manuscript renderings and the Vulgate. Psalm numbering follows the Vulgate. We generally employ English rather than French forms of first names (e.g. William rather than Guillaume) but have chosen to use Jean rather than John, in order to preserve the more familiar forms Jean of Joinville and Jean Tristan.

¹ Boniface's bull has also recently been reprinted from the *RHGF* edition, along with Carolus-Barré's French translation, as an appendix to Prosper Guéranger, *Saint Louis et la papauté* (Paris: Association Saint-Jérôme, 2008) (this work by Guéranger, who died in 1875, had not previously been published; the modern editors added the papal documents and translations).

THE SANCTITY OF LOUIS IX



Map 1. Thirteenth-century France and the Ile-de-France region, showing cities, regions, and religious houses mentioned in the texts. © M. Cecilia Gaposchkin.

INTRODUCTION

The Life, Reign, and Crusades of Louis IX

Louis IX was born in 1214, during the reign of his grandfather Philip II “Augustus” (r. 1180–1223).¹ This was a propitious decade for Paris and France. Philip Augustus had presided over the rapid growth of the prestige and power of the Capetian kings that followed his seizure of Normandy and neighboring counties from King John of England. In the very year of Louis’ birth, Philip won the battle of Bouvines, defeating the combined forces of other northern powers (England, Flanders, and a claimant to the German Imperial throne). Between 1210 and 1220, the

¹ The literature on the life of Saint Louis is immense (often verging on the hagiographical). Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont’s seventeenth-century study, edited by J. De Gaulle as *Vie de Saint Louis, Roi de France*, 6 vols. (Paris: J. Renouard et cie, 1847–51), remains indispensable for serious students of Louis’ life. The best modern treatments are William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979); Jean Richard, *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Jacques LeGoff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009). On Louis’ canonization, the crucial work is Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272–1297): Essai de reconstitution*, ed. Henri Platelle, Collection de l’Ecole Française de Rome 195 (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1994); on the formation of Louis’ cult see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); and eadem, ed., *Blessed Louis, the Most Glorious of Kings: Texts Relating to the Cult of Saint Louis of France* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012). For political uses of Louis’ memory, Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Frederick L. Cheyette (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 90–125; Daisy Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign: The Rise of the French Vernacular Royal Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 22–57; Anja Rathmann-Lutz, *“Images” Ludwigs des Heiligen im Kontext dynastischer Konflikte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010); and Anne-Hélène Alliot, *Filles de Roy de France: Princesses royales, mémoire de saint Louis et conscience dynastique (de 1270 à la fin du XIVe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). There is some possibility that Louis was actually born in 1215, but 1214 seems more likely. See Tillemont, *Vie*, 1:422–26.

new mendicant orders—the Dominicans and the Franciscans—arrived in Paris, the great west façade of Notre Dame was erected, and the first statutes of the University of Paris were promulgated. More broadly, the barons of northern France had partnered with Pope Innocent III to invade the Languedoc under the banner of the Albigensian Crusade (started 1209; resumed in 1213), and Innocent’s epoch-making Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 gave new definition to church doctrine and practice. On the wider political front, Alfonso VIII of Castile advanced Christian power on the Iberian peninsula with a decisive victory against the Almohad army at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212; Henry III began his long but troubled reign (1216–72) in England; and Frederick II (d. 1250) loomed as the most impressive but controversial emperor of the Middle Ages. Within this larger context, the Capetian dynasty emerged as the preeminent political power in Europe, with Paris as its intellectual and cultural capital.²

Louis IX was the second son of Prince Louis (the future Louis VIII) and his princess, Blanche of Castile (d. 1252). The death of their oldest son Philip in 1218 left Louis as the new heir to the throne. Louis VIII was busy in these years running military campaigns in his father’s name in England and in the south of France. Louis IX’s formative influence seems to have been his strong-willed mother, Blanche, the Spanish princess who had come to France to marry Prince Louis in 1200 and whom much later Geoffrey of Beaulieu would describe as having the “the heart of a man” (ch. 4). She also seems to have been sincerely devout and to have instilled in the young Louis a set of religious values that would remain with him all his life. Later hagiographers noted that she recruited religious men of learning to oversee Louis’ education, and Geoffrey of Beaulieu recounted the story that she would rather Louis die than that he commit a mortal sin (ch. 4).

Philip Augustus died in 1223 and was succeeded by Louis VIII. The new king was just thirty-six at the time and probably anticipated a long reign, but he ruled for only three years, dying unexpectedly from illness in 1226 as he was returning from a military campaign in the south. Louis IX was only twelve, and he was rushed to Reims to be crowned and anointed king

²For the period immediately before Louis’s reign a perfect introduction is John W. Baldwin, *Paris, 1200* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010).

as soon as possible to secure the succession. Although the Capetian dynasty by this point was well entrenched,³ the vacuum left by the succession of a young, untried king invited some northern princes, jealous of the growth of Capetian power under Philip Augustus and unhappy about the prominence of a foreign queen, to mount a rebellion. It was the foreign queen, Blanche, who quashed it, established a settlement, and then effectively ruled as regent during her son's minority. A series of religious foundations that were later credited to Louis were probably initiated by Blanche in this period—most notably the Cistercian monastery at Royaumont that later became one of Louis' favorite retreats; she must also have played a significant role in the early reception of the Franciscans and Dominicans in Paris.

In 1234 Louis married Marguerite of Provence, the count of Provence's eldest daughter. This alliance was desirable given the expansion of Capetian power south into Languedoc in the wake of the Albigensian Crusade. It was thus a political marriage, arranged by Blanche, but one which seems to have suited Louis. The sources sometimes suggest tensions in the relationship, but all in all it seems to have been a good match.⁴ Marguerite bore Louis eleven children, took command and defended Damietta during Louis' captivity in Egypt (see below), and displayed moments of tenderness and affection toward the king, even if she was sometimes frustrated by his extreme expressions of piety.⁵

That piety demonstrates Louis' participation in (and later, as a saint, his representation of) some of the trends in thirteenth-century lay spirituality often associated with the rise of the mendicant movement, most importantly the Dominicans (*Fratres praedicatores*, Order of Preachers or Preaching Brothers) and Franciscans (*Fratres minores*, Brothers Minor

³Philip II was the first of the Capetian kings not to feel the need to "co-crown" his heir before he died. This was a practice established by the first of the Capetians, Hugh Capet (r. 987–96) when he crowned his heir Robert the Pious (r. 996–1031) before his own death, and followed by every later king up to Louis VII (d. 1180), who had Philip Augustus co-crowned in 1179.

⁴See Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge*, 5–8.

⁵Marguerite of Provence is not as well studied as she should be. The only full length biography, Gérard Sivéry, *Marguerite de Provence: Une reine au temps des Cathédrales* (Paris: Fayard, 1987), leaves a good deal of room for future research. Nancy Goldstone, *Four Queens: The Provençal Sisters Who Ruled Europe* (New York: Viking, 2007), is an engaging recent work of popular history.

or Lesser Brothers).⁶ The wild success of the mendicant orders in the first half of the century grew out of broader shifts in lay religiosity characterized by a new valorization of personal penitence and humility and active participation in the world through charity, away from an older monastic model that prioritized contemplation and ascetic retreat from the secular world. These forces also affected the evolving portrait of lay sanctity. While clerics and monks continued to be revered as saints, now lay men and women who had embraced practices of self-denial and active charity were increasingly also considered worthy of sainthood. Louis was particularly attracted to and influenced by the new mendicant movement, and it is no accident that his earliest biographers, Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres, were both Dominicans attached to his court.

Louis' religious ideals were also in evidence when, in 1238, he purchased from Baldwin II, emperor of Constantinople, the Crown of Thorns which Christ was believed to have worn during his Passion, and then in subsequent years other Passion relics. To house these relics he rebuilt the royal chapel in the palace on the Ile de la Cité in Paris, the Sainte-Chapelle. The Crown of Thorns was a potent symbol of Christic and sacral kingship, underscoring the Capetians' understanding that they were "Most Christian Kings," ruling by grace of God, heirs to the Old Testament kings such as David and Solomon, and that France was the new Israel. The Crown of Thorns represented at once the Passion of Christ, and thus the humility and humanity that resonated strongly with the spiritual trends of the thirteenth century, and also the kingship of Christ, from which the institution of kingship took its authority and sacral quality. These ideas were woven into the iconographic scheme of the Sainte-Chapelle, and the Crown of Thorns became central to the development of the mystique and authority of the king—what historians have come to call "the cult of kingship."⁷

⁶A good summary is found in André Vauchez, "Lay People's Sanctity in Western Europe: Evolution of a Pattern (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Tímea Szell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 21–33. Much of this is also treated in Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), and idem, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel Ethan Bornstein (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993).

⁷Daniel Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alyce Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle*,