

Copyright
by
Kara Desire Scott
2011

**The Thesis Committee for Kara Desire Scott
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:**

Manuscripts and Memory: Charles V (1364-1380) at Vincennes

**APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

Supervisor:

Joan A. Holladay

Jeffrey Chipps Smith

Manuscripts and Memory: Charles V (1364-1380) at Vincennes

by

Kara Desire Scott, B.A.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2011

Abstract

Manuscripts and Memory: Charles V (1365-1380) at Vincennes

Kara Desire Scott, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2011

Supervisor: Joan A. Holladay

In this thesis I examine the manuscript collection held at the château of Vincennes during the reign of Charles V of France (1364-1380). From the original collection of fifty-six, dispersed after the king's death in 1380, ten complete manuscripts and one fragment are extant. Through an analysis of the existing manuscripts and information taken from the 1380 inventory of the king's collection at Vincennes, I consider these manuscripts as a curatorial grouping that forms its own system of meaning, independent of the king's larger collection of manuscripts at the Louvre. I argue that this collection conveyed a coherent and concerted collection practice, and I examine the ways these manuscripts shaped royal identity and animated social memory.

Charles V, third Valois king of France, ruled during the Hundred Years' War. Interestingly, during this time of relative instability, Charles established what is known as his most lasting cultural achievement, a royal library at the Louvre in 1368. All that remains of Charles' impressive collection of over a thousand manuscripts are detailed inventories compiled by his court officers as well as a limited number of surviving volumes.

The royal inventory describes the contents of each volume, the exterior ornamentation and binding, and the interior illumination. Although these records are not detailed enough to reconstruct books that are now lost, it is clear that this collection was extremely luxurious both in exterior decoration and interior painting. Among the manuscript paintings in this collection there exists a stylistic continuity, with many of the illustrations either executed by or in the style of Parisian illuminator, Jean Pucelle. I maintain that this stylistic continuity, among other characteristics, define these manuscripts as a collection.

Furthermore, I present an alternative model for interpreting the manuscripts at Vincennes that emphasizes how the works functioned collectively. I argue that all of the unifying characteristics of this collection carried meaning for the reader or viewer at Vincennes. This includes the fact that, according to the specifics of the inventories, many of the manuscripts were originally intended for a reader other than Charles, suggesting a heretofore-unexplored memorial function of the collection.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Charles V, King and Collector	12
Life of Charles V.....	12
Charles as Patron and Collector of Manuscripts.....	15
Charles and His Royal Residences	18
Chapter 2: The Manuscripts of Vincennes as a Curatorial Group	20
A Royal Collection.....	20
The Extant Manuscripts from the Vincennes Collection	23
Unifying Characteristics	40
Chapter 3: Vincennes as Memorial and Site of Installation	47
History of Vincennes as Royal Residence.....	48
Vincennes, Saint Louis, and the Capetians	51
Vincennes, Charles V, and the Valois.....	57
Vincennes as Counterpoint to Paris and Memorial.....	63
Chapter 4: Interpretive Possibilities for the Vincennes Manuscripts	67
Charles V, Conceptions of Memory, and the Book.....	67
The Vincennes Manuscript Collection as Memorial.....	71
Narrative of Continuity at Vincennes.....	80
Conclusion	82

Figures	86
Appendix A: 1380 Inventory from Vincennes.....	106
Bibliography	114

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Scenes from the Life of Saint Louis. <i>Grandes Chroniques de France</i> , Paris, BNF ms. fr. 2813, fol. 265r.	94
Figure 1.2: Baptismal Procession on Dec. 6, 1328 with the Dauphin Charles VI with his Godmother Jeanne d'Evreux. <i>Grandes Chroniques de France</i> . Paris, BNF ms. fr. 2813, fol. 446v.	95
Figure 2.1: The <i>donjon</i> exterior from the château de Vincennes	96
Figure 2.2: Coronation and Death of the Virgin. <i>The Ingeborg Psalter</i> . Chantilly, Musée Condé ms. lat. 1695, folio 16v.	97
Figure 2.3: The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel. <i>The Saint Louis Psalter</i> . Paris, BNF ms. lat. 10525, folio 1v.	98
Figure 2.4: Psalm 1: David and Bathsheba; David Kneels in Prayer Before Christ. <i>The Saint Louis Psalter</i> . Paris, BNF ms. lat. fol. 85v	99
Figure 2.5: Psalm 1: David and Bathsheba; David Kneels in Prayer Before Christ. <i>The Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France</i> . Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms 300, fol. 13v.	100
Figure 2.6: Anointing of David and David and Goliath. <i>The Breviary of Philippe le Bel</i> . Paris, BNF ms. lat. 1023, fol. 1v.	101
Figure 2.7: Christ Carrying the Cross and the Annunciation. <i>The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux</i> . New York, Cloisters ms 54.1.2.	102
Figure 2.8: Calendar page. <i>Belleville Breviary</i> . Paris, BNF ms. lat. 10484, folio 6v.	103
Figure 2.9: Calendar page. <i>Hours of Yolande de Flandres</i> . London, British Library, Yates Thompson 27, fol. 11r.	104

Figure 2.10: Charles V with St. Anthony and St Julian Crossing the Water. Hours of Blanche de Bourgogne. New Haven, Beinecke Library ms. 390 fol. 45r.	105
Figure 2.11: Psalm 109. Breviary of Charles V. Paris, BNF ms. lat. 1052 fol. 261r.	106
Figure 2.12: The Visitation. The Hours of Yolande de Flandres. London, British Library, Yates Thompson 27 fol. 44v.	107
Figure 3.1: Château of Vincennes, plan	108
Figure 3.2: Château de Vincennes, mural painting.....	109
Figure 3.3: Sainte Chapelle, plan. Vincennes.	110
Figure 3.4: Sainte Chapelle, facade. Vincennes.	111
Figure 3.5: Sainte Chapelle, plan. Paris.	112
Figure 3.6: Sainte Chapelle, facade. Paris.	113

Introduction

I was initially drawn to the inventories of Charles V's library as a way of learning more about manuscripts commissioned by or for royal, Capetian women. I did not anticipate developing an interest in the collection of a Valois king; however one of the many unsolved mysteries of Capetian royal women's manuscripts is that so many of them *do* appear in the collection of Charles V, who was the third Valois king of France and ruled from 1364 to 1380.

I believe that these manuscripts, along with several others, came to form a curatorial grouping, based on their shared characteristics, histories, and installation at Vincennes, a royal residence not far from Paris. I will argue that this collection conveyed a coherent and concerted collection practice and examine the ways these manuscripts shaped royal identity and animated social memory.

Charles V is perhaps best known for being the scholar or bibliophile king of France during the middle ages, mainly for his large collection of books and for his attention to the administration and maintenance of his collection. Charles' habits in building, collecting, and commissioning manuscripts have been examined before. In 1907 former curator of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Léopold Delisle published his work on the inventories Giles Malet had compiled for Charles as *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*. From these documents it is clear that the outstanding characteristics of Charles's collection were its size and diversity. Charles acquired a large number of manuscripts covering nearly every topic, including religious,

classical, and literary texts. Delisle fails to note any collecting trends apparent in this large compilation of manuscripts, and, as yet, neither historians nor art historians have attempted the daunting task of considering this collection in its totality. Scholars with an interest in medieval books and their owners have long relied on this foundational study, and it has served a wide variety of studies from constructing the libraries of other members of the royal family, to discerning what literary trends were popular at Charles' court, even in tracking individual volumes that either originated in or were known to have passed through the Charles' library.

Delisle's study has become an invaluable resource when it comes to tracking down important manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The descriptions in his study come from inventories and records kept contemporaneous to the library's establishment in 1368. Gilles Malet, who had formally served as Charles' *valet de chambre*, was appointed by Charles as the keeper of the manuscript collection in 1369, a post he held until his death in 1411.¹ Much can be inferred from Malet's inventories – from the organization of the space itself to the importance of certain criteria in identifying a book (or giving a book its identity).

These criteria, or how a manuscript was described for the purposes of record-keeping, are essential to my study. The overwhelming majority of volumes in Charles' collections both at the Louvre and Vincennes is no longer extant. And, among those that have survived, it would be virtually impossible to identify them as the same volumes

¹ Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1907) 2: 10-12.

listed in Charles' collections without the use of Malet's descriptions. There is a moderate amount of variation throughout Malet's descriptions, but many volumes are described by a small set of criteria. Descriptions often identify the subject matter, a history, a religious work, or another genre. The relative size of the volume is usually mentioned as *grand*, *très grand*, or *petit*. In a few cases Malet mentions how Charles came to acquire the book, either through purchase, gift, or bequest. The binding and adornments are almost always described as is the level of craftsmanship of the text and illustrations.

Charles' manuscript collection was housed, for the most part, in a specially built library at the Louvre, although smaller and less impressive numbers of manuscripts have been recorded from his other residences as well, notably Melun, Saint-Pol and Saint-Germain-en-Laye. In this thesis, I will focus on the collection kept at Vincennes during the years of Charles V's reign. There are distinctions between the collection at the Louvre and the collections of manuscripts Charles kept at his other residences. This thesis is organized into four chapters. In the first chapter, I will introduce the reader to the collections of Charles V, both at the Louvre and in his other residences. Additionally, I will argue that his habits in his patronage of manuscripts are very much aligned with his habits in manuscript *collecting*.

The second chapter will be an extremely brief look at each of the extant manuscripts from Charles' collection at Vincennes. At the time of the king's death, there were fifty-six manuscripts that appeared to be permanently installed in the king's chambers at the château. Only ten manuscripts and one fragment have survived to this

day. The scholarship dedicated to each of these manuscripts is extensive, as they make up some of the most luxurious and best researched manuscripts from the Gothic period in France. I will focus my efforts on the characteristics that bind these remaining manuscripts together as a curatorial group and incorporate what little we know about the now lost forty-six manuscripts. I will argue that these unifying characteristics, as I call them, clearly show that these manuscripts were not brought together accidentally but with a clear consciousness of their style and meaning.

The third chapter is dedicated to the chateau and wood of Vincennes. I will briefly relate its history, but the aim of this chapter is to explore some of the possible reasons *why* Vincennes was chosen as the site for this collection. Vincennes held a significant place in the history of the dynasty of French kings as well as in the personal histories of Charles and his family. I will argue that all these factors coalesced and built an *interpretive framework* within which the manuscript collection was defined and perceived.

The fourth chapter rests on the first three and is an exploration of the possible *meanings* the collection would have taken on at Vincennes. It is unusual in studies of medieval art to focus so tightly and in such a controlled manner on one specific grouping of items that only occurred for such a brief and defined set of time – truly limited to less than the span of Charles' reign from 1364 to 1380. As evidenced from inventories of several of the king's residences in the year of his death, we can assume that the interpretive framework created by the situation of the collection at Vincennes was largely

a product of a life's work and planning, was in place for only a short time, and for the benefit of an extremely limited and privileged audience. I will argue that this collection and its installation at Vincennes sought to activate the social memory of the site and acted as an agent of royal and dynastic identity for Charles and his family.

I will conclude with remarks about the dispersal of Charles' collections following his death and the later history of Vincennes. Despite making stipulations in his will that his collection at the Louvre remain intact, scholars know that, between Charles V's death in 1380 and the end of the reign of his son and successor Charles VI (1380-1422), volumes in the Louvre collection began to disappear. Many of the finer manuscripts in Charles V's collection, especially those from Vincennes, were passed on to other family members – including his brother and distinguished art collector, Jean duc de Berry. Neither collection was ever again re-united in its totality.

State of the Research

Knowledge of Charles' interest in books and study from books dates back nearly to the king's own lifetime. In 1404 Christine de Pisan authored a first-hand account of the life of Charles V of France, *Le livre des fait et bonnes moeurs du sage roy Charles V*.² Even to his contemporaries, Charles V was widely known as “le Sage,” the scholar-king of medieval France. Christine de Pisan was not the only writer to pen a

² For the purposes of this study I have used a modern French translation Christine de Pisan by Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau. Christine de Pisan, *Le livres des fait et bonnes moeurs du sage roy Charles V*, trans. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris, 1997).

panegyric dedicated to Charles V, but she was one of the few to have benefited directly from the king's vast collection of manuscripts at the Louvre in Paris.³

Apart from the collection at the Louvre, Charles kept a smaller number of manuscripts at other royal residences: Melun, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Beauté, l'Hôtel-de-Saint-Pol, and at Vincennes. Charles kept a small collection of fifty-six manuscripts at Vincennes. Unlike his large and diverse collection of some 1200 manuscripts at the Louvre, the collection at Vincennes comprised almost exclusively devotional texts.⁴ Remarkably, the majority of these were not commissioned by Charles or his household. Members of the previous ruling dynasty, the Capetians, and other high-ranking nobles had commissioned nine out of the ten extant manuscripts as well as the single fragment. Charles commissioned a single volume. Scholars are able to identify that these books were kept at Vincennes through Delisle's publication and a separate inventory taken of the objects at Vincennes. This second inventory was conducted at the king's death in 1380 and executed by three court officials: Giles Malet, Monseigneur de la Rivière, and Hennequin du Vivier. The original document entitled *Inventoire des joyaux, reliques, et autres chose estans en l'estude du roy en la tour du bois de Vincennes empres la haute chambre* is now at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF ms. fr. 2705). Historian,

³ Christine de Pisan's family was brought from Italy to France, so her father could work as Charles' personal physician and astrologer. Her high level of education and subsequent career as an author is often seen as a credit to the emphasis placed on learning at Charles' court. For a fuller discussion of Christine's activities at court, see Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France* (London, 2001): 34, 47-49, and 52.

⁴ Etienne Dennery, "Preface," in *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1968): x.

Jules Labarte published this inventory along with his own remarks on Vincennes in 1879 as *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*.⁵ There is a consistency between Labarte's publication and Delisle's, owing to the fact that Malet was the original author of both inventories. The 1380 inventory describes the kinds of texts found in each volume, the exterior ornamentation and binding, and the interior illumination and historiation. Although these records are not detailed enough to reconstruct the layout of books that are now lost, it is clear that these were extremely luxurious books both in their exterior decoration and interior painting. Francois Avril, the former chief curator of French manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale, described these books as a "reserve" collection of that held at the Louvre and the most precious pieces in Charles's collection.⁶ Few have attempted to answer why Charles chose these specific volumes to be kept at Vincennes or how these manuscripts would have functioned as a collection, although scholars have generated a great deal of research on these volumes individually. These manuscripts have formed an almost canonical group, representing the high points of

⁵ The inventory from Vincennes included furniture, jewels, and other luxury items in addition to manuscripts. Labarte was a historian of decorative arts, and he focuses on the interior decoration and furniture of Vincennes in his report. Significant portions of BNF ms. fr. 2705 reproduced in the published proceedings of a 1994 conference on Vincennes, see *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne: Les Capétiens et Vincennes au Moyen Age*, ed. Jean Chapelot and Elisabeth Lalou (Paris, 1996): 338-341.

⁶ The only attempt to discuss these manuscripts as a group was by Francois Avril, in notes presented at the conference held at Vincennes in 1994. See Avril, "Les livres de Charles V au château de Vincennes," *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne*, 329-340. In his introductory remarks, Avril notes that the illustration in these manuscripts are exemplary of French Gothic illumination.

French manuscript illumination between 1200 and 1380.⁷ I will argue that Charles V brought these manuscripts, among the most luxurious in his entire collection, to Vincennes as part of his larger designs for the site as a counterpoint and complement to sites of the veneration of the dynastic saint Louis in Paris.

Many of the illustrations in the extant manuscripts were either executed by or painted in the style of Parisian illuminator Jean Pucelle, creating a stylistic continuity among the existing works. The single volume in this collection that was commissioned by Charles, a breviary, was completed in the years after Pucelle's death, but also shows a faithfulness to the "Pucellian" style, thus betraying a certain awareness of style as an important unifying characteristic of this collection. Jean Pucelle was active in Paris a generation before Charles' birth; he died in 1334. His work was especially popular with the royal women of the Capetian house. Art historian Joan Holladay has argued for a "consciousness of style," a turn towards older modes of representation with the purpose of emulation. This became an important element of manuscript illumination following the death of Louis IX in 1270 and continued to the end of the Capetian dynasty in 1328.⁸ I will argue that this and changing attitudes toward style and Gothic book illumination motivated Charles's collection practice and the commission of his own breviary, also kept at Vincennes.

⁷ Avril, "Les livres de Charles V," 331.

⁸ Joan A. Holladay. "Consciousness of Style in Gothic Art," *Opus Tessellatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift for Peter Cornelius Claussen*, ed. Katharina Corsepius et al. (Hildesheim, 2004): 303-314.

The individual manuscripts of Charles's collections have generated more published research than the whole. This is especially true for the surviving manuscripts from Vincennes. The extant manuscripts from the collection at Vincennes are as follows: the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musée Condé ms. lat.1695); the Saint Louis Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 10525); Psalter of Isabelle of France (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms. 300); the Breviary of Philippe le Bel (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 1023); a royal manuscript of unknown ownership (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 13233); the Belleville Breviary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 10483); Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters ms. 54.1.2); Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux (Chantilly, Musée Condé ms. 51); the Hours of Yolande de Flandres (London, British Library, Yates Thompson 27); the Savoy Hours (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library ms. 390); and the Breviary of Charles V of France (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 1052). The essential publications on these individual manuscripts will be noted when the books are discussed in chapter three.

These manuscripts, due to their excellent states of preservation, splendor of decoration, and luxurious materials have come to represent Gothic book illumination in its finest form. Although scholarship dedicated to these individual manuscripts is extensive, scholars have hardly examined the role of Charles V as a later collector and reader of these manuscripts. The majority of these studies have awarded primacy to the

original context of interpretation and reading of these texts, with less interest in how the interpretations of these manuscripts have changed over time and in different interpretive frameworks. In recent decades, scholars have shown interest in medieval book ownership and use among women. And scholarship devoted to the patronage of Capetian women has proven especially useful in developing a knowledge of the collection at Vincennes.

Another unifying characteristic of Charles's collection, and, I would argue a meaningful one, is that women were the original intended owners of the majority of the extant manuscripts from Vincennes, a phenomena that art historians have noted but have not explored in sufficient detail.

Joan Holladay has remarked on the relatively large number of manuscripts that appear in Charles' collection that were previously owned by Capetian women.⁹ In her study on the *Grandes Chroniques* of Charles V, Anne D. Hedeman has argued for a preoccupation with the previous ruling dynasty as evidenced in the illustration cycle. Hedeman has argued elsewhere for dynastic legitimacy as a primary theme expressed in art commissioned by the Valois.¹⁰ Carra Ferguson O'Meara has noticed a similar motivation in her study on the coronation ordo of Charles V; O'Meara describes the use of the image of Charlemagne and Clovis as part of a larger program of "cultural

⁹ See Holladay, "Fourteenth-century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Evreux and her Contemporaries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 69-70.

¹⁰ Anne Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley, 1991): 98-99 and 102-105. See also Anne Hedeman, "Valois Legitimacy: Editorial Changes in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*," *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 97-117.

translation” used to reinforce Valois legitimacy.¹¹ This scholarship demonstrates Charles’s sophisticated manipulation of manuscript production and decoration to further his political position; this thesis addresses for the first time, however, how trends in his collecting of manuscripts contributed to this agenda.

¹¹ Carra Ferguson O’Meara discusses this at length in her book *Monarchy and Consent*, 15-16, 41-47, and 60-67.

Chapter 1: Charles V, King and Collector

Life of Charles V

Charles V “le Sage” was the third of the Valois kings of France, and during his reign he defended Valois authority in France against Plantagenet claims to the throne and recovered territories ceded to the English in the Treaty of Brétigny during the Hundred Years’ War. The war was actually a series of conflicts following the end of the Capetian dynasty in 1328 and arising out of competing claims for the French throne from the Valois, the king of Navarre, and the English Plantagenets.

The Valois came to the throne of France after Charles IV and his queen, Jeanne d’Evreux, failed to produce a male heir. French customary law, also known as Salic Law, stipulated agnatic succession.¹² This tenet reserved the right of succession to the French throne exclusively to direct, male heirs. This prevented Capetian as well as any male children they might have women from ascending to the throne. When Jeanne d’Evreux gave birth to her daughter Blanche of France in 1328, Charles IV was already deceased, and any hope for the continuation of the Capetian line died out with Blanche’s birth.¹³ Philip VI, also known as “le Fortuné” for his good luck at unexpectedly ascending to the French throne, was the closest male heir to the Capetians, the first Valois king of France, and grandfather to Charles V.

¹² For a clear explanation of Salic Law and its stipulations, see Robert Knecht, *The Valois Kings of France, 1328-1589* (London, 2004): 2 and 14-15.

¹³ Knecht describes Jeanne d’Evreux’s role in France at the end of the Capetian line; see Knecht, *The Valois*, 2-3.

If contemporary reports are to be believed, Charles was very unlike his father, King Jean II “le Bon,” whose interest in battle was not mirrored in his son. Charles was more interested in strengthening the security of his kingdom and in his intellectual pursuits. While Jean II may be best known for being taken into captivity on the battlefield, Charles is better known for investing in strategic, architectural defenses that would protect his capital and his family in the event of an English invasion.¹⁴ Charles V effectively replaced the walls of Paris that had been erected under Philippe Auguste more than a century earlier. The walls Charles V constructed made accommodations for the expanding suburbs. In addition to a newly fortified wall surrounding Paris, Charles also made considerable investments in renovating the Louvre and other royal residences. As the city expanded over time the practicality of the Louvre as a defensive fortress had lessened; however, Charles V, cautious about the Hundred Years’ War, built up the foundations of the Louvre in addition to other architectural changes.¹⁵

Charles was not slow to defend the Valois right to the throne through artistic, literary, and political means. A large part of these efforts were focused on emphasizing the links between the Valois and Capetian dynasties, thus giving the semblance of continuity between ruling houses and legitimacy to the Valois claim. Charles depended on what

¹⁴ Jean Chapelot has hypothesized that Charles’ concerns about his safety and that of his family may be one of the reasons he spent relatively little time in Paris and more time in his other residences. He believed that Paris would be the target of English forces in the event of an invasion. See Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes, une résidence royale au moyen âge* (Paris, 1994) 44-45.

¹⁵ For more information about Charles’ renovations of the Louvre, see Knecht, *The Valois*, 15-17.

Carra Ferguson O'Meara describes as “an active program of cultural translations.”¹⁶

These translations involved drawing comparisons or eliciting significant similarities between Charles V and popular French rulers of the past: Clovis, Charlemagne, and the royal saint of the Capetian dynasty, King Louis IX. I believe that this program of “cultural translation” was also enacted at the château and wood of Vincennes through the installation of art and objects there that highlighted the estate’s connection to Saint Louis and to Charles. I will explore this possibility further in chapter three.

The figure of Saint Louis was a linchpin in the debate and struggle for legitimate rulership. In the 1340s, undoubtedly to curry favor with French people, Edward III had proclamations posted in churches in northern France in which he compared his impending rule of the country to the “good laws” that marked Saint Louis’ own reign.¹⁷ Edward’s desire to claim the French throne ran deeply. Edward claimed the French throne his mother, Isabelle, the sister of Kings Louis X “le Hutin,” Philippe V “le Long,” and Charles IV “le Bel.” Edward’s uncles were unable to produce heirs, and Isabelle was unable to confer the throne on her son, Edward. It would not have been unusual if

¹⁶ Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France* (London, 2001): 40.

¹⁷ For a description of how Edward used these proclamations, see Marguerite Keane “Remembering Louis IX as a Family Saint: A Study of the Images of Saint Louis Created for Jeanne, Blanche and Marie de Navarre” (PhD. diss. UC Santa Barbara, 2002): 44-45. Ann D. Hedeman also discusses Edward’s use of the ‘image’ of Saint Louis in his campaign for the French throne; see Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley, 1991): 63-64. For a more detailed explanation of how the English and French royal families were interconnected both politically and personally, see Malcolm Vale, *The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340* (Oxford, 1990): 21-24.

Edward III had been raised with Saint Louis as a model for good rulership, as was the case with many of the saint's other descendants.¹⁸ In any case, for both Charles V and Edward III, Saint Louis was a galvanizing figure, and his presence in social memory still played an important role in the narrative of the dynasties of France *and* England even close to a century after his death.

Charles as Patron and Collector of Manuscripts

In copies of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* made during his reign, Charles V's anxieties about legitimacy are evidenced in the choice of illustration. This phenomenon is the focus of Anne D. Hedeman's 1991 study on the *Grandes Chroniques*. In it Hedeman argues that dynastic legitimacy is a recurring theme through the program of illustration of the official histories of France and the monarchy. The *Grandes Chroniques*, in the authoritative version that took shape during the reign of Charles V, begin with the fall of Troy and end with the death of Charles VI in the 1380s. The text survives in 130 extant manuscripts. The majority of these manuscripts were illustrated, and the wide variation in the illustration seems to suggest that there was a certain level of personalization free to the patron. The version of the *Grandes Chroniques* (BNF fr. 2813) illustrated under the patronage of Charles V featured a very dense cycle of the life of

¹⁸ This seems to be true for both male and female descendants of Saint Louis as evidenced by the cycles of Louis imagery that appear in personalized manuscripts designed for descendants across France and even in England; see Marguerite Keane, "Remembering Louis IX," 16-30.

Saint Louis, which seems to carry on the Capetian tradition of veneration of the dynastic saint (Fig 1.1).

Equally notable is the high esteem with which Jeanne d'Evreux is featured in the *Grandes Chroniques*. Jeanne was the widow of the last Capetian king of France, Charles IV, and also the great-granddaughter of Saint Louis. She was chosen to be the godmother of Charles V's oldest son and heir, the future Charles VI, and she is depicted in the *Grandes Chroniques* with the child in her arms, at the head of his baptismal procession (Fig. 1.2). Jeanne's close relationship to Charles V and his son, sealed through the ritual of baptism, only further links the Valois kings with the Capetians and Saint Louis specifically. The *Grandes Chroniques* were an especially powerful vehicle for memory making. They were the "official" histories of the state and the crown and, as such, preserved a narrative of the kingdom formed by the dominant social group in that kingdom, in this case, Charles and the royal family.

Using the inventories of Charles' own collections Joan Holladay reconstructed portions of Jeanne d'Evreux's own collection of books in her article, "Fourteenth-century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Evreux and Her Contemporaries."¹⁹ A few of Jeanne's most precious manuscripts appear in records of Charles' manuscript collections. One of them, the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, was bequeathed to Charles in her will. Jeanne's book, however, was not the only Capetian

¹⁹ Joan A. Holladay, "Fourteenth-century French queens as collectors and readers of books: Jeanne d'Evreux and her contemporaries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 69-100.

manuscript to belong to Charles; he owned *several* copies of the *heures saint Loys*, at least four of which were originally commissioned for or by members of the Capetian royal house.

Charles' commissioning of manuscripts reflected his concerns about the perceived dynastic continuity between the Capetian and Valois lines, as well as for his own, individual public image. As a king, Charles was astute in his use of artworks, and Brigitte Buettner has described this as evidence of, "perhaps for the first time, the notion of 'cultural policy.'" ²⁰ Buettner notes that this extended into many different media, including sculpture, literature, architecture, painting, and book illumination. Buettner focuses on Valois patronage of the arts, but she fails to mention the numerous and varied works that were collected, acquired, and shared between the Valois, including significant relics and works of art passed down from the Capetians. With information from the inventories, we know that Charles was a collector of imagery of St. Louis as well as a patron of such imagery; however the possible implications of his habits as a collector have yet to be fully explored. In the middle ages, relics were believed to have contained the curative powers of the saint who owned them, powers that gave the relic, itself, an ability to heal or bestow blessings on those who venerated it. In keeping with this belief, I will contend that the objects collected by Charles were likewise endowed with a dynastic

²⁰ Buettner sees this behavior as beginning with Charles' father, Jean le Bon, and growing more sophisticated with Charles and his brothers, Louis I duc d'Anjou, Jean, duc de Berry, and Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne; see Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," *The Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 76.

and familial resonance by virtue of their prior owners. This was certainly true for the objects Charles inherited that had once been part of St. Louis' property.

Charles and His Royal Residences

The royal residences of the kings of France were scattered throughout the country. There were a few that Charles and his court frequented with regularity. Others, like the Capetian castle at Poissy and the château at Saint-Germain-en-Laye were visited less often. Charles' projects at these residences were relatively minor in comparison to the improvements he made at his other residences.

Charles' building projects were not limited to Paris and the surrounding area. Charles began construction on the Hôtel de Saint-Pol in Paris in 1361, with the intention of creating a development of lands and residences vast enough to accommodate his expanding court. The Hôtel de Saint-Pol, like Vincennes, had been a Capetian residence originally built by Louis IX. Charles constructed his own residence on the foundations of the Capetian buildings. At Hôtel Saint-Pol Charles could entertain his household and his queen's in a series of courtyards, galleries, and gardens. The hôtel was also designed as a place of pleasure and relaxation, like Beauté-sur-Marne.²¹ The royal palace and grounds at Beauté-sur-Marne was close to the château and wood of Vincennes but offered added privacy due to its distance from Paris. Charles acquired the residence to please his queen, Jeanne, and it seems to have been a more intimate retreat for the royal family.

²¹ For a lengthier description of the Hôtel de Saint-Pol and Charles' activities there, see Knecht, *The Valois*, 16-18. Also see, Françoise Autrand, *Charles V* (Paris, 1994): 77-81.

Unlike the restful Hôtel de Saint-Pol and Beauté-sur-Marne, Charles V made improvements to the Louvre for reasons of security and practicality. During his reign, Charles fortified the foundations and defensive features of the Louvre. The plan of the palace was not significantly altered; however Charles did construct two additional wings and install an external staircase. The library was greatly improved and re-located to the retired Falconry Tower. Throughout his reign, Charles divided his time largely among the Louvre, the Hôtel de Saint-Pol, Vincennes, and Beauté-sur-Marne. These four residences are located in or relatively close to Paris. They each served the royal family and court in different ways: Hôtel de Saint-Pol was a retreat large enough to house the king's and queen's households and most of the court. Beauté-sur-Marne provided a more private retreat for the royal family. The Louvre was Charles' official home in his capital and center of his administrative powers. Vincennes, located now in a suburb of Paris, was neither a retreat nor an administrative center. The woods surrounding the château were used as hunting grounds and reserved for sport, as well as supplying game for the royal table. I will argue that the château of Vincennes served another purpose in addition to being a royal hunting lodge, evidenced by the magnificent collection of manuscripts documented there in 1380.

Chapter 2: The Manuscripts of Vincennes as a Curatorial Group

A Royal Collection

Researching the implications of the collection and its situation at Vincennes rests firmly on the assumption that the manuscripts there were intended as a collection. In 1996 François Avril, curator of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale, listed some of the characteristics that define the entries of fifty-six manuscripts as a collection: the texts are almost exclusively for liturgical, lay use; the manuscripts are all described as being extremely luxurious, both in their exterior decoration and interior text and painting; and the manuscripts almost all had owners and readers prior to Charles.²² A final factor that distinguishes the Vincennes manuscripts as a collection: at Charles' other residences, apart from the Louvre, the manuscript groupings were small and non-uniform, appearing to be rather haphazard, making the collection at Vincennes seem to be more considered and deliberate by comparison. Avril's brief remarks about Charles V's manuscripts at Vincennes represent the only mention in the scholarship of the group of fifty-six manuscripts as a "collection."²³ This presumes a certain curatorial role in the organization and choice of manuscripts at Vincennes. Several characteristics unify the entries of manuscripts, providing a sense of continuity and apparent totality.

²² François Avril has discussed the links between these manuscripts in prior publications, but this conference marked the first time he defined these books as a collection; see François Avril, "Les livres de Charles V au château de Vincennes," in *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne*, (Paris, 1996): 330-332.

²³ Avril "Les livres de Charles V," 331.

A closer look at the inventory entries that describe this collection reveal further consistencies. No fewer than twenty-nine of the manuscripts are documented as having had prior owners or showing visible signs of prior ownership, evident from the exterior adornments.²⁴ Several of these manuscripts had belonged to descendants of the Capetian line, including former queens of France, Ingeborg, Jeanne d'Evreux, and Marie de Brabant, and former king Philippe le Bel.²⁵ This collection of books associated with members of the Capetian dynasty also included two volumes known to have been in the possession of Saint Louis: the Ingeborg Psalter and the Saint Louis Psalter.²⁶ Other manuscripts, in keeping with the "Capetian theme," included prayers dedicated to Saint Louis.²⁷ Members of Charles' immediate family, his parents Jean le Bon and Bonne de Luxembourg and his wife Jeanne de Bourbon, were also represented in the collection. At least four of his mother's books were recorded in the inventory, as was one of his father's.²⁸ Five of Jeanne de Bourbon's manuscripts also remained at Vincennes until 1380.²⁹ It appears as if this collection at Vincennes, in addition to containing the most

²⁴ Refer to the appendix for a transcription of the inventory entries from 1380. Manuscripts showing signs of prior ownership or known to have had previous owners are identified in Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 2850, 3045, 3046, 3048, 3050, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3057, 3062, 3063, 3279, 3283, 3284, 3288, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3305, 3307, 3308, and 3309.

²⁵ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3303, 3054 and 3295, 3288, and 3284 respectively.

²⁶ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3303 and 3304.

²⁷ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3051, 3066, and 3307.

²⁸ The manuscripts belonging to Bonne de Luxembourg are found in Labarte, nos. 3050, 3055, 3305, and 3309. The single volume from Jean le Bon is found in Labarte, no. 3279.

²⁹ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3048, 3053, 3301, 3302, and 3307.

visually stunning, celebrated, and valuable manuscripts of the age could almost all be traced to owners that were relations of Charles V.

The extreme luxury of the bindings of the manuscripts is another consistency that runs through the collection. Avril notes the luxury of the group in his own observations; however I would like to reiterate the importance of this aspect of the descriptions from the inventories. It is the sole feature of the collection that is *not* apparent in any of the preserved manuscripts. Any and all of the sumptuous fabrics, jewels, metalwork, and enamels that adorned the bindings of virtually every manuscript in the collection have been lost to time. These adornments, however, created an extra material dimension to the books. Fabrics and gems could serve to frame the manuscripts, identify them, or appeal to the reader's sense of touch.³⁰ Appealing to the senses in a different way than written text and painted images, these elements can also feed or evoke memory in a different way. In short, we must bear in mind that the material aspects outside of the traditional form of the manuscript would have also contributed to the function of the collection in ways we cannot fully recover.

In this chapter I will present an abbreviated introduction to the ten extant manuscripts and one fragment that remain of Charles' collection of fifty-six manuscripts from Vincennes. These preserved manuscripts and their paintings are by no means understudied: indeed they have come to represent the golden age of French Gothic

³⁰ For a brief description of how sensual appreciation feeds memory see Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (New York, 2001): 153.

illumination.³¹ My own observations are meant to complement the research that has already revealed a great deal about the political, cultural, and artistic milieu in which manuscript production and illumination were able to flourish. I will discuss the stylistic continuity evident in several of the manuscripts. An equally compelling unifying characteristic is the shared histories of the manuscripts. The majority of the volumes identified in the collection was not commissioned by Charles but was bequeathed to him or acquired by him from prestigious owners. I believe that the provenances of these volumes contributed to their function in the collection.

The Extant Manuscripts from the Vincennes Collection

The extant manuscripts from Vincennes form a rich, luxurious, and uniform collection, composed exclusively of religious materials. The authors of the 1380 inventory noted several locations at the chateau where manuscripts were kept: the *estude du roy*, the bedroom, and in the oratory of the king.³² All these rooms were located in the *donjon*, or the large, fortified, central tower that Charles V constructed at Vincennes in 1372 (Fig 2.1). These rooms were well-lit and well-protected in the tower.³³ From the same inventory it is evident that in addition to the collection of manuscripts Charles kept

³¹ For more on the art historical significance of these manuscripts refer to Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: the Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)* (New York, 1978) and François Avril and J.J.G. Alexander, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France* (London, 1996).

³² Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 2605-2634 and 2635-3066.

³³ I will discuss the architecture of the château and the situation of the king's apartments there in greater detail in chapter three.

an assortment of other precious objects in these same spaces. The oratory contained images of Saints Michael, Denis, Charlemagne, and Louis in gold and enamel and studded with pearls and other precious stones.³⁴ The king's study and larger chamber were similarly furnished with gold works, images of saints, and precious cloths and stones.³⁵ The choice to keep these manuscripts here, with other luxury objects, may suggest that these books functioned separately from their obvious role as texts. Considering the lavishness of the bindings of most, this collection may have been considered more as "luxury items" than as "religious texts." The remaining eleven manuscripts from Vincennes can only offer us a tiny window into what must have been a collection truly fit for a king and descendant of the national, royal saint.

Many of the manuscripts are known to us only through their descriptions in the inventory. And none of the manuscripts have been preserved in the same state that they once were. Undoubtedly this collection would have appeared very differently to a medieval audience. The reconstruction of the collection, even academically, is problematic and incomplete. It is a reconstruction of fragments. The bulk of this chapter is dedicated to what we know from the study of the preserved manuscripts. Even from this small portion of Charles' collection and the descriptions of the additional manuscripts, it is clear that Charles held an appreciation for these fine manuscripts that extended beyond what he could learn from reading and study alone.

³⁴ See Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 2466, 2480, 2482, and 2483 for descriptions of images of these saints. For the complete list of items in the oratory, see Labarte, *Inventaire*, 263-268.

³⁵ Labarte, *Inventaire*, 336-348.

The Ingeborg Psalter (Musée Condé ms. lat. 1695; Labarte, no. 3303)

The Ingeborg Psalter is the oldest surviving manuscript from Vincennes. The Psalter was made for the second wife of Philippe Auguste, Queen Ingeborg. At the time of the book's creation, around the year 1200, psalters were the popular lay devotional text. Books of hours would later come to surpass the psalter in daily use by the laity.³⁶ The psalms were read throughout the week, and the psalter itself was composed of several parts: a calendar, a picture preface, the text of the psalms, and a litany. The Ingeborg Psalter follows this general format. The manuscript is lavish, with gold grounds, full-page, color illustrations, and exquisite craftsmanship (Fig 2.2).

Ingeborg was the sister of King Knut of Denmark, and she married Philippe Auguste as part of a strategic alliance against England in 1193. Immediately following their marriage and Ingeborg's coronation, Philippe Auguste repudiated her, and he soon wed Agnes of Merania. The reason for the ruler's change of heart remains unknown, and his remarriage was not a popular decision among many in his court and kingdom. Ingeborg left court but was called back in 1213, again for reasons unknown. Philippe Auguste died in 1223 and was succeeded by his son Louis VIII. Louis VIII and his son, Louis IX, both recognized Ingeborg's status as a dowager queen. Ingeborg's fraught personal history has raised questions about the manuscript's origins, date of production,

³⁶ For an account of the rise of the popularity of the book of hours, see Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 742-745; Roger Wieck, Sandra Hindman, and Anne Bergeron-Foote, *Picturing Piety: The Book of Hours* (Seattle 2007): 45-54.

and ways it may have been interpreted.³⁷ It is still undecided as to whether Philippe Auguste commissioned the manuscript for his wife before her repudiation or if the book was made afterwards during her exile or perhaps even later following her reinstatement.

Charles acquired the Ingeborg Psalter from Jeanne d'Evreux in 1369. The Capetian royal family had passed the manuscript down through the generations, and the book had also once been in the collection of Louis IX. The Saint Louis Psalter and the Leiden Saint Louis Psalter were also passed down from Saint Louis to Charles and are documented in Malet's inventory.³⁸

The Saint Louis Psalter (BNF ms. lat. 10525; Labarte, no. 3304)

Saint Louis commissioned the Saint Louis Psalter in the 1260s. The psalter contains a prefatory cycle, a set of seventy-eight full-page illuminations from episodes in the Old Testament in rough chronological order, preceding the calendar (Fig 2.3). The eight sections of Psalms are introduced with large, historiated initials often depicting David, with episodes from his life or taken directly from the first line of the Psalm they accompany. This reflects a standardized arrangement for psalters at this time, but the

³⁷ For further explanation of the unusual choice of subject matter for illustration and the unusual iconography that emphasizes the role of the Virgin Mary as the Queen of Heaven consult Allison Ann Merrill, "A Study of the Ingeborg Psalter Atelier," (PhD diss. Columbia University, 1994): 352-356 and 373. Merrill suggests that this imagery served to reinforce Ingeborg's status as the rightful Queen of France. Also see Kathleen S. Schowalter, "The Ingeborg Psalter: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West," *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan, (New York, 2003): 99-135.

³⁸ For the entry pertaining to the Ingeborg Psalter see Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3303; also see Delisle, *Notice sur douze livres*, pp 1-17. I have transcribed the relevant entries in the appendix.

luxurious use of gold leaf and numerous illustrations make this psalter extremely valuable and unique.

Descendants of the saint-king considered the Saint Louis Psalter to be a holy relic, endowed with the inalienable, sacred presence of the saint.³⁹ The exterior binding of the Saint Louis Psalter was decorated with fleur-de-lys, the official emblem of the French kings, and castles, the emblem of Blanche de Castile, Saint Louis' mother. The line endings have the same decoration. Blanche remained a strong advocate for her son during her lifetime, and in his hagiography was credited with instilling Christian morality in her son and only daughter, Isabelle de France.⁴⁰ Before coming into the collection of Charles, this manuscript belonged to Jeanne d'Evreux; it presumably came directly from her to Charles.

Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France (Fitzwilliam Museum ms. 300; Labarte no. 3291)

Like her sainted brother, Isabelle de France lived a devout life; she also refused to marry and instead founded a Franciscan convent at Longchamps in 1259.⁴¹ Her own religious devotion almost propelled her to sainthood. In 1256 Pope Alexander IV issued a

³⁹ For a comprehensive study on this book, see Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (University Park, 2008).

⁴⁰ See M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis, Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2008): 30, 117, and 126, for a description of Blanche's role in generating an image of Louis IX as a devout ruler.

⁴¹ Isabelle of France led an extraordinary life of independence documented in Sean L. Field's study, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century*, (Notre Dame, 2006). Gaposchkin describes how Isabelle's activities with the Franciscans contributed to the saint-making of Louis IX in *The Making of Saint Louis*, 30, 90, and 156.

papal bull in praise of her virginal life that likely foretold of plans for her canonization, plans that were never realized.⁴² Although the Pope never formally recognized Isabelle as a saint, her remains were treated as holy relics at Longchamps. Agnes of Harcourt, the abbess at Longchamps at the time of Isabelle's death in 1270, authored an extensive biography of Isabelle, a text that was later used as evidence of her sanctity by the followers of her cult.⁴³

The Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France is a sister manuscript to the Saint Louis Psalter.⁴⁴ Isabelle's volume contains a selection of psalms, a calendar, and the Hours of the Virgin Mary, followed by Lessons of the Virgin Mary. The Psalm divisions are illustrated with full-page historiated initials, depicting scenes from the life of David, corresponding to the subsequent Psalm.⁴⁵ The Hours of the Virgin Mary are illustrated

⁴² Gaposchkin has posited that plans for Isabelle's canonization were abandoned when her brother, Louis IX, became a saint in 1297. See Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 226; and Field, *Isabelle*, 41-42.

⁴³ See Sean L. Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp* (Notre Dame 2003). In this book-length study, Field presents the first English translation of Agnes of Harcourt's writings and offers insight into the circumstances under which Isabelle's cult gained ground.

⁴⁴ The most thorough examination of the Psalter and Hours de Isabelle de France remains S.C. Cockerell, *A Psalter and Hours Executed Before 1270 for a Lady Connected with St. Louis, Probably His Sister Isabelle of France* (London, 1905). Research on the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France is in need of updating, especially in light of Sean L. Field's recent research and the translation of the writings of Agnes Harcourt.

⁴⁵ The most up to date and detailed study of the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France, see Kathleen Schowalter, "Capetian Women and Their Books: Art, Ideology, and Dynastic Continuity in Medieval France" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2005): 143-221.

with quarter-page historiated initials that vary in their *mise-en-page*. Like the Saint Louis Psalter, virtually all of the illustrations were executed in color on gold grounds. Some of the illustrations in this book are unmistakably copies of those in the Saint Louis Psalter. The full-page, historiated initial of the first Psalm from the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France and that from the Saint Louis Psalter show only slight differences in the coloring and graphic detail, for example (Fig. 2.4 and 2.5).

It is quite possible that Isabelle's psalter, like her brother Louis', would have been considered a holy relic. Isabelle was treated as a saint by her contemporaries. As the blood relative of a saint under *beata stirps*, or the concept of holy lineage, Isabelle could also claim sainthood.⁴⁶ And, with a deep-seated desire to portray their rule as legitimate, the early Valois kings continued to emphasize their descent from the Capetian line and Saint Louis specifically, from whom they could claim dynastic sanctity. Isabelle's psalter, with her brother's, make two manuscripts in Charles' collection at Vincennes that would have been considered as relics because of their connection to holy figures in the dynasty.

Breviary of Philippe le Bel (BNF ms. lat. 1023; Labarte, no. 3284)

Philippe le Bel was the grandson of Saint Louis and the king of France between 1285 and 1314. The exterior of the Breviary of Philippe le Bel was covered in fleur-de-

⁴⁶ Gaposchkin writes of the phenomenon of *beata stirps* in the context of Isabelle de France in *The Making of Saint Louis*, 7, 28, and 78. Although his focus is on Central Europe, Klaniczay gives an insightful look at the phenomenon of *beata stirps*; see Gabor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Eva Palmai (New York, 2002) 298-331.

lys and the arms of France. The two golden clasps on the manuscript were enameled with the arms of the Dauphin, which were most likely added for Charles when he held that title. The binding was also adorned with garnets, emeralds, and pearls.⁴⁷

The feast day of Saint Louis appears to have been inserted into the calendar at a later date along with supplementary folios at the end of the manuscript, which include the Office of Saint Louis. This suggests that the manuscript was made before the saint's canonization in 1297 and renovated thereafter. The quality of the vellum used for the pages and the luxury of the decoration point to this as a royal commission (Fig. 2.6). The inclusions of the calendar, the Office of Saint Louis, and a long office dedicated to the relics of the Sainte-Chapelle have led scholars to believe that that Philippe le Bel commissioned the text. Scholars attribute the illustration and decoration to the workshop of the Paris illuminator, Master Honoré.

Delisle linked Honoré to the breviary through royal accounts dating to 1296.⁴⁸ Delisle made the association based on the contents of the breviary, the calendar, and its luxury. Honoré's workshop was ultimately passed on to his son-in-law Richard of Verdun. These two illuminators' accomplishments in the thirteenth century prefigured the

⁴⁷ The authors of Charles' inventory describe the Breviary of Philippe le Bel in Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3284. Also see Delisle, *Recherches*, 179-182.

⁴⁸ This account record is formally known as the Toussaint and is reproduced in J. Havet, "Compte du Trésor du Louvre (Toussaint 1296)," in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 45 (1884): 252. The significant portions of the account are reproduced in Ellen Kosmer, "Master Honore: A Reconsideration of the Documents," *Gesta* 14 (1975): 67-68.

greater subtlety, emotional depth, and richness that came to characterize the book illumination of the fourteenth-century, led by Jean Pucelle.

Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (Cloisters ms. 54.1.2; Labarte, no. 3054) and Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux (Musée Condé ms. lat. 51; Labarte, no. 3295)

In her later life, Jeanne d'Evreux acted as a living link between the Capetian dynasty of the past and the Valois kings. Jeanne d'Evreux was the third wife of Charles IV of France and also his last hope for a male heir. Caviness and Holladay have argued that her book of hours, most likely given to her on or near her wedding in 1324, shows evidence of the increasing anxiety over her ability to produce a male heir.⁴⁹

The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux was bequeathed to Charles V on Jeanne's death in 1371.⁵⁰ Her book of hours was just one of several objects Jeanne left to Charles. The Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux also came to the king directly from Jeanne, but whether this transaction occurred at the time of her death is uncertain. The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is a remarkably well-preserved example of women's devotional material. In its grisaille

⁴⁹ Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17 (1994): 603. Also see Madeline Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 334-335.

⁵⁰ The association between the lines in Jeanne's will, Charles' inventories, and Cloisters 54.1.2 was first made by Léopold Delisle; see *Les heures dites de Jean Pucelle*, (Paris, 1910) 22-24. Also see the commentary to the facsimile edition of the manuscript of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux by Barbara Drake Boehm, Abigail Quandt, and William D. Wixom (Lucerne, 2000). Avril reiterates the connection and concurs that the Vincennes inventory of 1380 also refers to the same manuscript; see Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, 14.

illustrations, Jean Pucelle is at the height of his virtuosity, and upon closer examination the manuscript reveals great depths of meaning (Fig. 2.7).⁵¹

The hours are arranged according to Dominican use, and the Hours of the Virgin are illustrated with scenes from the Passion facing scenes from the Infancy of Christ. The illustrations of the Hours of Saint Louis present Jeanne's great-grandfather, Louis IX as a figure upon which she was encouraged to model her own religious devotion.⁵² Her great-aunt, the saintly Isabelle de France, despite living her life as a paragon of feminine devotion and virtue, neither married nor bore children, thus making her an inappropriate model for the young queen, whose primary value as a marriage partner was in her descent from the Capetian kings and her highly anticipated fertility.⁵³

Madeline Caviness has discerned four distinct levels of imagery in the Hours: scenes from sacred history, images of Jeanne, unframed figures involved in secular activity, and bas-de-page decorative marginalia.⁵⁴ Combined, these images reinforce messages designed for the young queen. Joan A. Holladay has argued for a reading of the

⁵¹ The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux only measures 3 5/8 x 2 5/8 inches. Several, larger color reproductions of illustrations are provided with commentary in Francois Avril's *Manuscript Painting*, 44-59, pls. 3-10.

⁵² Holladay suggests this interpretation of the Hours in her article "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux," 597-598.

⁵³ Madeline Caviness argues in her touchstone article "Patron or Matron?" for a revised, feminist reading of Jeanne's book of hours. She contends that the marginalia and other illustrations would have reinforced religious and societal obedience and emphasized her role as a producer of male heirs.

⁵⁴ Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" 334.

Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux as a "behavioural exemplar" for Jeanne, as Saint Louis is pictured performing the Acts of Charity.⁵⁵

The Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux is also attributed to Pucelle, dated to the end of his career around 1330. The Breviary text is that of the Franciscan order. Only a single volume of the original two remains at the library at Chantilly. This second volume consists of 462 folios of very fine parchment, including a calendar, the psalms, the office of Easter, a list of saints, the office of the Annunciation, and the sacrament of communion. Delisle describes the script as being very regular, with the major initials decorated with alternating fleur-de-lys, the arms of Evreux, and the arms of Navarre.⁵⁶ The 114 miniatures throughout the breviary are also in grisaille, like the images in Jeanne's Hours.⁵⁷ In fact, the miniatures, the line endings, and the marginalia recall the Belleville Breviary, also attributed to Pucelle.⁵⁸ The exterior binding was also richly decorated - covered in pearls, embroidered with gold, and adorned with a large sapphire. The arms of France and Evreux were also prominently displayed. Of the fourteen

⁵⁵ Holladay's also calls for a revised reading of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, arguing for a reading of the manuscript as didactic material. The illustration cycle certainly contributes to this reading. See Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux," 585-586.

⁵⁶ Delisle estimates that about 1,330 initials are decorated in this manner. See Delisle, *Recherches*, 185-187; also see Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3295.

⁵⁷ For further description, see Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford, 1962): 6-8, 13-16 and 31-34. See also Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, 1953): 29-34. Michaela Krieger has suggested that the unusual use of grisaille is a play of virtuosity on the part of the artist; see Michaela Krieger, "Die 'Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux' und das Pucelle-Problem," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 42 (1989): 101-32.

⁵⁸ Delisle, *Notice sur douze livres*, 65-66.

breviaries at Vincennes, the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux appears to have been among the most ornate.

Belleville Breviary (BNF ms. lat. 10483 and BNF ms. lat. 10484; Labarte, no. 3294)

The Belleville Breviary is another two-volume breviary from the Parisian workshop of Jean Pucelle. It contains the text of the Divine Office, as said by Dominican friars, and dates to 1323-1326. The original patronage of the breviary is disputed; although the manuscript was confiscated from Jeanne de Belleville in 1343, its original patrons may have been a group of Dominican friars. At the time the manuscript reached Charles V, the arms of the Belleville family decorated the clasps on the manuscript.⁵⁹ Jeanne was the widow of Olivier de Clisson, who was executed for rebelling against the authority of Philip VI (1328-1350), the first of the Valois kings.

An inscription on folio 33 recto states that Pucelle worked on the manuscript in collaboration with artists named Mahiet and Ancelet. Scholars believe that this same threesome was also responsible for the decoration of the Billyng Bible (BNF ms. lat. 11935), in which the names of the artists appear again in a slightly different form.⁶⁰ The Belleville Breviary is considered one of the masterpieces of the Pucelle workshop, and its influence can be seen among several of the other manuscripts in Charles' collection. The remarkable calendar decoration of the Belleville Breviary appears to have been

⁵⁹ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3294; Delisle, *Recherches*, 182-185. The now lost Belleville Missal, confiscated from Jeanne de Belleville at the same time as the Breviary, is described in Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3300. See also, Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 32-34.

⁶⁰ Joan A. Holladay, "Jean Pucelle and His Patrons," Forthcoming.

frequently replicated (Fig. 2.8).⁶¹ For each of the twelve months, one of the Twelve Apostles and one of the Prophets is presented. The Prophet gives a piece of prophecy to the Apostle who then makes it an article of faith. This idea is articulated even further by the presence of the Old Synagogue and the New Church. Each truth is represented by the handing over of a stone from the Synagoge to the Apostle. As the year progresses and the Apostles present more articles of truth, the Synagogue begins to crumble, presumably, as the New Church is erected. The register above the text of the calendar illustrated the corresponding labors of the months.

Hours of Yolande de Flandres (British Library, Yates Thompson 27; Labarte, no. 3306)

The Hours of Yolande de Flandres came into the possession of Charles V in 1372, when Yolande escaped from her prison cell at the Temple at Paris and, in so doing, was forced to leave several personal items behind: cushions, pillows, silk coverlets, a knife

⁶¹ Cockerell notes six recorded examples of this particular calendar in addition to that in Yolande de Flandres' manuscript: the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre (BNF ms. lat. 3145), the first volume of the Belleville Breviary (BNF lat. 10483), the "Petites Heures" of Jean, duc de Berry (BNF ms. lat. 18014), the "Grandes Heures" of Jean, duc de Berry (BNF ms. lat. 919), Hours of Paris Use (Vienna, Nationalbibl., ms. 1855), and the Breviary of Martin II of Sicily in the private collection of Baroness James de Rothschild, now BNF ms. Rothschild 2529; see Cockerell, *Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, 4. Cockerell also notes that the calendar of the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux shares some similarities with the Belleville calendar without being a copy. For a fuller description of this calendar and where it was replicated see Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *The Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 73-96.

with a silver handle, ivory combs, sundry household articles, and her book of hours.⁶²

Yolande was accused of various crimes: sacrilege, murder, and forging French coinage. But, she was ultimately imprisoned by Charles V for attempting to arrest Henri de Bar on the grounds of Vincennes. Her luxurious book of hours may have been commissioned for her at the time of her second marriage to Philippe d'Evreux in 1353.

Like the Breviary of Charles V, the Hours of Yolande de Flandres continues in the style of Jean Pucelle as executed by Pucelle's successor, Jean le Noir. The recto pages of the calendar reproduce the series of illustrations found in the calendar of the Belleville Breviary, and the Breviary of Charles V (Fig. 2.9). Notably, this series also appears in a manuscript designed for her mother-in-law, the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre (BNF ms. lat. 3145). Other illustrations throughout the hours also bear a striking resemblance to the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre as well as the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. This continuity of style and composition can be attributed to Jean le Noir.⁶³

The hours were written for Paris use, in alternating lines of blue and burnished gold script. There are nine full-page miniatures, with a final illustration of the arms of

⁶² Cockerell, *The Book of Hours of Yolande of Flanders* (London 1905): 4. A list of the items Yolande de Flandre left behind was officially drawn up by Guillaume de Nevers, dated September 7 of 1372, a portion of which is reproduced in Cockerell's study of the Hours of Yolande de Flandres. For the complete entry, see "L'inventaire des meubles que l'on trouva dans la tour du Temple après la fuite d'Yolande de Flandre, Comtesse de Bar," printed by A. Digot in *Journal de la Société d'Archéologie et du Comité du Musée lorrain* (1857): 71-76.

⁶³ Cockerell proposed Jean Pucelle as the possible illuminator of the hours, but subsequent research has made the attribution to Jean le Noir seem more likely. See Cockerell, *The Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, 16; Morand, *Jean Pucelle*, 21-23 and 28; and Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, 21-23 and 116.

Yolande. Thirty-seven leaves of the manuscript are now missing, and the remaining leaves show evidence of water damage from a flooding of the Thames in the early nineteenth century, when the manuscript was in the private collection of John Boykett Jarmen.⁶⁴ Other leaves were removed by Jarmen and dispersed among friends; the remaining portion of the manuscript is now preserved at the British Library.

Hours of Blanche de Bourgogne, countess of Savoy (Beinecke Library ms. 390; Labarte, no. 3066)

This manuscript has its own curious history, which post-dates Charles' ownership of it. Only a fragment of the book of hours survives to this day, but the volume was not divided when it came to Charles. It is also the only book in the collection which scholars know with certainty that Charles amended.

Blanche de Bourgogne was married to Edouard, Count of Savoy in 1307, widowed in 1329, and died in Dijon in 1348. She was the granddaughter of Saint Louis through her mother, Agnes of France. Her book of hours, now showing the effects of fire damage, contained the Hours of Saint Louis of Toulouse as well as Saint Louis of France, and numerous other hours. The arms of Savoy were reproduced throughout its pages, most notably on the shield and banner of Saint Maurice, the patron of Savoy. Additions to the manuscript were made by Charles V, following the death of Blanche. Charles' amendments follow the general pattern of the original text and illustration, confining the miniatures to quarter-page, tri-colored quatrefoils, depicting himself as the donor, in

⁶⁴ Cockerell, *Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, 5.

prayer to different saints (Fig. 2.10).⁶⁵ This is the only extant work that Charles made discernible amendments to, apart from his own breviary. The two manuscripts also share other characteristics, leading Marguerite Keane to suggest that the books may have originated from the same workshop.⁶⁶ Both manuscripts include devotional images of Saint Louis of France, although in Jeanne de Navarre's hours they emphasize themes of kingship, while in Blanche's hours they intermix themes of charity with kingship.

Breviary (BNF ms. lat. 13233; Labarte, no. 3281)

A miniature dating from 1340-1350 depicting a crowned female patron suggests that this breviary was either commissioned by a royal woman or for her. The painted decoration is less extensive than in several of the other volumes in this collection, although the exterior binding is noted as having been exceptionally luxurious.

Although having fewer illustrations than the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux, this manuscript was similarly bound, decorated with pearls and a large sapphire.⁶⁷ Delisle has suggested that the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux may have served as a model for the manuscript. The date of the manuscript places it outside of the time of the succession crisis. The 1340s and 50s saw the development of a "second generation" of Saint Louis imagery. This artwork is characterised by the presentation of Louis IX as a moral

⁶⁵ Cockerell, *Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, 15.

⁶⁶ Marguerite Keane, "Remembering Louis IX as a Family Saint: a Study of the Images of Saint Louis Created for Jeanne, Blanche, and Marie de Navarre" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002): 57-58.

⁶⁷ Delisle, *Recherches*, 192-194; Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3283.

exemplar and symbol of good rulership, usually emphasizing the late king's works of charity. The best examples of this are seen in women's devotional manuscripts, such as the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, the Hours of Blanche de Bourgogne, and the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre.⁶⁸

Breviary of Charles V (BNF ms. lat 1052; Labarte, no. 3281)

This is the only extant volume from Vincennes that Charles V commissioned.⁶⁹ The breviary follows the standard formula, and the text and format appear very similar to the other breviaries in this collection. Although the Breviary of Charles V has a fairly standardized calendar and does not reproduce the much-replicated calendar of the Belleville Breviary, the illustrations in Charles' breviary are close copies of the illustrations of the psalms in the Belleville Breviary, most likely in the hand of Jean le Noir (Fig. 2.11).⁷⁰

An expository text at the beginning of the Belleville Breviary describes the illustration cycle that is found in the lower register of both breviaries: one of the Seven Sacraments, with one of the Seven Virtues at its right and one of the Seven Vices to its left. In comparison to the Belleville Breviary, the Breviary of Charles V also differs

⁶⁸ Keane describes the shared characteristics in Keane, "Remembering Louis IX," 71-80; Keane's study is limited however to the manuscripts known to have been associated with Jeanne, Blanche and Marie de Navarre. BNF ms. lat. 13233 shares some elements with these manuscripts, as does the Hours of Yolande de Flandres.

⁶⁹ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3281. Also see Delisle, *Recherches*, 187-190; Delisle, *Notices sur douze livres*, 89-93.

⁷⁰ See Avril, "Les livres," 330; and Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, 22.

slightly in its placement of the psalms, and in the particulars of the text. The similarities are so striking, however, that Lucy Freeman Sandler has attempted to reconstruct some of the lost folios of the Belleville Breviary from evidence from the Breviary of Charles V.⁷¹

Unifying Characteristics

Charles could trace his genealogy back to Saint Louis following the genealogy of texts created by the manuscript collection at Vincennes. Memories evoked by these books rendered present that which is absent, and in the case of the original owners that ‘presence’ might be the example set by Saint Louis. For Charles V and subsequent owners the presence that is evoked is that of Saint Louis, as well as that of the original reader of the manuscript for whom the prayers, calendar, and miniatures were especially designed - arguably with the express aim of conveying a specific, personalized message or instruction. At Vincennes, however, these personalized manuscripts were brought together in a setting for which they were not originally designed. Re-contextualized, what did these manuscripts offer Charles, or the reader at Vincennes, in this newly imagined context?

In total, there were seventeen books of hours, seven psalters, five prayer books, fourteen breviaries, six missals, a book of the Office of Saint Sacrement and Saint Claire, an ordinal, a collectionary, and a single *vita* of Saint Margaret divided among the king’s

⁷¹ Lucy Freedman Sandler, “Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary,” 73-96.

private oratory, bedroom, and the *estude du roy*.⁷² Of the fifty-six total manuscripts, twenty-six bore exterior decoration of the arms or emblems of persons other than Charles. Three additional manuscripts bore no documented exterior signs of previous owners, but are documented as having had previous owners. The remaining manuscripts were either commissioned by Charles, or their provenance is not noted, meaning that provenance was a way to classify and identify the manuscripts, or it contributed to their function in the collection, or both.

Among the extant manuscripts, one can see the rise and development of a ‘Pucellian’ style of manuscript illumination, preceded by the work of Master Honoré and then continued by Jean le Noir. Pucelle, like many medieval artists, has remained an enigmatic figure for medieval scholars. In the scant documentary evidence, he appeared as a producer of illuminated manuscripts in 1323 and died a decade later in 1334.⁷³ His short career was favored with a number of royal and noble commissions, including the Hours and the Breviary of Jeanne d’Evreux and the Belleville Breviary. Elements of the style and composition of the illustrations in each of these manuscripts are repeated throughout Charles’ collection.

Pucelle contributed to a rise in greater naturalism of figures and spaces in manuscript painting in the fourteenth-century. He also endowed his figures with a greater

⁷² See Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3061. The Life of Saint Margaret was a text commonly used for the education of young girls at this time. Also see Avril, “Les livres de Charles V,” 340.

⁷³ Holladay, “Pucelle and Patronage,” forthcoming.

emotional range and brought a higher dramatic intent to his scenes. Pucelle's skills are, arguably, at their height in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. Several books of hours later made for royal women shared the 'Pucellian' style seen in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux.⁷⁴ The shared characteristics among these manuscripts have raised a series of questions for art historians. Except for the Hours of Yolande of Flanders, all these manuscripts include the text of the Hours of Saint Louis in addition to the Hours of the Virgin Mary. The Hours of Saint Louis were usually illustrated with a set of eight or nine images although the images in these books do not represent a 'canonical' set of images of Saint Louis. In fact, each iteration seems to emphasize different aspects of the king's hagiography, focusing on one set of themes or virtues more than others. This may reflect a personalization of the image set for the intended user.⁷⁵ The changes in composition or choice of scene, however, do not reflect a lack of iconographic continuity. Among all these examples, Saint Louis' behaviour is characterized as a model for the young, female readers of these books of hours.

⁷⁴ Holladay, "Pucelle and Patronage," forthcoming. Gaposchkin includes the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, the Hours of Marie de Navarre, the Savoy Hours, New York Public Library ms. Spencer 56, and BNF ms. nal. 592; see Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 208. Cockerell would add the Hours of Yolande de Flandre to this group, as the manuscript seems to share some characteristics with the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre and the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux; see Cockerell, *The Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, 15.

⁷⁵ Several scholars have written about the personalization of Saint Louis imagery for the intended reader or viewer; see Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 206-227; Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 334-337; and Keane, "Remembering Saint Louis as a Family Saint," 20-24, 66 and 104.

The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, the Hours of Yolande de Flandres, and the Hours of Blanche de Bourgogne (also known as the Savoy Hours) all appear in the collection of Charles V at Vincennes. The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux and the Savoy Hours both contained the Hours of Saint Louis, accompanied by an image cycle, and all three contained an illustrated Hours of the Virgin. Although the Hours of Yolande de Flandre did *not* contain an illustrated Saint Louis cycle, it did faithfully reproduce the calendar found in the Belleville Breviary. In the outer, left margin of folio 44v of the Hours of Yolande de Flandre the artist, Jean le Noir, has depicted a standing, male figure, dressed in a blue robe, crowned, and holding a sceptre in one hand and the Hand of Justice in the other. S. C. Cockerell has identified this standing figure as Saint Louis, and this is the only image of Saint Louis that appears in the Hours of Yolande de Flandre (Fig. 2.11).⁷⁶ This representation of Louis is similar to the one found in a miniature in the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux, in which the "Belleville calendar" also appears. This suggests, then, that Jean le Noir may have been looking to the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux as a standard for the Hours of Yolande de Flandre. Of course, le Noir is now widely considered to be the successor of the Pucelle, and he may have had a wide range of 'Pucellian' imagery to draw upon for any commission. The breviary BNF lat. 13233 also reproduces the Hours of Saint Louis; however the cycle has not been studied in comparison to the other

⁷⁶ Cockerell, *Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, 8.

examples.⁷⁷ Throughout all three, then, there is an element of stylistic continuity and focus on the familial saint.

The Belleville Breviary, the Breviary of Charles V, the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux, and BNF lat. 13233 continue this trend. Pucelle is credited with the illustrations of the Belleville Breviary and its extraordinary calendar, which recurs the Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux and the Hours of Yolande de Flandre. Le Noir drew heavily from the illustrations of the Psalms in the Belleville Breviary while working on the Breviary of Charles V. Notably, le Noir did not use the 'Belleville calendar' for Charles' breviary. No documentary evidence survives to suggest if this was the choice of the artist or of his patron. Of the extant works from this collection, no less than seven are either attributed to Pucelle or connected with his style, and six of those were originally intended for female readers.

The older manuscripts at Vincennes pre-date Pucelle, but still show consistencies with the 'Pucellian' group, namely, an association with the Capetian dynasty and its dynastic saint. The Ingeborg Psalter, the Saint Louis Psalter, and the Breviary of Philippe le Bel were all made for Capetian kings and queens. The one outlier of this early group, the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France, was created for the sister of Saint Louis. This book may have been considered a holy relic as the Psalter of Saint Louis surely was.

⁷⁷ The research on BNF lat. 13233 is extremely slim, and its contents have not been used in comparison to other contemporaneous Saint Louis imagery. The fullest descriptions of the manuscript still remain in Charles' inventories; see Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3283. Also see Victor Leroquais, *Les breviaries manuscrits des bibliothèques de France* (Paris, 1934): 235-239.

These two manuscripts bear many similarities to each other and were most likely made at the same time by the same workshop. The Ingeborg Psalter, along with a heavy emphasis on queenship, once belonged to Saint Louis; the manuscript was passed through the Capetian line.

The descriptions of the lost manuscripts vary in their level of detail; however, there is evidence to suggest that the same themes were present in the larger collection. In addition to the three books noted as containing the Hours of Saint Louis of France, it is possible that other books of hours had similar references to Saint Louis but their descriptions are not detailed enough to discern this exactly.⁷⁸ The Hours of Saint Esprit and the Passion is one such manuscript. It is also described as being *bien ystoriee de blanc et de noir*.⁷⁹ This method of illustration, grisaille, is reminiscent of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. Equally frustrating, are entries such as *les Heures de la Passion et plusieurs autres choses*.⁸⁰ A single, independent saint's life is listed in the description of lost manuscripts, a vita of Saint Margaret.⁸¹ Like the Saint Louis cycles of the Hours of

⁷⁸ As previously mentioned these three volumes with the Hours are found in Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3051, 3066 and 3307. Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3305, 3063, and 3064 may have also included this text. These books are all described as having luxurious bindings and are illuminated. Unfortunately, we do not know how they were illuminated or by whom. In Malet's inventory from 1380, the contents of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux are only described as Hours of Jacobin use. So, it is possible that still other Saint Louis cycles existed in the collection but have gone undocumented.

⁷⁹ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3045.

⁸⁰ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3049.

⁸¹ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3061.

Jeanne d'Evreux and the Savoy Hours, the life of Saint Margaret was often used to present young women with a model of good behavior. This particular version of the text was bound in an embroidered cover, decorated with emeralds and the arms of the duc de Berry.

The manuscripts from Vincennes are held together by a web of connections, spanning artistic style to family relationships between patrons and readers. The evidence for a collection that promised both unity and totality is compelling; however, little documentary evidence is left to substantiate what the vagaries of preservation and the apparent similarities among the works seem to suggest: intense devotion to Saint Louis and the use of manuscripts as a context and structure for the memory of the deceased. Judging from the extant manuscripts as well as the notations describing the entire collection, Avril has referred to the group of fifty-six manuscripts as a “reserve collection” apart from the library at the Louvre.⁸² It is apparent, though, that this group served a function altogether different from the manuscript collection at the Louvre. Provenance, luxury of materials, religious content, and stylistic continuity (at least among the preserved manuscripts) characterize this group as a distinct collection, which adhered to discernible criteria. To better understand the context in which this collection was perceived, we must also look to the residence of Vincennes.

⁸² Avril, “Les livres de Charles V,” 332.

Chapter 3: The Significance of Vincennes as Memorial and Site of

Installation

The books in Charles' collection, as remarkable as they are, have attracted a great deal of scholarship, all of which privilege the meaning, intent, or interpretation of its contents in the context of their original readers. While this scholarly perspective has provided us with a great deal of information regarding these volumes, there is a dearth of research that focuses on how these books were re-claimed, re-interpreted, and re-read through the ages - or even through families. In other words, scholars have focused on the production of these texts and less on their distribution or dissemination. From the eleven extant manuscripts of this collection and from the descriptions of other sumptuous books kept in the *donjon* at Vincennes, this grouping of luxurious, devotional texts could hardly be anything but deliberate.

In the study of evolving medieval ideas about hagiography and the veneration of saints, Patrick Geary argues that, "copying, excerpting, and rearranging old texts is just as important as creating new ones."⁸³ I would add collecting to this list. Just as the content of Charles' collection cannot be construed as haphazard, neither can its placement at Vincennes. Part of Geary's contention is that hagiographic texts, in order to be understood, must be considered in the context of medieval ideas about collection,

⁸³ Geary argues that for texts meaning changes with the context of the reader. He is specifically referring to hagiographic texts; see Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994): 20-22.

classification, and organization. The choice of site of installation is part of what classifies this group of manuscripts as *set apart* from the others in Charles' vast library. It is their (quite literal) distance from the Louvre as well as their luxury that distinguishes these books among many. Understanding the setting in which these books were read is a vital component to understanding how their meanings changed or became mutable as they passed through different readers. At Vincennes, the history of the château and surrounding wood may very well have contributed to the construction of new modes of interpretation.

History of Vincennes as a Royal Residence

Vincennes first appears in the historical record as a royal residence during the reign of Louis VII (1137-1180).⁸⁴ The heavily wooded area was used as a hunting ground for the king and his companions. In 1162, Louis VII had a part of the forest closed off to the public, reserving the grounds for the use of the royalty and those with proper permits. No architectural evidence, however, has been found that dates to Louis VII's reign. It is probable that the nobility used the wood prior to this time, perhaps even as early as the reigns of Hugues Capet (987-996) and Robert le Pieux (996-1031). Robert le Pieux often traveled between Paris and Chelles, to stay at the royal abbey there. He would have

⁸⁴ For a transcription of the relevant documents, see Michel Nourtier and Jean-Paul Fourcher, "Catalogue des actes concernant Vincennes ou dates de Vincennes de Henri I à Louis VIII (1031-1226)" *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne* (Paris, 1996): 13-22.

traveled through the wood of Vincennes to reach Chelles from Paris.⁸⁵

It is not until the reign of Philippe Auguste (1180 -1223) that the wood and manor of Vincennes begins to appear in the records with any frequency. During this time, revenues from the wood begin to be recorded in accounts. The revenue was largely derived from taxes levied on non-nobles who wished to hunt in the wood, revenue from game, and a small amount of forestry.⁸⁶ In 1183, Philippe Auguste constructed a stone wall around the wood. This wall was constructed around the same time that Philippe Auguste revoked the rights of the religious houses in the area to use the forest for game or firewood.⁸⁷ Increasingly, the wood was becoming exclusively reserved for the use of the royalty. The earliest structure we have evidence of is the large manor of Philippe Auguste, referred to as the Capetian manor. Excavations in 1993 revealed the foundations of the structure, which was destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century. The manor was built with a large, square courtyard, measuring about sixty meters to a side. The residence remained largely unchanged even into the reign of Louis IX (1226-1270) (Fig 3.1).

Nearly all of what scholars know about the Capetian manor comes from archeological sources. The Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) sponsored an ongoing research project and archaeological digs at the château of

⁸⁵ For a fuller description of the early history of the forest of Vincennes; see Jean Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes: Une résidence royale au moyen âge* (Paris: 1994): 12-13.

⁸⁶ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 14.

⁸⁷ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 19.

Vincennes that officially closed in 2007.⁸⁸ The director of the project, Jean Chapelot has, along with his team, contributed greatly to what scholars now know concerning the building programs and architecture at the château. It appears as if larger rooms were added to the manor in a nonuniform, patchwork manner. The oldest portions of the building date to the end of the twelfth century, but additions have been found that date to the fourteenth century.

For Louis IX, Vincennes served as a secondary residence to the Palais de la Cité in Paris.⁸⁹ Vincennes was the point of departure for Louis for his first crusade in 1236, and after the death of his mother, Blanche de Castille, in 1252 he stayed there regularly. In 1248 Louis endowed a chaplaincy at Vincennes. In a *compte de reparations* of 1365 there is a mention of a chapel dedicated to Saint Martin on the site. This is the only mention of a chapel at Vincennes that pre-dates the one Charles V would eventually build there, and it is most likely the same chapel Louis endowed. A large assembly hall, larger than any of the other single rooms at the Capetian manor, was also added during Louis' reign. This addition is indicative of the increased use of the residence, especially for functions outside of the hunting of game. Louis returned to Vincennes and stayed there for most of 1255 and again for 1258 and 1259. Finally, in 1270, Louis departed from Vincennes for his second crusade, from which he did not return alive.

The importance of Vincennes to the Capetians is clear, judging from records that

⁸⁸ For a description of the archeological project, the restoration, and other details, see their website, Centre Nationale du Recherche Scientifique, "La restauration du donjon," Last modified 20 March, 2007. <http://www.cnrs.fr/cnrs-images/donjon/index.html>.

⁸⁹ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 20-37.

document their use of the residence for hunting, reunions with family, and for purposes related to the administration of their kingdom. For example, in 1274 Philippe III (1270-1285) was wed to Marie de Brabant at Vincennes.⁹⁰ Decades later Philippe's granddaughter, Isabelle de Valois, would marry Pierre de Clermont, the great grandson of Louis IX, also at Vincennes. The residence, perhaps in part because of its proximity to Paris, was also used as meeting place for government officials and advisors from court. This trend continued with the Valois kings. The first of the Valois kings, Philippe VI signed no less than nine hundred royal decrees from Vincennes, indicating that not only did he spend a great portion of his time there but that he conducted state business from the residence.⁹¹

The first Valois king to make large scale improvements at Vincennes was Charles V, although this may have been inspired by plans first developed by his father, Jean le Bon. The Hundred Years' War reinvigorated an interest in security and defense, and during this time, Jean invested in refurbishing the defensive architectural features of his royal residences, including Vincennes. Jean le Bon decided to construct a keep, or *donjon*, and a large, stone wall surrounding the residential buildings at Vincennes in order to provide a safe refuge for his family during the ongoing conflict with England.⁹²

⁹⁰ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 22.

⁹¹ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 25.

⁹² Françoise Autrand gives a richer view of the relationship between Jean le Bon and Charles V in her biography of Charles V. See Françoise Autrand, *Charles V* (Paris, 1994): 16-20, 28, 83-88, and 91-101.

Vincennes, St. Louis, and the Capetians

French historian Jacques Le Goff points out that the royal residences of the French kings were not simply a network of homes but were also invested with their own authority, as conferred to them by God.⁹³ Le Goff notes that for the royalty they are, “les lieux dans lesquels s’incarne cette sacralisation.”⁹⁴ Vincennes, with its vast and abundant hunting grounds, woods, streams, and stately residence was both a source and a manifestation of royal power and wealth. The royal residences exerted the king’s authority through their presence in different parts of the country, and Vincennes was no exception.

It is not the aim of this study to describe to the fullest extent what Saint Louis was or came to represent to the Capetians or the early Valois, although a short discussion of the saint-king’s meaning to his family is in order here. The Capetians called themselves the most Christian of kings, and Saint Louis’ canonization validated this claim. His sainthood became a means to promote dynastic and political ideologies, both within his

⁹³ The Capetians often referred to themselves as the “most Christian kings.” This recalls the legend of the baptism of Clovis in 496, during which the white dove of the Holy Spirit brought holy chrism down from the heavens with which to anoint the first Christian king of the Franks.

⁹⁴ For Jacques Le Goff’s introductory remarks on Vincennes, see the Preface of *Vincennes aux origines de l’ état moderne* (Paris, 1996): v-ix. This quotation appears on page ix.

own family and among his descendants and to the public.⁹⁵

Louis' canonization, although a boon for the Capetians, transformed a public king into an even more public saint. Whatever modicum of privacy was afforded Louis as king was relinquished with his entrance into the calendar of saints. This is most in evidence soon after Louis' canonization in 1297, when his remains were fought over by the abbots at Saint Denis and Philippe le Bel, Louis' grandson. Conflict arose when the royal family, represented by Philippe le Bel, wanted to transfer Saint Louis' remains to the Sainte Chapelle in the center of Paris. This chapel, which had been built by Saint Louis, was specifically designed for the preservation and veneration of holy relics – many of which Saint Louis had brought to Paris personally. The wish to put Saint Louis to rest here seems reasonable; the kings of France had traditionally been interred, however at the abbey of Saint Denis, just outside of the city. This tradition had turned the abbey into an important pilgrimage site, a point of national pride, and a royal necropolis. The abbot and monks of Saint Denis heartily exerted what they believed was their claim to the body of Saint Louis who, as a French king, needed to be buried where tradition dictated. For either Saint Denis or the Sainte Chapelle the body of Saint Louis would attract pilgrims

⁹⁵ Several scholars have studied this phenomenon in depth, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (Ithaca, 2008); Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "La généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du Moyen Age: Philippe le Bel, le reniement du *reditus* et la création d'une ascendance carolingienne pour Hugues Capet," in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: royaume capétienne et Lotharingie. Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987* (Paris, 1990): 199-214. Also see, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 97 (1980): 175-182; and E. M. Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 359-380.

and therefore revenue. The dispute was drawn out, and, ultimately, Louis' body was divided between the two sites.⁹⁶ As a French king, it would have been unusual for Saint Louis to have been buried anywhere else besides Saint Denis. The dispute over his remains would not have drawn the attention of the pope and other important religious and political officials, however had it not been for his sainthood. Louis' presence, bodily and spiritually, had become arguably more important after his death than when he had been king. The clothing he wore, the buildings he commissioned, his possessions, his body, and his books had, almost overnight, become relics of the saint-king of France and imbued with the power of the most Christian kings.⁹⁷

The château and wood of Vincennes occupy an important place in the narrative of Saint Louis' life. This narrative was popularized during the hearings to ascertain Louis' sanctity, during which family members and acquaintances of the king were questioned about the king's life and virtues. One of the interviewed was the elderly Jean de Joinville,

⁹⁶ Elizabeth A. R. Brown explores Philippe le Bel's motives for establishing a special site for the veneration of Saint Louis in Brown, "Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis," 175-182.

⁹⁷ Charlemagne was also canonized in 1165; however, Charles emphasized aspects of his rule other than his being made a saint. Beginning with a conflict between Philippe le Bel (1268-1314) and Pope Boniface VIII, Charlemagne was cited as the historic precedent for the claim that the king of France was emperor in his kingdom. This claim was reiterated again by Charles V in his political treatise, *Songe du Vergier*. See Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France* (London, 2001): 46-47, 82, 107, and 144, for more about how Charles V used Charlemagne to advance his own political positions. For a fuller description of the *Songe du Vergier* and Charles V's political writings, see Jeannine Quillet, *Charles V: Le roi lettré* (Paris, 1984): 22.

who in 1248 had taken up the cross and joined Louis on his first crusade.⁹⁸ Joinville thus had special insights into the monarch's activities in the East. Joinville would later become one of the foremost chroniclers of Louis' life. He included in his remembrances the saint-king's penchant for meting out justice while sitting under a large oak tree in the forest of Vincennes :

Oft times it happened that he would go, after his mass, and seat himself in the wood of Vincennes, and lean against an oak tree, and make us sit round him. And all those who had any cause in hand came and spoke to him, without hindrance or usher, or of any other person. Then would he ask, out his own mouth, "Is there anyone who has a cause in hand?" And those who had a cause in hand stood up.⁹⁹

Of course, there very well may not have been any specific oak tree. And, the image of the wise-king, listening to the causes of his knights and lords is an old one that harks back to the early tribal kings who had ruled France and England centuries before. In this regard, it may be a trope, but it illustrates a significant facet of Louis' character: he was interested in the council of other nobles and treated them in an egalitarian manner.

Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, the confessor of Saint Louis' wife Marguerite and daughter Blanche, also penned a Life of Saint Louis, probably at the behest of his

⁹⁸ Gaposchkin discusses the 'type' of Louis that Joinville creates in his narrative and its affect on the saint's cult; see Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 181-197.

⁹⁹ Translations of Joinville's text have been reproduced in several volumes. For this translation, see Patrick Geary, trans. Jean de Joinville, *Life of Saint Louis in Readings in Medieval History*, 4th Edition (Toronto, 2010): 654.

daughter¹⁰⁰. Saint-Pathus' also contributed to the early development of the cult of the saint.¹⁰¹ Saint-Pathus also mentions Vincennes in his accounts of the king's life and with relatively greater detail than Joinville. He describes a procession led by Saint Louis in honor of the Assumption of the Virgin in 1239. The procession began at Vincennes and ended at Notre Dame.

En l'an 1239, le vendredi après l'assomption de la sainte Vierge, le roi Louis se rendit a Vincennes, nu-pieds et sans ceinture, en simple robe, suivi de ses frères, Robert, Alphonse, et Charles; ils apportèrent solennellement la precieuse couronne à Notre-Dame, accompagnés d'une grande multitude de peuple, de clergé et de religieux qui suivaient processionnellement et faisaient retentire l'air de leurs chants.¹⁰²

When the procession was finished, banners were erected to mark the route taken by the king and his followers. The passage suggests that the château and wood of Vincennes, which was located relatively close to Paris, was a residence particularly well-suited for the organization of large committees of people. Perhaps even more significant is Saint-

¹⁰⁰ Elisabeth Van Houts has posited that medieval women bore the responsibility of memorializing their relatives in death. She is particularly interested in the memorializing the dead through *written* panegyrics, biographies, and other works. It is possible that Blanche's commissioning of a biography of Saint Louis would have been considered a kind of authorship; however, the evidence for this is inconclusive. Elisabeth Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (London, 1999): 65-93.

¹⁰¹ Gaposchkin discusses the importance of the writings of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus and its role in the development of a Franciscan-influenced veneration of Saint Louis; see Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 42-43, 156-158, 195, and 197.

¹⁰² For this version of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus' life of Saint Louis, see Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *La vie et les miracles de Monseigneur Saint-Louis*, (Paris, 1971): 37. Gaposchkin also notes this passage in Saint-Pathus' biography in her discussion of the justice meted out by Saint Louis; see Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 43.

Pathus' passage about the preparations Louis made before leaving for his second and final crusade in the Holy Land:

Le Roi s'assit sur la dernière marche du trône de l'abbé, au dessous même de la place réservée aux enfants de chœur; il se recommanda aux priers de la communauté, et sortit ensuite de l'abbaye pour aller passer la nuit au bois de Vincennes. Le lendemain, il se sépara de la reine Marguerite, sa femme, ses adieux furent entrecoupés de profonds soupirs et d'abondantes larmes. Il confia la garde de son royaume à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, Mathieu de Vendôme, homme plein de sagesse et de vertu, et au seigneur de Nesle, Symon, noble et loyal chevalier.¹⁰³

The drama of this emotional scene of final parting of Marguerite and Louis is heightened by the reader's knowledge that the two would not be reunited again in life. Vincennes was the departure point for both of Louis' crusades, the first in 1248 and the second in 1270, making Vincennes the final royal home Louis stayed in before his death abroad. It is extremely probable that Charles V and other members of the royal family and court were acutely aware of this aspect of the château's history. His decision to spend his final days at Vincennes suggests that Louis found comfort there or that the home held symbolic value.

Charles, like many of Saint Louis' descendants, was familiar with the literature dedicated to the saint. Charles' library included at least seven volumes of Saint-Pathus' *vita*, *vita et miracula*, or the *miracula* alone. In addition to these, he owned several copies of the office of Saint Louis. Charles also kept a copy of the Hours of Saint Louis and a

¹⁰³ Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *La vie et les miracles de Monseigneur Saint-Louis*, 185.

prose version of his life on his person at all times.¹⁰⁴ Charles must have been well-informed of Louis' relationship with the château and wood of Vincennes, his own descent from the saint-king, and the potential of the site as a point of intersection in their personal histories.

Vincennes, Charles V, and the Valois

Charles V can be credited as the creator of Vincennes as we know it today. His extensive building projects elevated the importance and usability of the site in the middle ages and have remained relatively intact to the present date. Beginning in the first year of his reign in 1364, Charles embarked on a series of projects at Vincennes. He also continued several that his father had begun. Charles constructed the large keep or *donjon*, a wall surrounding the new construction and the Capetian manor, and nine towers, and he broke ground on a new chapel that would later be completed by his successors. A fire ravaged the Chambre des Comptes in 1737 and destroyed many of the documents relevant to the construction at the château and wood of Vincennes from the reign of Charles V. This has put scholars in a somewhat strange position. We know more about the objects at Vincennes, where they were kept, and even how the furniture was arranged

¹⁰⁴ For a further description of these examples, see Joan A. Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Evreux and Her Contemporaries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 92-96. Also see, Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1907): nos. 278-279, 153-155, 935-943 and 947.

than we know about the decisions made about the architecture and construction.¹⁰⁵ Again, as with Charles' manuscript collection, we are left with little but fragments with which to reconstruct the setting and display at Vincennes.

Charles completed the *donjon* in 1373 (Fig 3.2). The *donjon* was built into the eastern side of the wall that surrounds the residential buildings. It measures fifty meters in height and is the tallest, extant medieval building of its kind. There are a total of eight levels, including the terrace. The layout of the first four levels is relatively uniform: large square rooms with a central pillar supporting the ribs of the vaults, which rest on carved consoles.¹⁰⁶ The ceilings measure seven meters in height at each level. The first floor was most likely used as a meeting room. The *donjon* could be accessed at this level. Oak paneling on the lower parts of the wall dates to trees cut in the early 1360s.¹⁰⁷ The second level housed the king's personal apartments, including his bedroom and study. The king's study was located at the center of the second level. It is a square room with a fireplace. Twenty-three of the manuscripts in the Vincennes collection would have been kept here.¹⁰⁸ Under one window were five niches, but nothing is known about what sculptures,

¹⁰⁵ This paradox is partially what motivated the archeological research at the site under the auspices of Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Vincennes is also among the best preserved medieval buildings in France, yet little is known about its construction; see Jean Chapelot, *Le Château de Vincennes: Une résidence royale au moyen âge*, (Paris, 1994): 6-9.

¹⁰⁶ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 44-58.

¹⁰⁷ This date was determined by the CNRS research team with the use of a dendrochronological study. See Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 56.

¹⁰⁸ See the appendix for a list of the manuscripts were in this room.

if any, were there. Above the window is a console which once had a statue of the Trinity, now lost. In the rectangular tower, a vestibule lit by a window gave access to the king's study. This study was a small room with a fireplace and a vaulted ceiling whose ribs come down onto four carved consoles bearing the symbols of the Evangelists; the crown of the vault is decorated with a representation of the Trinity. The 1380 inventories record the large number of precious jewels, reliquaries, lavish fabrics, and other items that were kept in this room.

What little is known about the decoration of Charles' bedroom, or the *grant chambre*, also comes from the 1380 inventory.¹⁰⁹ Near the western window he kept a box containing thirty-one religious manuscripts. These, in addition to the books from the king's study constituted the manuscript collection at Vincennes. Major traces of the decoration at the time of Charles V in 1367 or 1368 still remain. The ribs of the vaults still show traces of an embossed fleur-de-lis pattern coated with gold leaf against a blue background.¹¹⁰ The king's bedroom, just like the first-floor hall, was entirely panelled in oak. The same paneling has been found in the small oratory cut into the northern wall of the donjon and the walls and vaults of the south-west turret. The inventory of the royal collections gives indications of the furniture in the king's bedroom, which was extremely lavish.

The third floor of the *donjon* is not mentioned in the inventory. It is unlikely, then,

¹⁰⁹ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 58.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 57.

that this level was reserved for the Queen or the dauphin. Chapelot has posited that this level was used as the chambers for the king's entourage. There is no evidence of oak paneling or painted decoration on the walls or ceiling.¹¹¹ The higher levels of the *donjon* are similar in that they also lack evidence of decoration of the walls or ceiling. It is possible that these levels were used for servants or for armed guards.

The construction of the wall surrounding the Capetian manor and Charles' new construction began around the same time as construction on the *donjon* and was not completed until 1380. At its completion the limestone wall was 1,200 meters in length and connected nine towers of heights between forty and forty-two meters. Beyond the wall was a moat of twenty-seven meters in width, which was in use until the seventeenth century. The wall enclosed and protected Charles' new buildings along with the Capetian manor, the chapel dedicated to Saint Martin (built under Saint Louis), and various residential and utility buildings. The wall and towers employed a large number of workers and was one of the largest building projects of its time. Like the *donjon* the towers along the wall were built to serve both as defensive structures and residences. Altogether, the nine towers created an additional thirty-three "rooms" dedicated to living space.¹¹² The towers, like many other aspects of the château and wood of Vincennes, served a variety of purposes.

Charles' final project at the site was the Sainte-Chapelle. Construction began just

¹¹¹ Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 58-59.

¹¹² Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes*, 68-70.

before Charles' death but dragged on due to frequent interruptions. The chapel was finally dedicated during the reign of Henry II in 1552. The Sainte-Chapelle at Vincennes was designed, like the chapel at the Palais de la Cité, to house relics of the Passion. Scholars have used this as evidence of Charles' desire to turn Vincennes into the capital of his realm, ancillary to Paris. The Sainte-Chapelle follows a standard plan for a palace chapel, with a single nave, a choir formed by a straight bay, and a five-sided apse complete with oratories for the king and queen. An annex on the north side, was used as a sacristy. In many respects, this Sainte-Chapelle at Vincennes mimics its counterpart in Paris very well (Fig. 3.3 - 3.6). The general elevation is also similar: deep buttresses support tall, gabled windows. The Sainte-Chapelle at Vincennes is also near the same height and slightly wider than its Parisian cousin. Unlike the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, this chapel is constructed on a single level, instead of two. Already in Charles' manuscript collection were several books that were considered relics. This is in addition to the number of small relics kept in the king's private oratory and study, as mentioned in the inventory of 1380. The plans for the chapel, developed for Charles V, included the installation of relics at the site. But these would not be the first or the only holy relics at Vincennes.

From the very beginning of his reign to his death, Charles invested time and resources into transforming a royal hunting lodge into something more. As with Saint Louis, Vincennes held personal significance for Charles; it was also his birth place and the birth place of three of his children. In the Middle Ages, spaces of intimacy and

privacy developed alongside the development of the idea of the individual. The possibility of privacy and the construction of identity through the use of material objects provided special *sites* and special *materials* with a charge of personal associations that could result in individual memorialization.¹¹³ Charles' new construction projects and carefully curated manuscript collection at Vincennes serve to reflect and remind the viewer of the Valois' connection to the Capetian dynasty and the dynastic saint. The woods surrounding the estate continued to provide the royal family with hunting grounds and game; for this reason, Vincennes always remained a place to hunt and partake in outdoor sport. By constructing defensive features, additional residential spaces, and a chapel, Charles increased the significance of Vincennes and widened its role in the lives of the royal family and the court. Bringing together a manuscript collection with documented associations with the members of Capetian dynasty and the dynastic saint, Charles emphasized a unique moment in the history of the château. In this sense, he allowed the memory of Saint Louis to emerge at Vincennes, making it a site of memorialization as well as refuge.

¹¹³ Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey develop this idea in their discussion of spaces, death, and memory. They argue that there exist internal states that configure memory and external environments that maintain the relationship between the living and the dead; see Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (New York, 2001): 79.

Vincennes as Counterpoint to Paris and as Memorial

Jacques Le Goff has also described Vincennes as a complement and counterpoint to the Louvre in Paris.¹¹⁴ No documentary evidence exists to suggest that Charles or his court intended Vincennes to be a “counterpoint” to Paris. In perhaps the most revealing passage about Charles and Vincennes, Christine de Pisan wrote in 1404,

Item, dehors Paris, le chastel du bois de Vincennes, qui moult est notable et bel, avoit entencion de faire ville fermée; et là aroit establee en beauls manoirs la demeure de plusieurs seigneurs, chevaliers et autres ses mieulx amez, et à chascun y asseneroit rente à vie selon leur personnes: celui lieu voult le Roy qu’il fust franc de toutes servitudes, n’aucune charge par le temps avenir, ne redevance demander.¹¹⁵

Christine de Pisan, Charles’ biographer and member of his court, proposes that Vincennes was meant to be a closed community for the nobility. She uses the word, “entencion,” suggesting that it was Charles’ intention that drove the project. Vincennes would be a collection of residences, administrative center outside of the central authority of Paris, and a retreat for those at the top of government and society. Apart from this brief mention, the only other evidence we have of the intentionality of the king is what remains of Vincennes and his collection there.

As the birthplace of Charles, only the third of the Valois kings, and a key setting in the life of Saint Louis, Vincennes linked the king of the new dynasty with the dynastic saint of the old and made the association more explicit and elegant than any monument in

¹¹⁴ Le Goff, “Preface,” vi.

¹¹⁵ For the purposes of this study I have used Christine de Pisan, *Le livres des fait et bonnes moeurs du sage roy Charles V*, trans. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris, 1997): 25-26.

Paris. The memory of Saint Louis at Vincennes, then, was generated and made emergent by Charles and his court, the dominant social force.¹¹⁶ But, as other scholars have shown, the memory and cultural, iconic image of Saint Louis was evoked by different groups in varying locations for an equally varied number of reasons.¹¹⁷ Anthropologists Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey have asserted that “memory sites” are often those that were or have been associated with the body of the deceased.¹¹⁸ These “memory sites” can be real environments that are simultaneously material, symbolic, and functional.¹¹⁹ The history of Vincennes is fixed, but it was open to reinterpretation and renewed interest from the Valois. The fifty-six manuscripts at Vincennes also had fixed histories; the majority of them had been the property of prior, prestigious owners. But, at Vincennes, removed from their original contexts, these manuscripts were reincarnated as carriers for dynastic memory. At Vincennes, Charles was asserting that the material dimension of memory making, through architecture and manuscript collecting, was significant in memorializing

¹¹⁶ Hallam and Hockey have gone into the intricacies of emergent and dedicated memory; see Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture*, 24, 42, and 50.

¹¹⁷ Specifically I am thinking of Gaposchkin’s study on the construction of Louis’ image after his death in *The Making of Saint Louis*. See also, Marguerite Keane, “Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre: Family Ties and Political Ideology in the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre,” *Visual Resources* 20 (2004): 237-252; and Marguerite Keane, “Remembering Louis IX as a Family Saint: A Study of the Images of Saint Louis Created for Jeanne, Blanche, and Marie de Navarre,” (PhD. diss. UC Santa Barbara, 2002).

¹¹⁸ Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, 14-15, and 34.

¹¹⁹ Pierre Nora has also written on this idea of sites dedicated to memory and how they function in Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-25.

the deceased and creating a context in which futures were imagined, his future and that of the Valois.

Chapter 4: Interpretive Possibilities for the Vincennes Manuscripts

Conceptions of Memory, the Book, and Charles V

The medieval book was a durable, cultural artefact; before the advent of print and mass production, the material nature of a book was apparent and important. The manuscripts in Charles V's collection at Vincennes could each be described as a "monumental book." Each one was a single copy, the result of many hours of work at the hands of master craftsmen. As such, each manuscript stood as a monument, "even more durable than a structure made of bronze."¹²⁰ Books as objects, especially as monumental objects, act as carriers of memory, linking the reader to the past through the written word, illustration, and material embellishments. At Vincennes, the combination of the textual and visual dimensions reinforced the manuscript collection's capacity to act as a memory object. François Avril has surmised that the collection of fifty-six manuscripts at Vincennes acted as a, "mémorial des fastes de la dynastie capétienne."¹²¹ In this chapter I will explore this interpretation of the collection as a framework for social memory at Vincennes.

¹²⁰ This quotation comes from Michel Butor's lament for the hand-made and "monumental" books that pre-date mass printing. See Michel Butor, *Inventory*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1969): 20. Susan Stewart also quotes Butor in her study of how everyday objects are animated to play in our own personal narratives; see Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir and the Collection* (Durham, 2007): 33.

¹²¹ François Avril, "Les livres de Charles V au château de Vincennes," in *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne* (Paris: 1996): 332.

As philosophical attitudes towards the senses and sense perception changed during the reign of Charles V, so too did the popular understanding of how people interacted with the material world and recalled memories. To the medieval reader, memories were physical entities, taking up space in the mind. Memories could be stored, stowed, and embedded into physical objects. In her study on medieval concepts of memory Mary Carruthers highlights the somatic quality of memory that involved its physical storage and imprint on the body:

A memory is a mental picture (phantasm; Latin *simulacrum* or *imago*)... which is inscribed in a physical way upon that part of the body which constitutes memory. This phantasm is the final product of the entire process of sense perception, whether its origin be visual or auditory, tactile or olfactory. Every sort of sense perception ends up in the form of phantasm or memory.¹²²

This conception of memories as mental pictures was espoused in Aristotle's treatise, *De memoria et reminiscentia*. Again in the treatise, *De anima*, Aristotle defines the memory as an "appearance" that is impressed on the body.¹²³ Charles V oversaw a revival of Aristotelian philosophy during his reign.¹²⁴ The importance of this revival in changing

¹²² Mary Carruthers book on this topic is a seminal work in the study of medieval concepts of memory. See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 2008): 22.

¹²³ Mary Carruthers discusses the influence of Aristotelian ideas about memory in Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 19, 165, 218, and 388-389.

¹²⁴ For a brief description of this revival of Aristotelian thought see Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent*, Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France* (London, 2001): 39-43. See also Françoise Autrand, *Charles V* (Paris 1994): 730-732 and 752-754; and Claire Richter Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representations in Fourteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1994): 13-23.

the intellectual climate of Western Europe was profound. Followers of Aristotle, largely based at the University of Paris, held that the acquisition of knowledge was rooted in sensory experience. This contradicted the long-held Augustinian system of belief that privileged revelation through divine power over individual perception.¹²⁵ The Aristotelian assumption that knowledge begins through direct perception elevated the visual faculty above all others.

Aristotle's formula for the relationship between knowledge and the senses coincided with contemporaneous memory practices. In one such practice, parts of prayers or speeches would be linked to visual objects, such as a series of rooms in an imaginary building. As the speaker moved through his speech, he would mentally move through this architectural structure of memories.¹²⁶ In this long standing tradition, which has its roots in the practices of Greek and Roman orators, temporality, memory, and material objects are deeply connected. That speech was internalized spatially contributed to the concept of the "spatialization of time."¹²⁷ The process of recollection was linked with time and material objects, a notion that, in Charles' time, was reinforced by the popularity of Aristotelian ideas. For Aristotle, however, recollection was a different intellectual process

¹²⁵ For more on the tension between Augustinian and Aristotelian beliefs see O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent*, 38.

¹²⁶ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 185-186.

¹²⁷ Johannes Fabian develops the notion of the "spatialization of time" in Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York, 2002): 111 and 120. Hallam and Hockey also address this theory and how it relates to medieval memory practices in Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (New York, 2001): 49-51.

than memory, which was considered a more passive, receptive activity. In order to begin the process of recollection one must have a starting point or “place” from which to recall.¹²⁸ These “places” are actually visualizations. The process of the “spatialization of time” refers to the practice through which time is conveyed in terms of visualized “places” made up of discernible objects and spaces. Anthropologist Johannes Fabian has argued that a move towards a “visualization and spatialization of knowledge signal a greater, not a lesser, emphasis on the knower as an individual.”¹²⁹ In fact, this move towards a greater individualism is reflected in Charles’ architectural choices for the *donjon* of Vincennes. The vertical ordering of the rooms in the *donjon*, with the king’s private chambers below those of this entourage, allowed for a more partitioned arrangement of rooms and offered more privacy for the ruler.¹³⁰ It was also in these rooms that Charles’ manuscript collection was kept.

In keeping with the belief that memories could leave physical imprints on the mind was the accompanying conviction that memories could leave traces on or in material objects, such as books or precious stones.¹³¹ Books were especially charged carriers of memory. The library and the book share a long tradition as metaphors for

¹²⁸ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 79-80.

¹²⁹ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 120.

¹³⁰ Jean Chapelot remarks on this trend in princely architecture in Jean Chapelot, “Le Vincennes des quatre premiers Valois: Continuités et ruptures dans un grand programme architectural,” in *Vincennes aux origines de l’état moderne* (Paris, 1996): 63-67.

¹³¹ Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, 49-50.

memory and the mind.¹³² The medieval book was a living object. Manuscripts were passed down through generations, and it was quite common for new owners to make alterations or amendments to their books. The Savoy Hours, from the Vincennes collection, is a well-known example of this. Charles inserted additional prayers into the prayerbook, so his own image appeared interspersed with that of the original owner, Blanche de Bourgogne. The medieval manuscript, then, was neither monolithic nor static. It could build up layers of meaning over time, forming histories of events, past owners, and relationships between them.

The Vincennes Manuscript Collection as a Memorial

A gathering of texts for the purpose of memorialization is not a well documented practice in the fourteenth century. The most enduring and detailed instances of memorialization from the late medieval period are funerary monuments, sculpture, and holy relics. In the fourteenth century, private book collection was still a relatively new phenomenon.¹³³ And, book collection for the primary purpose of memorialization has not been a subject of concerted study.

The manuscripts in the Vincennes collection retained a certain historical specificity, that linked them back to the circumstances of their creation. Despite

¹³² For a thorough discussion of the use of books and libraries as metaphors for memory, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 151-152, 201-209, and 268-269.

¹³³ Large collections of manuscripts or libraries were more commonly found in religious houses and universities. Charles' library at the Louvre was one of the first of its kind. See Karl Christ, Anton Kern, and Theophil M. Otto, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History* (Ann Arbor, 1984): 283-289.

appearing in Charles' collection at a later date, many of the manuscripts still bore the heraldry of their previous owners or reflected an earlier period in manuscript illumination through their style of illustration. At least twenty-nine of these manuscripts were re-contextualized by Charles in his collection at Vincennes.¹³⁴ The visible link with the past appears to be one of the major characteristics of the collection. Indeed, many of the manuscripts render present that which is absent, Charles' ancestors and dynastic predecessors. The historicism of the collection is known to scholars today through an examination of the eleven extant manuscripts from this group, which represent an evolution in manuscript production that spanned over a century. Studied individually, the extant manuscripts from Charles' collection tell us very little about how they were re-contextualized and interpreted as a collection. Nor would the medieval reader at Vincennes necessarily envision the collection as a series of individual texts. Mary Carruthers has stated that in the Middle Ages, "a work of literature was not taught in isolation, as an artifact produced by some person long dead whose particular intention we must now recover, but as an ever-rolling stream accumulating and adapting over time as it is collated with its multitude of readers."¹³⁵ Carruthers is not referring here to devotional books but to the use of books as didactic tools. However, Carruthers' statement underscores that for the medieval reader, less emphasis was placed on the original context or intent of the manuscript's creator. This de-emphasis on original intent

¹³⁴ For the complete list of manuscripts that had prior owners, refer to note 3 in Chapter 2.

¹³⁵ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 269.

allowed the manuscripts at Vincennes to be re-interpreted as memory objects instead of simply devotional texts.

Perhaps the most consistent features of the collection are the uniformity in content, the rich, material embellishments of the exterior bindings and the nearly uniform method of preservation. Apart from the unifying characteristics apparent between the ten extant manuscripts from Vincennes, these features of the collection are noted in the inventories for each of the fifty-six volumes and also contribute to an interpretation of the collection as a memorial.

As previously noted, all of the manuscripts at Vincennes are religious works: seventeen books of hours, seven psalters, five prayer books, fourteen breviaries, a book of the Office of Saint Sacrement and Saint Claire, an ordinal, a collectionary, and a *vita* of Saint Margaret.¹³⁶ The text of these devotional books would have probably been fairly uniform. Personalization of books of hours and breviaries, for example, was generally reserved for the calendar, the use of the feminine or masculine forms in the text of the prayers, the illustration, and the exterior decoration. For the twenty-nine books known to have had previous owners, any personalization of the text would serve to evoke that previous owner. The name or even the image of the previous owner was an imprint of ownership and identity. In the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, which included an illustrated cycle of the Hours of Saint Louis, the images of Jeanne d'Evreux and Saint Louis, two of Charles' ancestors and prominent figures in the history of the Capetian dynasty, are

¹³⁶ Refer to the appendix for the inventory entries that identify each volume.

repeated throughout the manuscript. Where once this manuscript functioned as a didactic and devotional text to a young queen, at Vincennes it presents a material image of deceased. Through this manuscript, and the others in the collection, these images are re-contextualized in the interplay between what is made visible (Saint Louis and Jeanne as illustrated by Jean Pucelle) and that which is made absent in death.

The rich materials used to adorn the binding of the manuscripts can also contribute to the memorial function of the collection. The entries in the 1380 inventory describe an extraordinarily luxurious array of precious stones, embroideries, metals, and enamels used in the production of the manuscripts:

petit Bréviare, très bel et très noblement escript, sans note, à l'usage de Paris, dont le bref est en francoys, à deux fermouers d'or à deux boutons de perles, et est la pippe d'une grosse perle ou mylieu ung saphir et ung ballay ou mylieu....¹³⁷

Similar entries describe clasps fashioned of gold and silver, decorated with enamel coats of arms and the decorative use of emeralds, rubies, and sapphires. The use of precious and semi-precious stones and other elaborate embellishments was not unusual but was a practice reserved for the wealthiest patrons. Stones, jewels, and metals appealed to the sense of sight as well as adding tactile variety among the manuscripts. The decoration of books with jewels was evocative of the manner in which relics and reliquaries were adorned. Saints relics provided one of the primary sites of collective remembering in the

¹³⁷ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3283.

Middle Ages.¹³⁸ They acted as points of contact between the living and the deceased, offering miracles and heavenly intercession in exchange for earthly veneration.¹³⁹ The application of jewels and precious materials brings the manuscript closer to the medieval relic in its material form. Carruthers notes that, “Especially in the earlier Middle Ages, books were decorated in the same way as shrines, like reliquaries of saints, another memorial object.”¹⁴⁰ It is not clear if the use of precious materials heightened the capacity of the book to act as a memorial object, or if manuscripts that already served memorial function were subsequently richly decorated. At Vincennes, at least four of the manuscripts could have been conceived of as holy relics. The three volumes that had belonged to Saint Louis, but especially the Saint Louis Psalter, had been in close, personal contact with the Capetian dynastic saint. The Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France, the sister of Saint Louis, may have also been considered a holy relic by Charles and his contemporaries.¹⁴¹ However, the ubiquity of the lavish bindings throughout the collection suggests that this type of decoration was not reserved solely for books that could also function as relics.

¹³⁸ For a description of medieval relics as sites of collective memory, see Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, 134-136.

¹³⁹ Patrick Geary expands on this theory of exchange and the role of relics in the medieval economy in Patrick Geary, “Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics,” in *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge, 1986): 169-194.

¹⁴⁰ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 47.

¹⁴¹ The three manuscripts that belonged to Saint Louis are noted in Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3303, 3304, and 3297. The Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France is noted in Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3291.

Although none of the jewels or original bindings from the Vincennes collection have been identified, it is possible that the durable quality of the stone and metal conveyed to the reader a more lasting ability to carry and preserve the memory. Hallam and Hockey have observed that the value assigned to memorial objects is often related to the physical endurance of the object.¹⁴² Higher value is given to objects made of a durable material such as stone rather than to objects that easily decay. Even in the case of the Ingeborg Psalter, an extremely well-preserved extant manuscript from Vincennes, scholars are still unable to appreciate the whole, material form as it would have appeared to medieval readers.¹⁴³

Carruthers' observation of jeweled manuscripts continued with, "Book covers with jewels, ivory, and other precious materials were used to bind Gospels and other precious books, the material making literal the book's function as a *scrinium* for its contents."¹⁴⁴ In Latin a *scrinium* refers to any box or chest in which books or important letters are kept. In the Middle Ages, the word was frequently used in reference to the keeping of important ecclesiastical items, such as books, records, and relics.¹⁴⁵ Like the book covers in Carruthers' description, the exterior bindings of the Vincennes

¹⁴² Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture*, 49.

¹⁴³ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3303.

¹⁴⁴ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 47.

¹⁴⁵ Carruthers explains the etymology of the word and its uses in Western Europe during the Middle Ages as well as its uses as a metaphor for memory. See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 40, 46-49, and 423-424.

manuscripts alerted the reader to their precious contents and evoked the familiar image of memorial shrines and reliquary.

The bulk of Charles' collection at Vincennes were kept in two such *scrinia*. The first, located in the *estude du roy*, was made of cypress wood, gilded in silver.¹⁴⁶ Twenty-two manuscripts were kept together in this chest, notably a lost psalter belonging to Saint Louis, a psalter bearing the arms of Charles' wife, Jeanne de Bourbon, prayerbook with the arms of Charles' mother, Bonne of Luxembourg, and the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux.¹⁴⁷ A second chest containing manuscripts was kept in the king's bedroom, also called the *grant chambre*, mounted on the wall near the window.¹⁴⁸ The chest was partitioned in two, with fifteen manuscripts kept in one half, and sixteen manuscripts in the other. Some of the notable manuscripts from this chest are the Ingeborg Psalter, the Breviary of Charles V, and the Breviary of Philippe le Bel.¹⁴⁹ Judging from the inventory entries, it seems as if smaller manuscripts were kept in the cypress chest, while manuscripts described as large were kept in the partitioned chest. Grouping the collection by relative size may have been a practical necessity, although the sizes of the chests are not described in the inventory.

¹⁴⁶ Labarte, *Inventaire*, no. 3044.

¹⁴⁷ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3046, 3048, 3050, and 3054 respectively. The entire contents of the chest are noted in Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 2849-3066.

¹⁴⁸ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3278-3293 note the manuscripts kept in one half of the chest. Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3294-3309 note the manuscripts kept in the other half of the chest.

¹⁴⁹ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3303, 3281, and 3284 respectively.

The “store-room,” “treasury,” or “strongbox,” were also images popularly used in medieval metaphors of memory.¹⁵⁰ The use of the “strongbox” metaphor was meant to represent the storage of memories in an organized way. The origins of this metaphor have roots as ancient as the spatial visualization of memories espoused by followers of Aristotle. The medieval “strongbox” or *scrinium* differs somewhat from our modern conception of a safe, storage place for our documents. These safe places were not meant to store factually verifiable documents; they were meant to store riches, objects valued for their rich narrative quality or their sensually pleasing qualities, not for their “accuracy.”

The books kept in the oratory were also devotional, two books of hours and one missal.¹⁵¹ It seems likely that these three were probably used by Charles or close family members for devotional purposes. Their placement in the oratory, with other religious items, suggests that these books did not serve the same memorial purpose as the manuscripts kept in the *estude du roy* and the *grant chambre*. This also indicates that Charles (or whoever was using the oratory) was not necessarily reliant on the manuscripts in the *estude du roy* and *grant chambre* to function as devotional texts; they offered Charles something other than guidance in his personal devotions.

Just as the medieval memory was metaphorically referred to as a series of visualized places, a book, or a treasure chest or strong box, the physical book or chest of

¹⁵⁰ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 37-39. Also see Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture*, 35-36.

¹⁵¹ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 2599, 2621, and 2849.

books was imagined as a location where memories could be stored. The cypress chest in the *estude du roy* and the wall-mounted chest in the *grant chambre* contained over fifty richly decorated, devotional books stored away as precious treasures. These treasures, endowed with the names, images, inalienable presence of their original owners and members of the Capetian dynasty, formed a monumental group of texts and images. Even in a deeply fragmented form, centuries later, the preserved manuscripts from this collection are hailed as the greatest examples of French Gothic manuscript illumination.

This use of books as objects of enduring, symbolic value outside of their text was not unprecedented for Charles V. He kept a miniature copy of the Hours of Saint Louis and a prose Life of Saint Louis at all times.¹⁵² This practice was shared by Charles V's brother, Jean duc de Berry. Jean's *Petites Heures* (BNF ms. lat. 18014) included the text of Saint Louis' own *Enseignements*, instructions the saint had written to his children on Christian rulership.¹⁵³ Small books kept close to the body functioned on a level separate from their texts. Books as objects, as well as texts, acted as memory possessions, linking Charles V through their history of prior owners, their material embellishments, and their position to his body to his royal, Capetian ancestors.

¹⁵² Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 197.

¹⁵³ For a full discussion of this volume, see François Avril, Louisa Dunlop, and W.B. Yapp, *Les Petites heures de duc de Berry*. (Luzern, 1988).

Narrative of Continuity at Vincennes

By bringing his court to Vincennes and making architectural improvements, Charles elevated the significance of Vincennes among the other royal residences. He emphasized the role of the château in the life of the dynastic saint and created a site of social memory dedicated to the memorialization of his Capetian ancestors and Saint Louis. However, the manuscripts at Vincennes, and the site itself, only functioned as such when drawn together in a network of relationships between place, artefact, and history that allowed certain memories of the site to surface. The individual manuscripts of Charles' collection were not *dedicated* memory objects, designed to evoke Charles' Capetian heritage and legitimacy as king. This meaning *emerged* through their collection and installation at Vincennes.

Charles' had a vested interest in maintaining a relationship, even one mediated through material culture, with his Capetian ancestors. The political climate during the conflict of the Hundred Years' War made Charles' own position as monarch relatively insecure. Throughout his reign, Charles drew parallels between his own reign with rulers of the past, including Charlemagne, but, most notably, Saint Louis. In the *Grandes Chroniques*, Charles included images of himself within a narrative of national history, a narrative that included these famous ancestors. Charles also included an image of Jeanne d'Evreux in the baptismal procession of his son and successor, Charles VI. Jeanne, the last queen of the Capetian dynasty, maintained a place of stature at Charles' court throughout her life. In her will, Jeanne left to Charles several items, including four of the

manuscripts in the collection at Vincennes.¹⁵⁴ Jeanne, as the great-granddaughter of Saint Louis, was a living link to the dynastic saint. Her approbation and approval of Charles V's ascent to the throne served to legitimate his reign and provided a semblance of continuity between the Capetian and Valois dynasties. After her death, when her presence was no longer felt at court, Charles' relationship with Jeanne came under threat. It is at the time of death that the influence Jeanne may have had, as a former queen and Capetian, ceased. Maintaining a material connection to her, through the items she left Charles in her will, would have helped to keep the memory of Jeanne and what she represented alive.

The manuscripts in the collection at Vincennes that have documented or verifiable prior owners, represent a family group. Charles' immediate family is represented. Manuscripts from his father Jean le Bon, his mother Bonne de Luxembourg, and his wife and one of his brothers are documented.¹⁵⁵ Manuscripts from Philippe le Bel, Marie de Brabant, and Saint Louis, allowed Charles to trace his own genealogy back to the Capetian line and through generations of French kings. Collecting, preserving, and acting as a guardian for these manuscripts, memory objects in their own right, allowed Charles to act as a guardian of his own heritage.

¹⁵⁴ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3304, 3295, 3054, and 3288.

¹⁵⁵ Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos.

Conclusion

Throughout its long history, Vincennes has evolved from a royal hunting lodge, defensive stronghold of sacral, royal authority, and site of memory, to a tourist attraction and museum. Vincennes, once a quiet refuge from the urban center of Paris, is now located in a suburb of the expanding city. The manuscripts that are at the center of this study were also open to re-contextualization in a constantly changing society.

After his death in September of 1380, the young and inexperienced Charles VI came to the throne and inherited his father's collections at Vincennes. In his essay on the Vincennes collection, François Avril remarks that a series of notes in the margin of the 1380 inventory indicated that, between 1381 and 1389, that several of the manuscripts were removed from the collection. Other manuscripts were stripped of their precious bindings, often with the intent of melting down the precious metals to sell or recycle.¹⁵⁶ Over the course of time, other precious stones from these manuscripts were re-set for relics, crowns, or jewelry. The scope of this dismantlement is apparent in an inventory dated to 1391. This inventory was conducted at the behest of Charles VI and recorded the king's possessions at several residences: the Louvre, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Hôtel de Saint-Pol, and Vincennes.¹⁵⁷ According to this inventory, five manuscripts were missing

¹⁵⁶ François Avril, "Les livres de Charles V au château de Vincennes," *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne*, (Paris, 1996): 334-336.

¹⁵⁷ A copy of this inventory can be found at the Bibliothèque nationale de France; see BNF, ms. fr. 21445. The relevant portions are reproduced in Avril, "Les livres de Charles V," 338-340.

from the partitioned chest in the *grant chambre*.¹⁵⁸ Throughout the 1390s, additional volumes were either given as gifts by Charles VI to family members or moved to other locations.

The life of the collection was brief. The manuscripts brought to Vincennes were only kept there, together, for a portion of Charles' reign. As the manuscripts only functioned as a memorial in relationship to Charles, Vincennes, and each other, their memorial capacity diminished and was, ultimately, lost with the dismantlement of the collection. Through the marking of spaces and the spatial arrangement of his collection, Charles was able to build a sense of unity and memory at Vincennes, keep present relationships with the deceased, and thereby create a device for recollection and legitimation of his reign.

Despite largely being responsible for the dispersal of his father's collection, the tradition of memorialization of dynastic ideals through material objects continued with Charles VI. In her will, dated to 1391, Blanche de Navarre, the wife of Philippe VI le Fortuné bequeathed a relic belt to Charles VI. The belt could be worn around the body and bore a series of compartments that could be opened to reveal tiny relics. The belt was also decorated with alternating fleur-de-lys and pearl lozenges. The description of the belt in the bequest is unusually detailed and highlights the prestigious provenance of the item: the belt had been a gift from Jeanne de Bourgogne to Philippe VI, from wife to husband,

¹⁵⁸ The missing manuscripts have been identified by Avril as Labarte, *Inventaire*, nos. 3280, 3282, 3284, and 3292. See Avril, "Les livres de Charles V," 335.

for Philippe to wear on his military campaigns.¹⁵⁹ The wording of the bequest and the emphasis on the relic-belt's associations with the first Valois king, Philippe VI, suggest that the primary value of the gift was in its dynastic and memorial meaning. This also suggests that the early Valois were deeply engaged with, and had faith in, the ability of objects of the material world to contain, carry, and transfer memory to their next owner.

Although the relic-belt and Charles' manuscripts both had illustrious and well-documented histories of their own, it was the way these items were incorporated into the lives of their owners that allows us to speculate on how they would have been interpreted. It is apparent from a study of the inventory from Vincennes and the extant manuscripts that they were grouped and could be interpreted as a *collection*. For the modern scholar, such collections of books or historical items are generally accessible through archives and museums. These modern institutions, through careful practices of curators, are able to bring together seemingly disparate materials to form collections or establish a point of view about an historical, artistic, or cultural moment. But, removed from their context and dismantled, the fifty-six manuscripts of the Vincennes collection have been unable to maintain an interpretive relationship among each other.

In his discussion of medieval sites of memory, Pierre Nora states that, "Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself

¹⁵⁹ For a more lengthy description of the belt and the exact wording of the bequest, see Marguerite Keane, "Most beautiful and next best: Value in the Collection of a Medieval Queen," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): 360-362.

strictly to temporal continuities, progressions, and to relations between things.”¹⁶⁰ And, at Vincennes the memory of Saint Louis and of the Capetian ancestors who had also invested the site with dynastic and familial import were rooted in the space and the objects Charles chose to bring to the residence. For Charles VI, and later kings of France, the historical relationship between Vincennes and their own dynastic power did not play as central a role in the formation of their dynastic identities.

Louis XI (1461-1483) changed the way Vincennes was used. He abandoned the traditional king’s apartments in the *donjon*, which had first been designed for Charles V, and constructed a single-story pavilion in the south-west corner of the protective wall. Francis I (1515-1547) renovated this pavilion during his reign and stayed there as well. During the Wars of Religion, the château of Vincennes was considered among the safest residences for the King, and was favored for this reason.¹⁶¹ As in the Hundred Years War, Vincennes again was used as a refuge. The royal family frequented the château and wood continuously until 1670, when the residence was abandoned in favor of the more opulent Versailles.

¹⁶⁰ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 9.

¹⁶¹ For more on the later history of Vincennes, see Chapelot’s monograph, Jean Chapelot, *Le château de Vincennes: Une résidence royale au moyen âge* (Paris, 1994): 100-122.

Figures



Figure 1.1. Scenes from the Life of Saint Louis. *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Paris, BNF ms. fr. 2813, fol. 265r. After *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 1987. Image taken from DASE.



Figure 1.2. Baptismal Procession on Dec. 6, 1368 with the Dauphin Charles VI with his Godmother Jeanne de d'Evreux. *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Paris, BNF ms. fr. 2813, fol. 446v. After Castelot, *Histoire de la France et les Français*, 1970. Image taken from DASE.



Figure 2.1. The *donjon* exterior, East facade from South East, circa 1337. Vincennes. After *Paris et Charles V: arts et architecture*, exhib., 2001. Image taken from DASE.



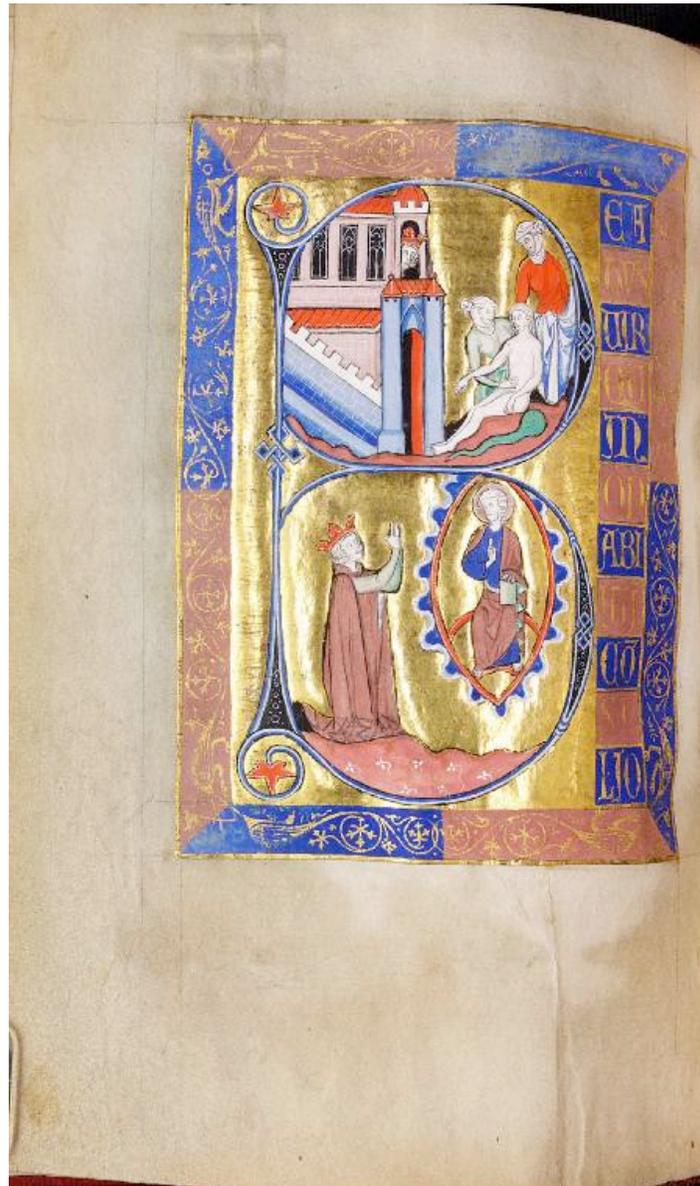
Figure 2.2. Coronation and Death of the Virgin. The Ingeborg Psalter. Chantilly, Musée Condé ms. lat. 1695, folio 16v. Image take from DASE.



Figure 2.3. The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel. The Saint Louis Psalter. Paris, BNF ms. lat. 10525, folio 1v. After Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, 2008. Image taken from ArtStor.



Figure 2.4. Psalm 1: David and Bathsheba; David Kneels in Prayer Before Christ. The Saint Louis Psalter. Paris, BNF ms. lat. 10525, folio 85v. After Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, 2008. Image taken from DASE.



© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. UK

Figure 2.5. Psalm 1: David and Bathsheba; David Kneels in Prayer Before Christ. The Psalter and Hours of Isabelle de France. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms. 300, folio 13v. Image taken from the Fitzwilliam Museum Online Gallery.



Figure 2.6. Master Honoré, Anointing of David and David and Goliath. The Breviary of Philippe le Bel. Paris, BNF ms. lat. 1023, folio 1v., late 13th century. After *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, 1990. Image taken from DASE.



Figure 2.7. Jean Pucelle, Christ Carrying the Cross and the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. New York, Cloisters ms. 54.1.2, folio 61v.-62r. Image taken from DASE.

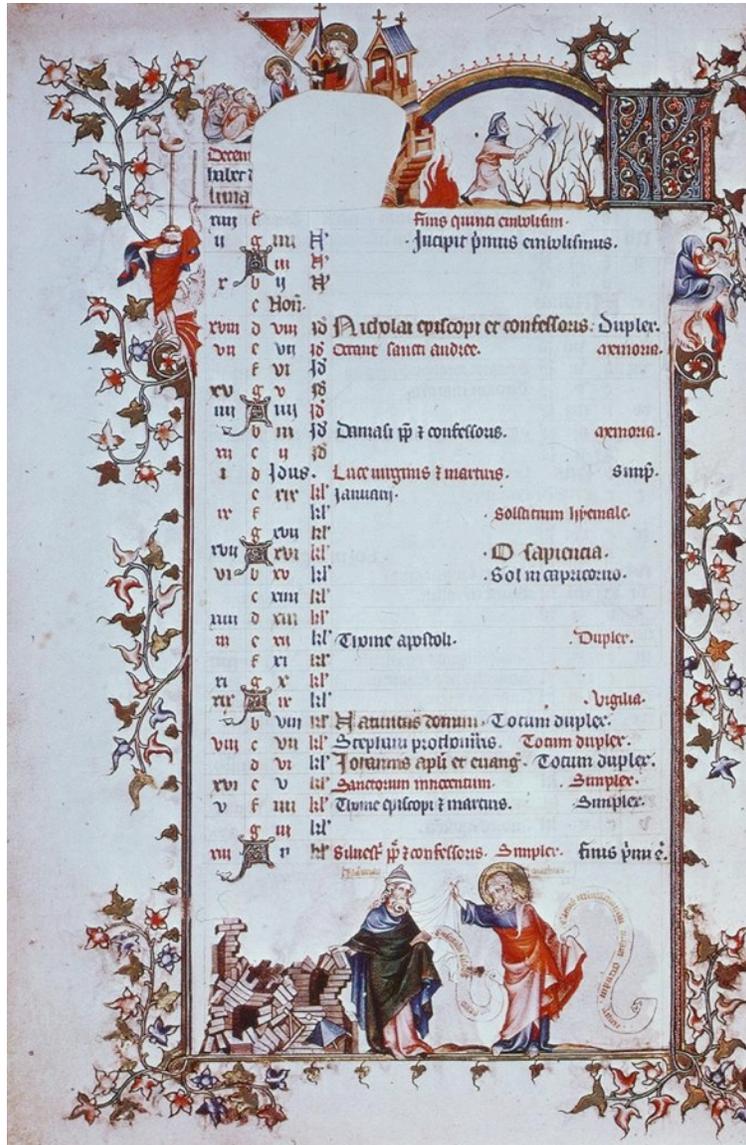


Figure 2.8. Jean Pucelle, Calendar page. Belleville Breviary, 1320. Paris, BNF ms. lat. 10484, folio 6v: Tome I. Image taken from ArtStor.



Figure 2.9. Jean le Noir, Calendar pages. Hours of Yolande de Flandres. London, British Library, Yates Thompson 27, folio 11r. Image taken from the British Library Online Image Gallery.



Figure 2.10. In the style of Jean Pucelle, King Charles V of France with St. Anthony and St. Julian Crossing the Water. Hours of Blanche de Bourgogne, countess of Savoy. New Haven, Beinecke Library ms. 390, folio 45r. Image taken from ArtStor.



Figure 2.11. Jean le Noir, Psalm 109. Breviary of Charles V. Paris, BNF ms. lat. 1052, folio 261r. Image taken from ArtStor.

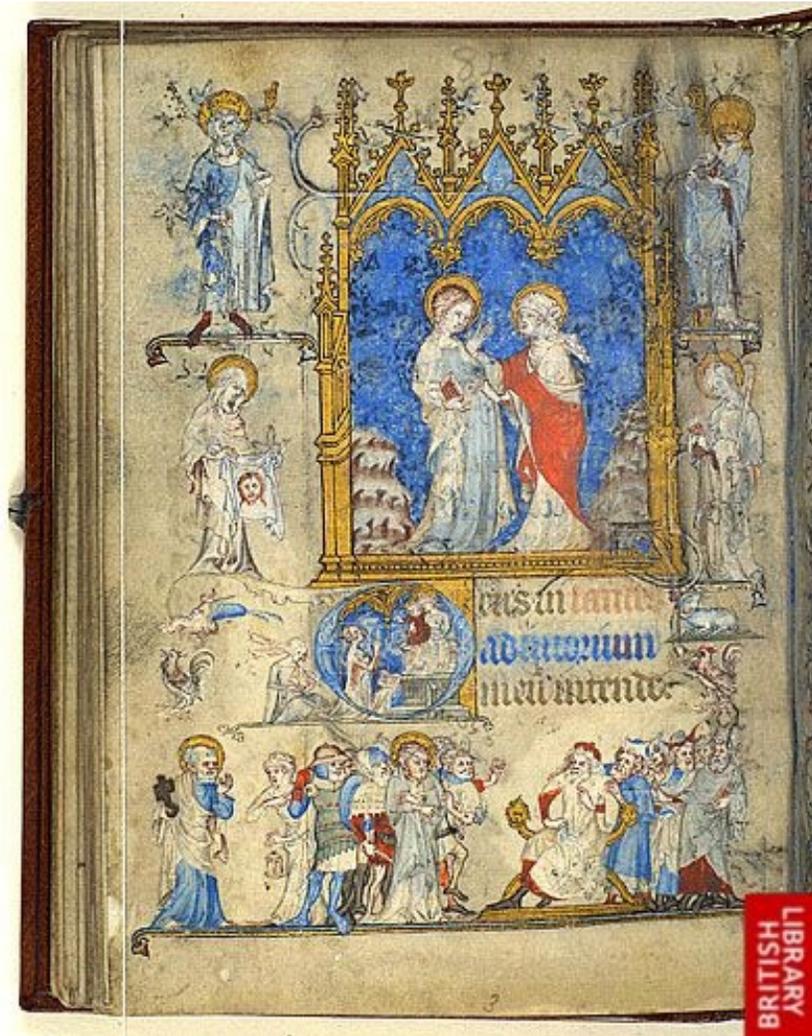


Figure 2.12. Jean le Noir, The Visitation. Hours of Yolande de Flandres. London, British Library, Yates Thompson 27, folio 44v. Image taken from the British Library Online Image Gallery.

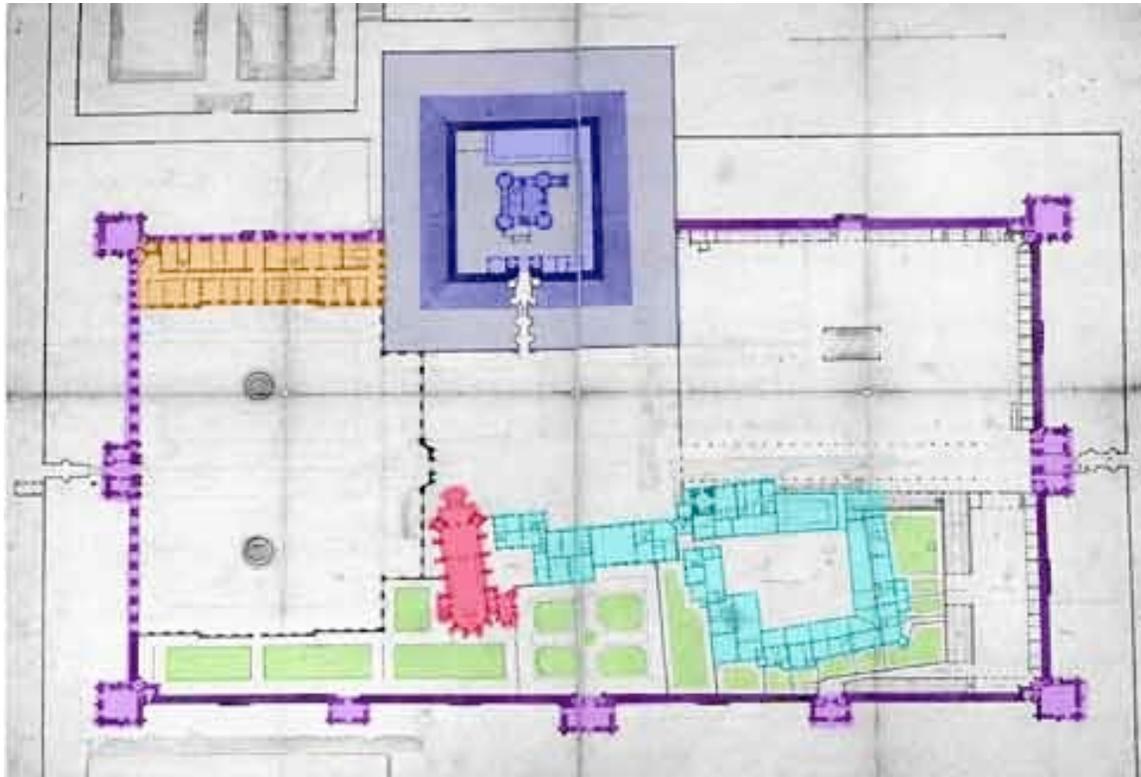


Figure 3.1. Plan of the Château de Vincennes as drawn by le Vau in 1654. The twelfth-century Capetian manor is in light blue. Charles V constructed the donjon (in indigo), the wall and towers (in purple), and the Sainte Chappelle (in pink). After *Paris et Charles V: arts et architecture*, exhib., 2001. Image taken from DASE.

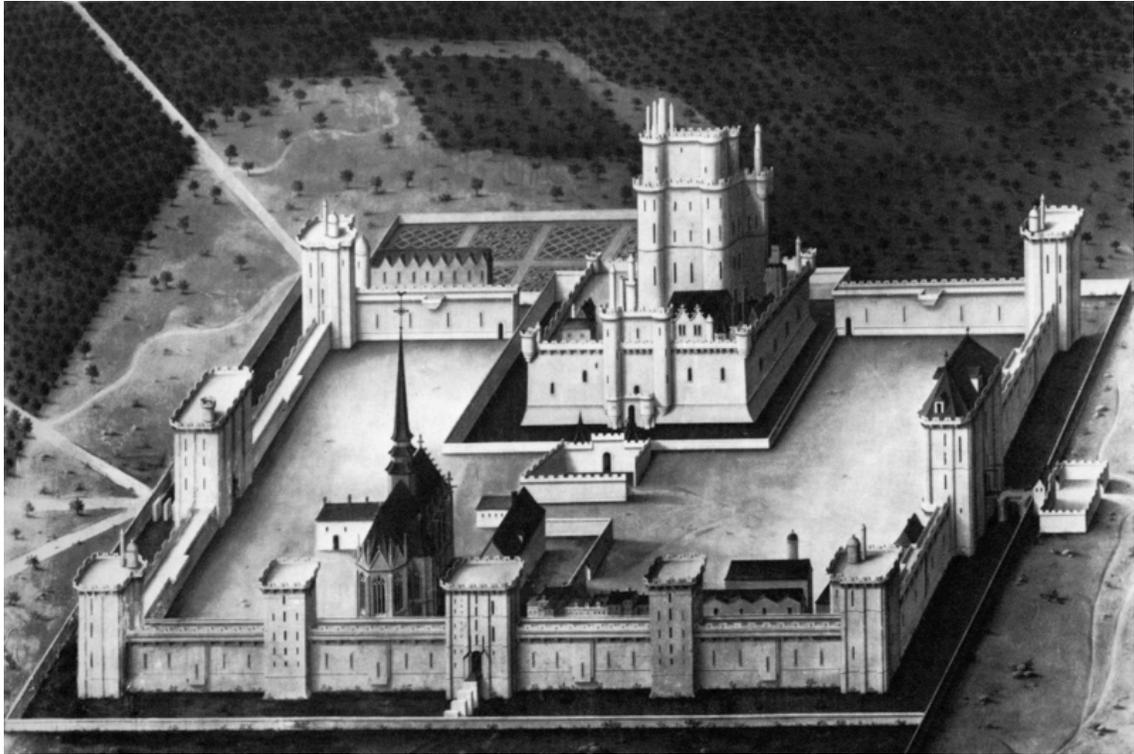


Figure 3.2. Château de Vincennes, after mural in Fontainebleau. After Prinz, *Das französische Bedeutung der Architektur*, 1994. Image taken from DASE.

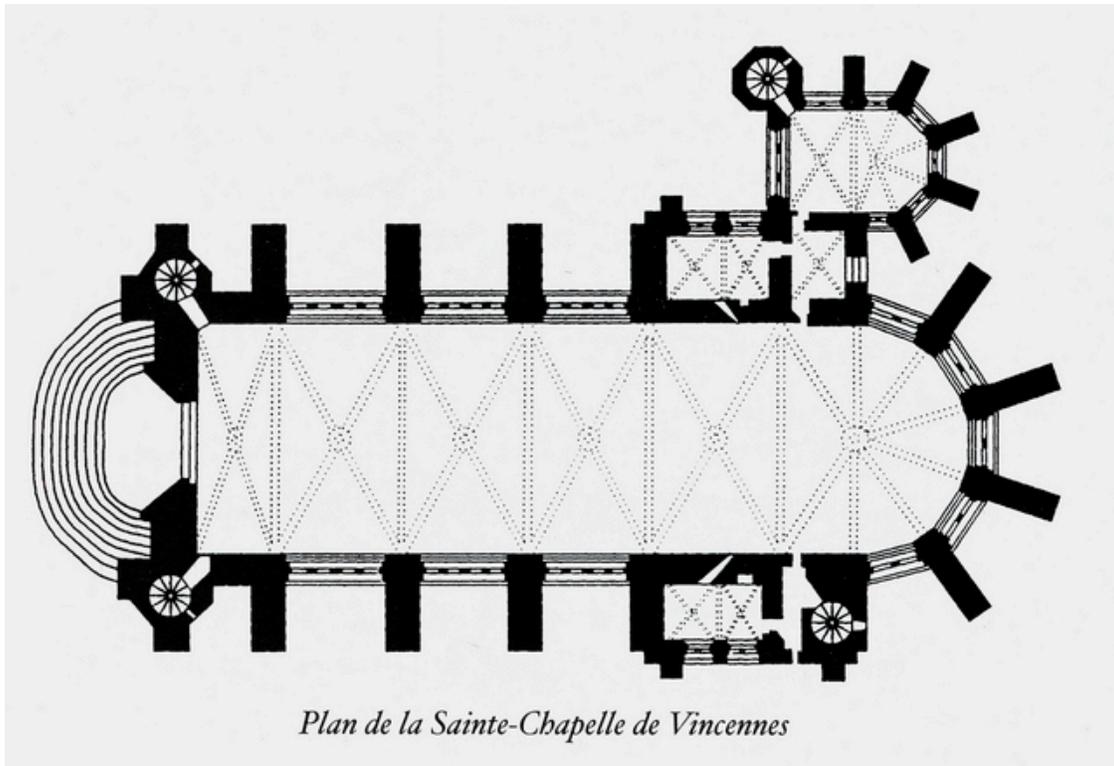


Figure 3.3. Sainte Chapelle, Plan. Vincennes. After *Paris et Charles V: arts et architecture*, exhib., 2001. Image taken from DASE.

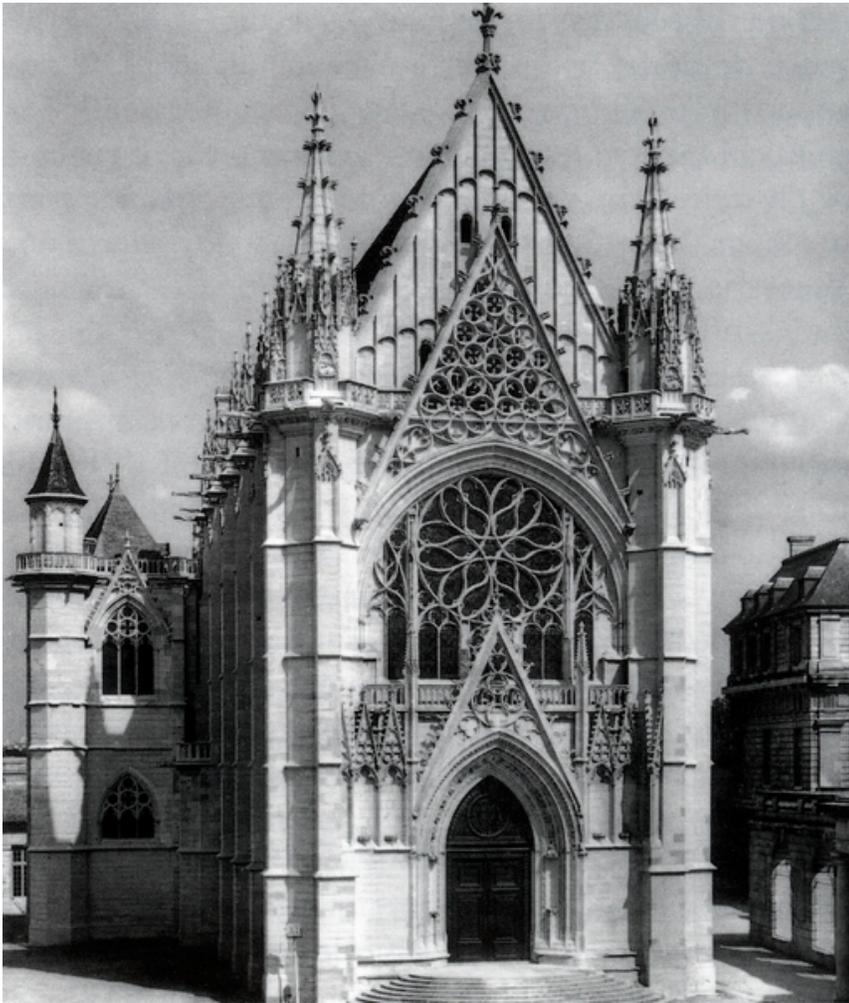


Figure 3.4. Sainte Chapelle, facade. Vincennes. After *Paris et Charles V: arts et architecture*, exhib. 2001. After *Paris et Charles V: arts et architecture*, exhib., 2001.
Image taken from DASE.

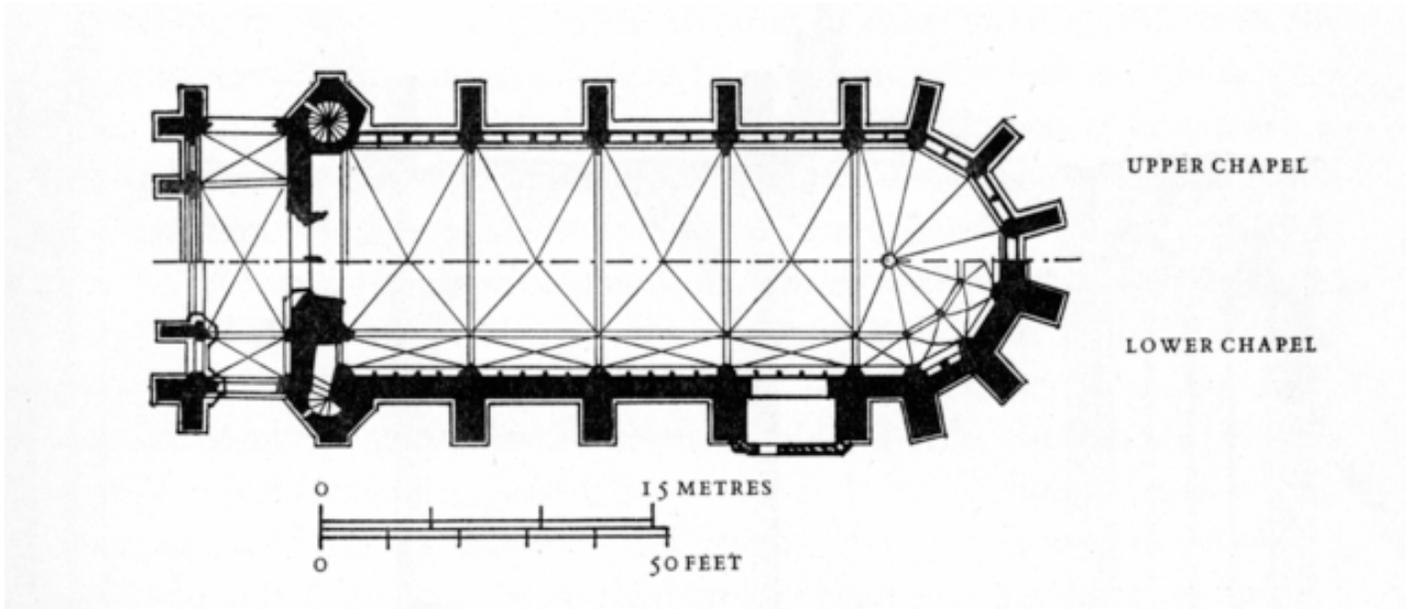


Figure 3.5. Sainte Chapelle, Plan. Paris. After Paul, *Gothic Architecture*, 1962. Image taken from DASE.



Figure 3.6. Sainte Chappelle, facade. Paris. After Moorhead, Gerald, dup. of original slide. Image taken from DASE.

Appendix A:

Transcription from Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*

CE SONT LES JOYAUXX QUI ESTOIENT EN L'ORATOIRE DU ROY EN LA GRANT TOUR DU BOYS DE VINCENNES, DEVANT LA CHAPPELLE EMPRÈS SA CHAMBRE, LE VIII ÈME JOUR DE FÉVRIER CCC LXXIX

2599. Item, unes Heures de Nostre Dame et ung Psaultier avec, a deux fermoers d'or, esmaillez de France, qui ont une chemise a queue de drap de soye royé de royes yndes.
2621. Item, est assavoir que en ladicte chappelle a ung Messel très bien escript et noté, et se commance ou deuxiesme fueillet: *corpora*.
2850. Item, unes très petites Heures brodé à ymages de sainte Katherine et de sainte Marguerite, et y a ung pou de menues perles.
3044. ITEM, OUDIT ESTUDE AVOIT UN ESCRIN DE CYPRÈS MARQUETÉ ET FERRÉ D'ARGENT DORÉ
3045. Ung livre où sont les Heures de Saint Esperit et de la Passion, très bien ystoriées de blanc et de noir, à deux aiz d'argent, dorex, au d'un costé est sainte Katherine et d'autre sainte Marguerite, aux arems de Préaulx et des Crespins.
3046. Item, le Psaultier saint Loys, à une chemise de toile, à deux petiz fermoers d'argent.
3047. Item, ung Journal, qui a les aiz de brodeure à perles , où d'un costé est une Pitié et d'autre ung demy ymage de Nostre Dame, à deux fermoers d'or.
3048. Item, ung très bel petit Psaultier, armoyé sure les feuilles de armes de Bourbon, à ung petit fermoer d'argent blanc, à une pippe de perles.
3049. Item, ung livre couvert de veluiou vermeil, qui se commance de la Passion, et y sont les Heures de la Passion et plusieurs autres choses; à deux fermoers dorez.
3050. Item, ung autre livre couvert de satanin azuré, ouvré de brodeure, à angeloz et elles de papillons, et sont plusieurs oroisons en latin et en francoys et plusieurs suffrages, et n'y a wue ung tres petit fermouer d'or, au armes de madame la duchesse mère du Roy.

3051. Item, ung aute livret où sont les Herues saint Loys de France et saint Loys de Marceille, à ungs aiz de brodeure à perles, où saint Loys de Marceille qui sermonne; à deux petiz fermouers d'or.
3052. Item, ung livret à une chemise d'un samit vert, ou est l'office du Sacrement et de sainte Clère, où il a deux fermouers d'argent, armoyez de France.
3053. Item, ung livre dont lez aiz sont de brodeure aux armes de la royne Jehanne de Bourbon, et d'endens sont les Heures de Nostre Dame et unes sept Pseaulmes, à deux fermouers d'or à façon de treffle, esmaillées de ses armes.
3054. Item, ung livre à ungs aiz de brodeure dont les perles ont esté ostées de la royne Jehanne d'Evreux, ou d'un costé est l'ymage de Nostre Dame, et d'autre, l'Annonciacion, et dedens sont les Heures à l'usage des Jacobins, et a duex fermouers d'or.
3055. Item, ungs livre à aiz couvers de brodeure, à ung rondeau en chascun costé des armes de la mère du Roy, et en sont les perles ostées, où a escript plusieurs suffraiges et oroisons, à deux fermouers d'or desd. armes, et a en la pippe ung balay et quatre perles.
3056. Item, ung Journal à l'ordinaire de Romme, couvert d'une chemise de stanin, à deux fermouers d'argent dorez, et a une pippe d'un bouton de perls.
3057. Item, le Psaultier saint Jérosme, à deux fermouers d'or, armoyez de France et de Navarre.
3058. Item, ung livret qui a les aiz couvers de brodeure à felurs de lys et petites marguerites, et sont les feuilles pains à fleurs de lys, et a une pippe où il a ung petit dyamant et deux perles, et deux fermouers d'or à deux grosses perles au bout, et est en ung estuy à fleurs de lys.
3059. Item, ung autre livre grosset, où sont unes Heures de Nostre Dame et autres choses, couvert de veluiau vermeil, à deux fermouers d'argent dorez.
3060. Item, ung très petit Psaultier, couvert de veluiau ynde, et paint d'azur sur les fueillez.
3061. Item, la vie sainte Marguerite en ung très petit livret, en deux aiz d'or, bordez de grenatz et esmeraudelles.

3062. Item, ung petit livret couvert de drap d'or, à deux fermoers des armes de monseigneur de Berry, très parfaitement bien ystorié, où sont plusieurs oroisons en francoys et en latin.
3063. Item, unes bien petites Heures, couvertes de satinin ynde, à une pippe à une teste de lyon et deux grosses perles, et a ung fermouer à six perles, où il a ung G et ung P.
3064. Item, unes petites Heures, couvertes de satinin ynde, à ung fermouer d'argent.
3065. Item, ung rolleau en ung estuy de brodeure, où sont plusieurs oroisons.
3066. Item, oudit Estude de Roy estoient les tres belles grans Heures dudit Seigneur, très bien escriptes et très noblement enluminées et historiées, et au commencement desdictes Heures, tantost après le kalendrier, est le Psaultier, les Heures de la Trinité, de Nostre Dame, de la Passion, de saint Jehan Baptisti, des angelz, oroisons de Nostre Dame, Heures de saint Jehan l'Évangelist, celles de saint Loys de France, saint Loys de Marceille, de la Magdalène, mémoire de plusieurs saints, vigilles de mores, sept pseaulmes et létanie, et plusieurs mémoires de siants et saintes. Toutes les choses dessus escriptes et enluminées comme dit est, et se commance le second fueillet *portatus sum*. Lesquelles Heures sont couvertes de brodeure a plusieurs ymages, à lozenges et à rondeaulx de perles; et sont les courroyes des fermoers couvertes chascune de sept fleurs de lys d'or, à compter le clou qui tient aiz desdictes Heures, et en chascune fleur de lys a quatre perles; et sont les fermoers desdictes Heures d'or, garny chascun de deux balaiz, deux saphirs et cinq grosses perles, et les tirouers d'ung laz de sory à or, en chascun ung gros bouton de perles, et est la pippe desdictes Heures garnye de deux balais et ung saphir et quatre grosses perles, lesquelles sont en ung estuy de cuir bouilly, pendant à ung large laz de soye azurée, semée de fleurs de lys d'argent doré.
3278. LIVRES ESTANS EN LA GRANT CHAMBRE DUDIT SEIGNEUR, EN NG AUTRES ESCRIN ASSIZ SUR DEUX CRAMPONS, LEQUEL EST A LA FENESTRE EMPRÈS LA CHEMINÉE DE LADITE CHAMBRE, ET EST À DEUX COUVESCLES, EN L'UNE DES PARITES DUQUEL COFFRE ESTOIENT LES PARTIES QUI S'ENSUIVENT
3279. Ung grant Bréviare, en duex volumes couvers de brodeure aux armes du roy Jehan quant il estoit duc de Normandie, l'un commençant à l'Advent et l'autre à la Trinité; et sont très beaulx, très bien escripz et bien enluminez. Et se commance

chascun feuillet du psalter, d'une *misericordia tue*, et sont notez à l'usage de Paris, et ont fermoers d'argent dorez, à ung esmail caré, des armes dudit roy Jehan.

3280. Item, ung autre très beau Bréviare, en deux mendres volumes, très bien escript et ystorié à l'usage de Paris, sans note, et se commence la première partie ou second feuillet du psalter *mei et exaudi*, et la seconde partie commence à la Trinité, et a, ou second feuillet, *in cubilibus nostris*, et sont les fermoers d'or, plaz, esmaillez de France.
3281. Item, ung autre grant Bréviare entier, très noblement escript et très noblement enlumyné et ystorié, et le psalteri ou mylieu du bréviare, et se commence la seconde page *cognovit bos*, et sont les fermoers d'or, et est en l'un ung roy et en l'autre ung ymage à genoulx, et est la pippe ovrée à une orbevoye; et en est le breif en francoys.
3282. Item, ung autre Bréviare, entiere, très bien escript, sans note, et a les deux fermoers d'or, à tissu d'or trait, et ou fermouer a en chascun ung ruby d'Alixandre et quatre perles, et est la pippe d'or à ung ballay et à six perles; en ung estuy fort, fermant à serreure.
3283. Item, ung autre petit Bréviare, très bel et très noblement escript, sans note, à l'usage de Paris, dont le bref est en francoys, à deux fermoers d'or à deux boutons de perles, et est la pippe d'une grosse perle ou mylieu ung saphir et ung ballay ou mylieu, couvers d'un camocas de plusieurs sortes; et secommence le second feuillet *gitacionibus suis*.
3284. Item, ung autre Bréviare entier, à l'usage de Paris, très bien excropt et ystorié, dont la seconde page se commence *quam irritaverunt*, et est couvert aux armes de France à fleurs de lys d'or trait, et sont les fermoers d'or plaz, à ung carré des armes de monseigneur le Dauphin, et la pippe a deux petites esmeraudes, troy grenatz et deux grosses perles.
3285. Item, ung très petit Bréviare entier, menuement escript, à usage de Paris, et est le psalteri ou mylieu, et se commence le second feuillet *Israel*, et ya deux petiz fermoers d'or à charnières neelez.
3286. Item, ung très bel Bréviare grossettement escript, à l'usage de Paris, et le commencement du second feuillet est *leticiam in corde meo*, et sont les fermoers d'argent dorez tous plains.

3287. Item, ung autre très bel Bréviare entier, audit usage, lequel est noté; et se commence le second feuillet *amen*, noté, à deux fermouers d'argent, esmaillez de France.
3288. Item, ung très bel Messel sans note, très bien escript, audit usage; et se commence le second feuillet *bant et que sequebantur*, à deux fermouers d'or, esmaillez des armes la royne Jehanne d'Evreux et de la royne Marie de Breban.
3289. Item, ung autre Messel très bien escript et noté, et a en la fin les sept pseaulmes et le psautier saint Jérosme, à deux fermouers d'or plaz, esmaillez des armes de France; est se commence le second fuilet *ad te*. Noté.
3290. Item, ung autre Messel plat, très bien menument escript, snas note, audit usage, et bien richement enluminé, dont le second feuillet se commence *in illo tempore*, et est couvert de veluiau vert brodé à arbresseaulx de menues de perles, a une chemise de drap de soye et a deux fermouers d'argent dorez, en chascun desquetz a cinq compas où il a cinq osteaulx à jour.
3291. Item, ung très bel Psautier, très noblement escript, avecques les vigilles de mores, de plusieurs ystories au commencement; et se commence le second feuillet *figuli*; à deux fermoers d'or sur le demy ront.
3292. Item, ung autre très bel Psautier, très bein escript et enluminé, avecques les heures de la Passion et vigilles de mors, et a, en la fin, des lamentacions Nostre Dame; et se commence le second feuillet *preceptum ejus*; à deux fermouers d'or esmaillez de France.
3293. Item, ung très bel Ordinaire en francoys, et très bien escrip, dont le second feuillet se commence: *le mercredi*; à deux fermouers d'argent, esmaillez de France et de Navarre.

AUTRES LIVRES ESTANS EN L'AUTRE PARTIE DUDIT COFFRE

3294. Ung très beau Bréviare très parfait, bien escript, très noblement enluminé et très richement ystorié, lequel est en deux volumes, et est à l'usage des frères Prescheurs, et est appelé le Bréviare de Belleville; et se commence le second feuillet du premier volume *et scitote*, et du seconde volue *justice*, et en sont le feuillez par dehors ystoriez à ymages, et sont les fermouers d'argent doré, esmaillez des armes de Belleville. Et sont en deux estuiz de cuir bouilly, ferrez.

3295. Item, ung autre plus petit Bréviare, en deux volumes, et deux estuiz brodez, enluminez d'or et ystoriez de blanc et de noir, très bein escript comme dessus; et se commance le second feuillet du premier volume *qui habitat*, et du second *sum rex*; et sont les fuillez ystoriez, et sont couvers de perles lozangées de perles blanches et yndes; et sont les fermouers de premier volume d'or à deux ymages et du second d'or armoyées de France, l'un et l'autre d'Evreux, et a ou premier volume une pippe d'or, à un saphir et un ballay aux deux boutz et une perle ou mylieu; et sont en deux estuiz de broderie.
3296. Item, ung très bel petit Collectaire, escript et enluminé et couvert de perles comme les deux bréviaires de dessus, et a une petite pippe de troys perles, une esmeraude et un ruby d'Alixandre, en un estuy brody, aux armes de monseigneur d'Orléans.
3297. Item, ung autre petit Bréviare très bein escript et bien enlumyné, à l'usage d'Angleterre, et est le psaultier ou mylieu, et se commance le second feuillet *loturn annum*; et ferm à deux crochets d'argent dorez, couvert d'une couverture de brodeure à oiseaulx, à arbresseaulx.
3298. Item, ung autre Bréviare à l'usage de Romme, bien escript et enluminé d'or, et se commance le second feuillet *filio*; et sont les fueilletz dudit Bréviare dorez à lozanges bezancées, et a deux fermouers d'argent dorez, et esmaillez chascun à un osteau.
3299. Item, ung autre très petit Journal à l'usage de Romme, à deux petiz fermouers d'argent dorez; et se commance le second feuillet *usque ad Kalendas*.
3300. Item, ung très bel Messel, bien escript et bien richement enluminé, aux armes de Belleville, et est à l'usage de Saint Dominicque, et est nommé le messel de Belleville; et se commance le second feuillet *per*.
3301. Item, ung autre Messel Colletaire à l'usage de Romme, très bieng escript, bien enluminé et ystorié et se commance le second feuillet *Antiphona servito*; couvert de broderie à angelz, à deux fermouers d'or, armoyé des armes de la royne Jehanne de Bourbon.
3302. Item, ung autre Bréviare assez longuet, enluminé et ystorié d'or et de noir, à l'usage de Romme; et se commance le second feuillet *speravit*, et a une pippe d'or esmaillée aux armes de la royne Jehanne de Bourbon, et a une couverture de brodeure des armes de ladicté dame, et un fermouer d'or esmaillé des dictes armes, en l'un IIII et en l'autre V; et est en un estuy brodé des armes de ladicté dame.

3303. Item, ung gros Psaultier, nommé le Psaultier saint Loys, très richement enlumyné d'or et ystorié d'anciens ymages, et se commence le second fueillet *cum exarcerit*; et est ledit psaultier fermant à deux fermouers d'or, neelles à fleurs de liz, pendans à deux laz de soye, et a deux gros boutons de perles, et une petite pippe d'or.
3304. Item, ung autre Psaultier mendre, qui fut aussi mons saint Loys, tres bien escript et noblement enluminé, et a grant quantité d'ystoires au commencement dudit livre, et se commence ou second fueillet *vas figuli*, ouquel a deux petiz fermouers d'or plaz, l'un esmaillé de France et l'autre d'Évreux; a une pippe où il a ung très gors ballay et quatre très grosses perles.
3305. Item, unes très parfaitement belles Heures, très noblement escriptes et enluminées et très richement ystoriées, où il a plusieurs paires d'eures, et se commence le second fueillet *fecit nos*, et sont couvertes de brodeure à lozangeiz de France à la brodeure vermeille et des armes de Behaigne, et est le lozangiez de perles, et sont les fermoers d'or, esmaillez partie des dictes armes; et sur la bizette quartre bezanceaulx de perles et deux saphirs carrez; et sont en ung estuy de cuir ferré.
3306. Item, unes autres très parfaitement belles Heures, très noblement escriptes d'or et d'azur et très richement ystoriées et enluminées partout, et y sont les sept pseaulmes, et sont couvertes de orfrayes d'or, en facon de crochet, et a en chascun ung ballay et quatre grosses perles; et se commence le second fueillet *annunciabit*; lesquelles sont en ung estuy couvert de veluiaiu, seme de fleurs de lys d'argent dorées.
3307. Item, unes Heures de Saint Loys de France, Saint Loys de Marceille et de saint George, bien escriptes et bien enluminées, et se commence le second fuillet *quod reges*; a deux petiz fermouers d'argent dorez aux armes d'Orléans, a ung estuy brodé aux armes de la royne Jehanne de Bourbon; lesquelles pendant a ung tissu de soye ferré d'argent, aux armes de ladicte dame.
3308. Item, unes autres Heures petites de Nostre Dame, très bien escriptes et très bien enluminées, à l'usaige de Romme, et se commence le second fuillet *coram domino*, et ont une pippe d'or à deux lys, et deux fermoers d'or à lys, à courroye de bizette, et est la couverture brodée de deux ymages, l'un de saint Jehan vestu des armes de Bourbon, et d'une ymage de sainte Katherine vestue des armes de Harecourt.
3309. Item, ung livre de dévociions, en francoys et en latin, assez grandet, sans aucune heures, et est ystorié au commencement à ymages ès quatre fuillez de Dieu et de

Nostre Dame, et au dessoubz les armes de la duchesse de Normandie, mère du Roy; et se commance le second feuillet *la vertu*, et a deux fermouers d'or armoyez des armes de la royne Jehanne de Bourbon, et a en chascun fermouer deux petites perles, et est la pippe d'or toute plaine, sans ouvraige.

Bibliography

- Autrand, Françoise. *Charles V*. Paris, 1994.
- _____. *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: the Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)*. New York, 1978.
- _____, Louisa Dunlop and W.B. Yapp. *Les Petites heures de duc de Berry*. Luzern, 1988.
- _____ and J.J.G. Alexander. *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France*. London, 1996.
- Bell, Susan Groag. "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture." *Signs* 7 (1982): 742-768.
- Brown, Elizabeth A.R. "The Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis." *Mediaevalia* 10 (1984), 279-331.
- _____. "La généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du moyen âge." in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat et al. Paris, 1990. 199-217.
- Buettner, Brigitte. "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society." *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 75-90.
- _____. "Past presents: New year's gifts at the Valois courts, ca. 1400." *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 598-625.
- Butor, Michel. *Inventory*, trans. Richard Howard. New York, 1969.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, 1990.
- Madeline Caviness. "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 333-362.
- Chapelot, Jean. *Le château de Vincennes, une résidence royale au moyen âge*. Paris, 1994.

- Chapelot, Jean and Elisabeth Lalou, eds. *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne: Les Capétiens et Vincennes au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1996.
- Chung-Apley, Jane Geein. "The Illustrated *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Paris, B.N., MS. FR. 5716)." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1998.
- Clanchy, Michael T. *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*. Cambridge, 1979.
- Cockerell, S.C. *A Psalter and Hours Executed Before 1270 for a Lady Connected with St. Louis, Probably His Sister Isabelle of France*. London, 1905.
- _____. *Hours of Yolande of Flanders a Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson*. London, 1905.
- Centre Nationale du Recherche Scientifique, "La restauration du donjon," Last modified 20 March, 2007. <http://www.cnrs.fr/cnrs-images/donjon/index.html>.
- Christ, Karl et al. *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*. Ann Arbor, 1984.
- Davis, Michael T. "Desespoir, Esperance, and Douce France: The New Palace, Paris, and the Royal State." in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. français 146. Oxford, 1997.
- Delisle, Léopold. *Notice de douze livres royaux de XIIIe et du XIVE siècle*. Paris, 1902.
- _____. *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337-1380*. Paris, 1907.
- _____. *Les heures dites de Jean Pucelle: manuscrit de la collection de M. le Baron Maurice de Rothschild*. Paris, 1910.
- Digot, A. "L'inventaire des meubles que l'on trouva dans la tour du Temple après la fuite d'Yolande de Flandre, Comtesse de Bar." *Journal de la Société d'Archéologie et du Comité du Musée lorrain* (1857): 71-76.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York, 2002.

- Sean L. Field. *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century*. Notre Dame, 2006.
- _____. *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: the Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp*. Notre Dame, 2003.
- Gaposchkin, Cecilia M. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca, 2008.
- Patrick Geary. *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca, 1994.
- Gould, Karen. "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art: New Evidence from Strasbourg Cathedral." *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 57-74.
- Hallam, Elizabeth M. "Royal Burial and Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330." *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 359-380.
- Hallam, Elizabeth and Jenny Hockey. *Death, Memory and Material Culture*. New York, 2001.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey. "The Waddesdon Psalter and the Shop of Jean Pucelle." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1981): 243-257.
- Havet, J. "Compte du Trésor du Louvre (Toussaint 1296)." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 45 (1884): 252.
- Hedeman, Anne D. "Valois Legitimacy: Editorial Changes in Charles V's Grandes Chroniques de France." *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 97-117.
- _____. *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422*. Berkeley, 1991.
- Holladay, Joan A. "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters." *Art History* 17 (1994): 585-611.
- _____. "Consciousness of Style in Gothic Art." in *Opus Tessellatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift for Peter Cornelius Claussen*, ed. Katharina Corsepilus et al., 303-314 (Hildesheim, 2004): 303-314.

- _____. "Fourteenth-Century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Evreux and Her Contemporaries." *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 69-100.
- _____. "Jean Pucelle and His Patrons." Forthcoming.
- Joinville, Jean de. *The Life of Saint Louis*, trans. Patrick Geary. Toronto, 2010.
- Keane, Marguerite. "Remembering Louis IX as a Family Saint: A Study of the Images of Saint Louis Created for Jeanne, Blanche, and Marie de Navarre." PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2002.
- _____. "Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre: Family Ties and Political Ideology in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux." *Visual Resources* 22 (2004): 237-252.
- _____. "Most beautiful and next best: value in the collection of a medieval queen." *Journal of Medieval History*, 34 (2008): 360-373.
- Klaniczay, Gabor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Eva Palmai, New York, 2002.
- Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1529*. London, 2004.
- Kosmer, Ellen. "Master Honore: A Reconsideration of the Documents." *Gesta* 14 (1975): 63-68.
- Krieger, Michaela. "Die 'Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux' und das Pucelle-Problem." *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 42 (1989): 101-132.
- Labarte, Jules. *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*. Paris, 1879.
- Leroquais, Victor. *Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*. Paris, 1934.
- Merrill, Allison Ann. "A Study of the Ingeborg Psalter Atelier." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1994.
- Morand, Kathleen. "Jean Pucelle: a Re-examination of the Evidence." *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961): 206-211.
- _____. *Jean Pucelle*. Oxford, 1962.

- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire." *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24.
- O'Meara, Carra Ferguson. *Monarchy and Consent: the Coronation Book of Charles V of France, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B. VIII*. London, 2001.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*. New York, 1971.
- de Pisan, Christine. *Le livres des fait et bonnes moeurs du sage roy Charles V*, trans. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau. Paris, 1997.
- Quillet, Jeannine. *Charles V: le roi lettré*. Paris, 1984.
- de Saint-Pathus, Guillaume. *La vie et les miracles de Monseigneur Saint-Louis*. Paris, 1971.
- Sandler, Lucy Freeman. "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *The Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 73-96.
- Schowalter, Kathleen. "The Ingeborg Psalter: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West." in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan, Palgrave. New York, 2003.
- _____. "Capetian Women and Their Books: Art, Ideology, and Dynastic Continuity in Medieval France." PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2005.
- Sherman, Claire Richter. *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France*. Berkeley, 1995.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle. "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch." *History and Theory* 4 (1975), 314-325.
- _____. "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative." *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 43-53.
- Stahl, Harvey. *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*. University Park, 2008.

- Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir and the Collection*. Durham, 2007.
- Vale, Malcolm. *The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340*. Oxford, 1990.
- van Houts, Elisabeth M. C. *Memory and gender in medieval Europe, 900-1200*. Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1999.
- Wieck, Roger S. and Sandra Hindman et al. *Picturing Piety: the Book of Hours*. London, 2007.
- Wright, Georgia Sommers. "The Tomb of Saint Louis." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 65-82.
- _____. "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis." *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 224-243.