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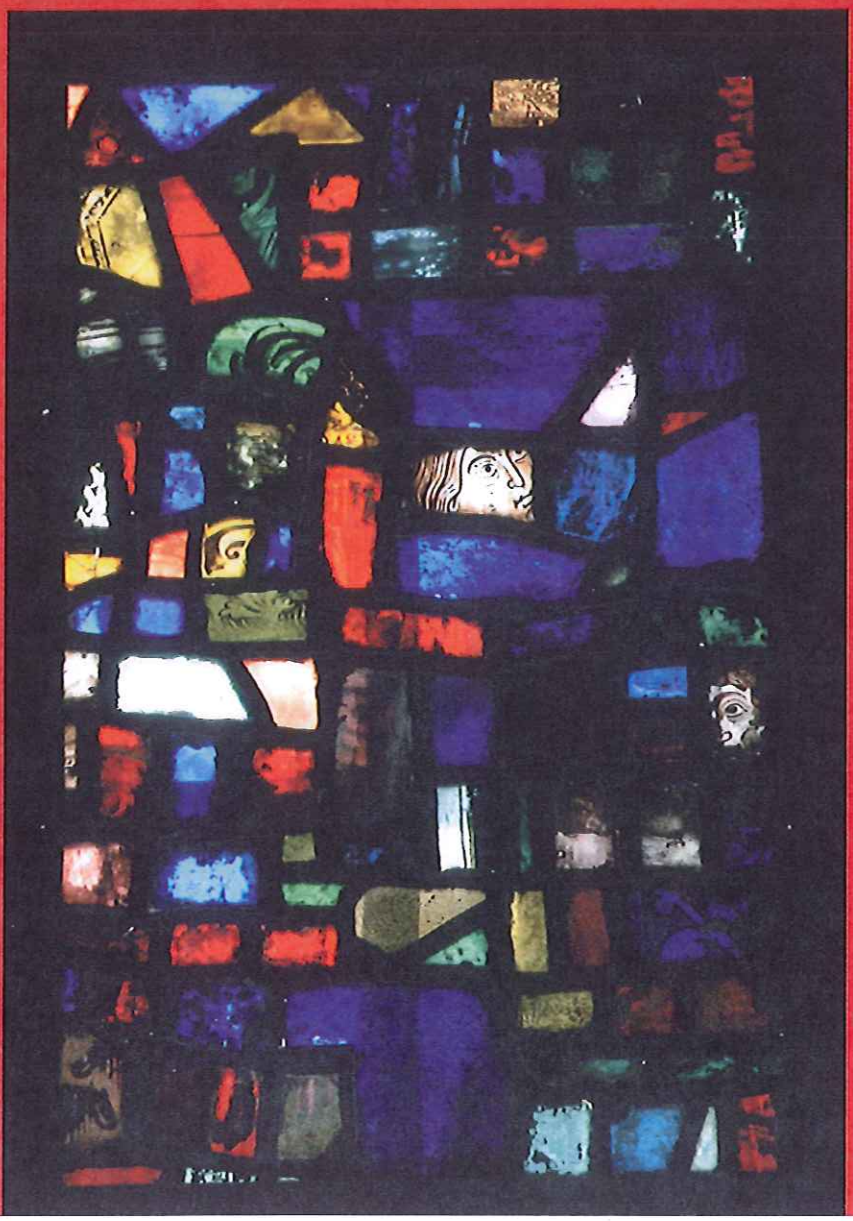
ASHGATE

# MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION IN MEDIEVAL CULTURE



# Chapter 13
# Louis IX and Liturgical Memory

M. Cecilia Gaposchkin

Louis IX – Saint Louis[1] – is without a doubt one of Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* that fed notions of French history and identity throughout the late medieval and early modern period.[2] We know him best through Jean de Joinville as the hapless though valiant crusader, as the moralizing king who asked Joinville himself if he would rather be a leper or be in mortal sin. But Joinville's Louis was not the

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[1] I thank Meredith Cohen for inviting me to participate in the 2007 symposium in Paris at which this chapter was first presented. A slightly shorter version appears in French in the *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* ('*Saint Louis et la mémoire liturgique*' in volume 94 (2009): pp. 23–34). The arguments here are drawn from a larger work, M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusades in the Late Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2008), particularly pp. 13–16 and chapters 4–5. The liturgical texts discussed here can be found in full in Appendix 2 of that work (pp. 253–83). Earlier editions of five of the offices can be found in Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume (eds), *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (55 vols, Leipzig, 1886–1922; reprint, New York, 1961), vol. 13, pp. 185–98, nos 71–5 (for offices) and vol. 11, pp. 77–82, nos 317–33 (for hymns); and in Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Texts*, ed. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Subsidia Mediaevali 23 (Toronto, 1994). The text in LMLO can also be searched at: cantusdatabase.org.. I refer to the various liturgical offices by the following abbreviations: LC1 = *Lauda celestis 1*, LDR = *Ludovicus decus regnantium*, FR = *Francorum rex*. The following system of abbreviations is used to refer to elements of the liturgical office: V = 1 Vespers, M = Matins, L =Lauds, W = 2 Vespers, H = Hymn, R = Responsory, V = Verse, Mag = Magnificat antiphon, Ben = Benedictus antiphon. Thus MH3–4 stands in for the third and fourth stanzas of the Matins Hymn; VA2 stands in for the second antiphon for 1 Vespers; MR6 = The sixth response for Matins; and MRV6 stands in for the sixth responsory (i.e., both response and verse) for Matins and so forth. Full explanations are found in Gaposchkin, *Making*, pp. xvii, 93–9. Translations are my own, but I have drawn on the Douay-Rheims translation in quoting the scriptural passages. LDR can also be found in Latin and English in M.Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis, the Most Glorious of Kings: Texts Relating to the Cult of Saint Louis of France* (Notre Dame, IN, 2012), translations with Phyllis B. Katz, 159-207.

[2] Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire* (3 vols in 8 pts, Paris, 1984–92). The collection does not include an essay on Saint Louis specifically, though he is a centrepiece of Alain Boureau's contribution on 'the king'. Alain Boureau, 'Le roi', in Nora (ed.), *Lieux de mémoire* (Paris, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 785–817. The role of Louis's memory in the construction of French identity is treated masterfully in Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), pp. 126–64.

Louis of the Middle Ages, since Joinville's text was not available in any real sense until the middle of the sixteenth century.[3] Instead, one of the most important ways that Louis was memorialized, that his sanctity was constructed, that his memory was propagated, was through liturgical texts. Unlike Joinville's *vie* or the other hagiographical texts through which today we primarily know Louis, the liturgy defined Louis's sanctity as people participated in it on a daily basis, as part of the lived and ritualized experience of devotion. It also functioned to construct a communal memory of Louis within a particular institutional and devotional context, creating a legitimizing canon that nourished institutional identity. Individual institutions commissioned or composed their own liturgical offices for Louis's feast day that remembered Louis in individualized ways and, through these, we can see how memory recorded in this way reveals a dynamic process in which Louis's sanctity was variously constructed according to the fractured ideals of the later Middle Ages. In this sense, the multi-faceted liturgical memorialization of Louis offers a view into the multiple and competing ideals of religious and political virtue that animated late medieval culture.

This chapter begins by outlining how the study of liturgical sources intersects with the production and study of memory. It follows with interpretations of selected texts from three traditions – the Cistercian tradition, the royal and courtly tradition and the Franciscan tradition – to offer, as it were, a case study in how liturgical commemoration contributed to what Jacques Le Goff called the 'production of royal memory'.[4]

## Liturgy and Memory

Liturgical texts are at root memorializing. Known in the Middle Ages as the *historia* – the saint's story – a liturgical office advanced a focused interpretation of a saint's life, a crystallized summary and interpretation of a saint's *vita* and most potent attributes.[5] Because multiple offices were often written for an individual saint and because it is often possible to identify individual liturgies with particular authors or institutions, we can look at different centres of memorialization and, in turn, at competing interpretations of the virtues and qualities that defined sanctity.

Liturgical offices were tied up with memory and memorialization in a number of ways. Firstly, the offices themselves were produced in order to memorialize Louis within the rituals of the ecclesiastical calendar. This was true of all liturgical

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[3] Alain Boureau, 'Les enseignements absolutistes de Saint Louis 1610–1630', in *La monarchie absolutiste et l'histoire en France: théories du pouvoir, propagandes monarchiques et mythologies nationales* (Paris, 1987), p. 88.

[4] Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), p. 311.

[5] Andrew Hughes, 'The Monarch as the Object of Liturgical Veneration', in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne. J. Duggan (London, 1993), p. 375. On *historia* in general, see Ritva Jonsson, *Historia. Etudes sur la genèse des offices versifiés* (Stockholm, 1968).

offices in the sense that all liturgy was explicitly commemorative and the essential role of saints' liturgies was the saint's remembrance. A saint would be honoured within the liturgical cycle at one or more points during the year in order to recall his or her virtue to the worshipping community. After the fervour of popular devotion had waned, many saints were remembered only in institutionalized liturgical cycles. By the later Middle Ages, the very term *memoria* could signify a modest liturgical honour designed to ensure that a saint would not be entirely forgotten.

Secondly, the meaning evoked by the recitation of an office was inflected by meanings and associations fostered by the medieval arts of memory.[6] Churchmen drew on banks of scriptural and liturgical images, texts and vocabulary that were deeply engrained in memory and the recitation and recall of which was fostered by their musical and scriptural associations. This meant that a single text – an evocation, for instance, of a phrase from the Psalms – would evoke the entirety of that Psalm and the other liturgical texts and chants thereby associated with it. The linear narrative embedded in (most) saints' offices also fostered memorialization. The same was true for the musical element, the evocation of which might recall a whole corpus. Thus, as discussed below, when Franciscan friars recited an antiphon in the office of Saint Louis that used the vocabulary and rhyme scheme from the office of Saint Francis, the entire complex of ideas, images and meaning associated with Francis was in turn associated with and mapped onto the figure of Louis.

Lastly, in the aggregate, liturgical offices also formed the canonical and communal memory of a religious community or institution, defining and ultimately institutionalizing interpretations of sacred history and particular saints.[7] It was in these texts – these canonical and authoritative texts which together constituted the work of God (*opus dei*) – that values, ideals and valorizing histories were

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[6] For more on this topic, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, 2005); Catherine Cubitt, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Early Anglo-Saxon Saints', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000); Andrew Hughes, 'Memory and the Composition of Late Medieval Office Chant: Antiphons', in *L'enseignement de la musique au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance. Colloque organisé par la Fondation Royaumont en coproduction avec l'A.R.I.M.M.* (Asnières-sur-Oise, 1987); Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time', *History and Theory*, 41/2 (2002); Leo Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music', *Speculum*, 56 (1981): pp. 471–91. On the arts of memory in general, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990).

[7] In addition to the works comprised in Nora, discussions of communal memory can be found in James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); Steven Knapp, 'Collective Memory and the Actual Past', *Representations*, 26 (1989): pp. 123–49; and Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York, 1992). Institutional aspects are treated in Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Constructing the Past by Means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples, and Communities', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 169–92.

constructed, articulated and then rehearsed, ritually and annually. In a sense, liturgical traditions of this sort represent one of the most potent forms of Brian Stock's textual communities, serving both to define and to bind the ideals of a particular group.[8] Thus, the offices for Louis both demonstrate how Louis himself was remembered and sanctified in different and competing ways and, in turn, contributed to the creation of institutional values and to social memory. Liturgical offices are evidence both of the interpretation of that saint at a particular moment and place in time and also, because of their cyclical and institutional nature, of the ritual solidification of memory. Once incorporated into the corpus of the *opus dei*, any individual liturgical rite became part of the defining canon. That is, liturgical memorialization both reflected interpretation and served to create identity. The liturgical form thus proved a dynamic mechanism of devotional practice and memory construction, informed by changing spirituality in a changing world.

## The Liturgical Offices for Saint Louis, King of France

The offices of Saint Louis offer a forceful example of just how liturgical commemoration did the work of shaping and directing memory. Louis IX died in north Africa, outside the walls of Tunis, on 25 August 1270. Efforts began immediately to canonize him. In 1272 the pope elect, Gregory X, asked Louis's confessor Geoffrey of Beaulieu to write a *vita* and he commissioned Simon de Brie quietly to begin inquiries into Louis's sanctity.[9] In 1275, churchmen from northern France wrote to Gregory to request expedition of Louis's canonization.[10] A formal inquiry into his sanctity lasting over a year was held at Saint-Denis in 1282 and 1283.[11] But it was not until 1297, as part of the negotiations between the

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[8] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ, 1983).

[9] Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272–1297): essai de reconstitution*, ed. Henri Platelle, *Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 195* (Rome, 1994), pp. 17–18; Marie-Dominique Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France. Le siècle des fondations* (Rouen, 1898), p. 648, n. 1; Thomás Ripoll, Brémond and Antonin, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. [i.e. Fratrum] Prædicatorum: sub auspiciis SS. D.N.D. Benedicti XIII, pontificis maximi, ejusdem Ordinis* (Rome, 1729), vol. 1, no. 1, p. 503. For the request to Simon de Brie, see J.-H. Sbaralea (ed.), *Bullarium Franciscanum* (4 vols, Rome, 1759–68; repr. 1983), vol. 3, p. 241.

[10] Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains*, pp. 648–9, n. 1; *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa: qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et abbatum Franciae vicinarumque ditionum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur, & probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis* (16 vols, Paris, 1715), vol. 12, Instrumenta, pp. 78–9; Guillaume Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, métropolitaine de la Gaule Belgique* (4 vols, Reims, 1843–46), vol. 3, p. 816; Sbaralea (ed.), *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 3, p. 474.

[11] Carolus-Barré, *Le procès*.

pope (Boniface VIII) and the French king (Philip IV, "the Fair") that the papacy formally canonized Louis.[12] In the bull of canonization issued on 11 August 1297, Boniface called for the churches of all cities and dioceses to institute the celebration of Louis's feast day – his *dies natalis* – on 25 August.[13]

Ecclesiastical houses that took up this injunction had two choices: either to employ the common office for the non-pontiff confessor, or to procure a proper office specific to Louis himself. By and large, most resorted to the common, but those institutions that had enjoyed particular ties to Louis and that were especially devoted to him chose the latter and the period after 1297 witnessed a spate of liturgical composition in honour of the new saint-king.[14] Immediately after Louis's canonization in 1297 the Dominicans of Paris, the Franciscans of Paris and the Cistercians each composed a liturgical office – these were *Nunc Laudare*, *Francorum Rex* and *Lauda Celestis* respectively. Shortly thereafter, someone at the royal court, probably a man named Pierre de la Croix who appears in Philip the Fair's account books in 1298, took the Dominican *Nunc Laudare* and reworked it into a new, elaborate liturgical office, *Ludovicus Decus Regnantium*. This office was destined to become the most popular and widely copied and used office, both in secular churches in Paris and throughout France (although it was by no means adopted universally). It may well have been this office that was used at Saint Denis for the inaugural translation celebration in 1298 in which Philip the Fair participated (and that Joinville recounted).[15] That said, either at Saint-Germain-des-Prés or (more probably) at Saint-Denis (where Louis was buried), someone took an altered version of the monastic Cistercian office, *Lauda Celestis* and reworked it with elements from the secular royal text, *Ludovicus Decus*, to compose a new office that would be used in these two Benedictine houses. In 1306, yet another new office – *Exultemus Omnes* – was composed for the feast of the translation of Louis's relics to the Sainte-Chapelle and, sometime after this, the 'Hours of Louis' – *Sanctus Voluntatem* – that was based on a reworking of *Nunc*

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[12] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'Boniface VIII, Philip the Fair, and the Sanctity of Louis IX', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2003): pp. 1–26; and *Making*, pp. 48–66.

[13] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al (24 vols, Paris, 1738–1904), vols 23, 159.

[14] For a fuller discussion of the development of these traditions, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, '*Ludovicus Decus Regnantium*: The Liturgical office for Saint Louis and the Ideological Program of Philip the Fair', *Majestas*, 10 (2002): pp. 27–90; 'Philip the Fair, the Dominicans, and the Liturgical Office for Louis IX: New Perspectives on *Ludovicus Decus Regnantium*', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 13/1 (2004): pp. 33–61; *Making*; pp. 86–92; and 'The Monastic Office for Louis IX of France: *Lauda Celestis Regio*', *Revue Mabillon*, 20 (2009): pp. 143–73.

[15] John of Joinville, *The Life of St Louis*, trans. René Hague from the text edited by Natalis de Wailly (New York, 1955), pp. 217–28, pars. 760–765.

*laudare* and *Exultemus Omnes* but also included a host of new texts, was included in Books of Hours associated primarily with women of the Capetian line.[16]

## Competing Memories of Saint Louis

Each of the liturgical *historia* drew on the common fund of 'knowledge' about Louis, on a kind of consensus about why Louis was a saint that had been worked out during the canonization proceedings held at Saint Denis in 1282–83. Each of the liturgical offices took this received understanding of Louis's sanctity and modelled the king's ritual memorialization in a way that revalorized sets of priorities and identities of individual institutions. In what follows I take up only three of the offices and, of these offices, only a cluster of individual antiphons or responsories, to demonstrate ways in which each institution constructed their memory of Louis, a memory that was used, in turn, to reify and confirm institutional memory and, through a discourse of sanctity and within the construct of the canon, to legitimize that memory.

### *1. The Cistercians (*Lauda celestis*)*

Of the six offices, it was the Cistercian *Lauda celestis* that most closely followed the narrative hagiographic tradition that had emerged from the canonization. But the translation of the hagiographical portrait into the poetry of liturgy drew on the language of scripture and in particular on a vocabulary that resonated within monastic and ascetic tradition. For example, in a technique used throughout the office, the third Matins antiphon spoke of Louis's youth and upbringing. 'As a youth, separated from the love of the world, once made a man he put away those things of a child' ['Ab amore seculi iuvenis abstratus ea que sunt parvuli vacuat vir factus'], the celebrant was reminded of 1 Corinthians 13.11: 'When I was a

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16 Known manuscripts include New York Public Library Spencer 56, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art Met 54.1.2 ('The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux'), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) nal 3145 ('The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre II'), The (lost) Savoy Hours (formerly Turin ms. E. V. 49), Venice Marciana Lat 1.104 ('The Hours of Marie de Navarre') and Paris, BnF nal 592. Editions of the text can be found in Léopold Delisle, 'Les Heures de Blanche de France, duchesse d'Orléans', *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 66 (1905): pp. 521–30; *Libro de Horas de la reina Maria de Navarra: cuyo original se conserva en la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venecia, bajo la referencia Lat. I, 104 (=12640): Officium* (1 + commentary vols, Barcelona, 1996), pp. 348–62; *Das Stundenbuch der Jeanne d'Evreux = The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux = le livre d'heures de Jeanne d'Evreux* (Lucerne and New York, 1998); Auguste Longnon, *Documents Parisiens sur l'iconographie de S. Louis* (Paris, 1882), pp. 53–65. Discussions are found in Anne-Hélène Allirot, *Filles de roy de France: princesses royales, mémoire de saint Louis et conscience dynastique (de 1270 à la fin du XIVe siècle),* Culture et société médiévales 20 (Louvain, Brepols, 2010); Gaposchkin, *Making*. Elizabeth A.R. Brown is currently working on a study of *Sanctus Voluntatem*, which promises new discoveries.

child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child. But, when I became a man, I put away the things of a child' ['cum essem parvulus loquebar ut parvulus sapiebam ut parvulus cogitabam ut parvulus quando factum sum vir evacuavi quae errant parvuli']. A reference in the seventh verse for Matins to Louis's refusal to take the oath during his captivity in Egypt – 'yes, yes; no, no, declaring more than this is evil' ['est est, non non, dicens amplius malum indicavit'][17] – evoked Matthew 5.37 – 'but let your speech be yes, yes; no, no, and that which is over and above these is evil' ['sit autem sermo vester est est non non quod autem his abundantius est a malo est'].[18] Here, it was memory of scripture, of Saint Paul and the Evangelists, of apostolic history that, engrained through recitation, animated the story of Louis's *vita*. Gabrielle Spiegel, in her treatment of medieval Jewish liturgy, has discussed how this use of scripture had the effect, through commemoration and remembrance, of collapsing the presentness of the ritual into sacralized liturgical time and of using the received memory of the sacred past to sacralize the ritual of the present.[19] Here too, the use of embedded scriptural language and phrases had the effect of making immediate Louis's conformity both to scriptural ideals and to core elements of biblical and Christian history.

The Cistercian office used two further techniques in constructing its image of Louis. The first was the use of language that came out of monastic spirituality – earthly exile from God, the imprisonment of the body, obedience to authority and so forth.[20] The office spoke of Louis 'having overcome his exile on earth' and his 'following in the footsteps of Christ'. The third and fourth stanzas of the hymn for Matins read:

> After the labours of exile,
> after the accumulation of virtues,
> running the road of salvation
> towards the repose of the blessed.
> What he saw darkly,
> enclosed in the prison of the flesh,
> he sees, this obstacle having been endured (*or*, overcome),
> in the mirror of eternal light.[21]

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17 LC1 MV7.

18 The reference to Cor. 13:11 also recalled a passage from Geoffrey of Beaulieu's *vita* in which Geoffrey said that, in regard to oath taking, Louis followed these words of the Evangelist. *Recueil des historiens*, ed. Bouquet et al, vol. 20, 5 (ch. 7).

19 Spiegel, 'Memory and History': pp. 149–62.

20 Jean Leclercq, 'Le cloître est-il une prison?', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 47 (1971): pp. 407–20; Paul Meyvaert, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', *Gesta*, 12 (1973): pp. 53–9; Gregorio Penco, 'Monasterium – Carcer', *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966): pp. 133–43.

21 LC1 MH3–4. 'Post labores exilii, post virtutum congeriem, viam currens compendii, ad beatorum requiem. Quod videns enigmatice, carnis clausus ergastulo, sublato videt

The hymn drew on all manner of Cistercian ideals – that life on earth was exile from God, that life weighed down by the corrupting body was exile, and that the body itself was a prison. And it did so by evoking what was perhaps one of the singularly most important texts in contemplative mysticism, 1 Corinthians 13.12: 'For now we see in a mirror darkly, but then, face to face' ['videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate tunc autem facie ad faciem']. This verse was a favourite among mystical and contemplative authors, including Cistercians such as Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint Tierry and it had a long tradition in monastic mystical writings. The text for None spoke of Louis, in heaven, having overcome his exile on earth: 'He sings praises to God, having left his exile; translated into joy, he was not mindful of his afflictions'.[22] Another potent image – walking in the footsteps of Christ – was also evoked. Jean Leclercq has said that this image was dear to the Cistercian school from the very start.[23] The first Matins responsory said 'Louis, the noble king among king of the French, [was] desirous from the very beginning to follow in the footsteps of Christ.'[24]

The only way out of exile and home to God was through learning, contemplation and, above all, bodily asceticism. *Lauda celestis* thus detailed Louis's learning and ascetic chastisement of the flesh. The office spoke of Louis 'restoring his spirit with the nourishment of sacred doctrine' and of his 'many fasts, the tears of his vigils and disciplines, his pallor, the bluish aspect of a dead man, his hair shirt, the hardness of his bed, [which], it said, all revealed a body consumed by meagreness, subjugated to the spirit'.[25] Louis, said the office, chastised his flesh and bore the lashes from the iron chain of his confessor. Eventually, he was, 'freed from prison, freed from his chains', to enter the kingdom of heaven.[26] The body as a prison and the cloister as a prison were both images that structured much monastic thought

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obice, lucis eterne speculo.' For the 'road of salvation': in the original, *compendii*, meaning 'gain' or 'profit', is meant here as spiritual profit, or salvation.

[22] LC1 None: 'Laudes Deo concinit, egressus exilium; pressure non meminit, translatus in gaudium'.

[23] Jean Leclercq, 'Lettres de vocation à la vie monastique', *Analecta monastica*, 3 (Studia Anselmiana, 37. Rome, 1955): p. 174, n. 11. See p. 176 for the use of this image in the thirteenth-century Cistercian letter discussed by Leclercq. 'Ce theme avait été cher à l'école cistercienne dès ses débuts'.

[24] LC1 MR1: 'Ludovicus rex inclitus regum francorum, gloria, a primevo sollicitus Christi sequi vestigia.'

[25] LC1 MA6: 'Evitans mundi strepitum, sedens domatis angulo, reficiebat spiritum, sacred cotrine pabulo'. LC1 MRV9: 'Corpus eius confectum macie, subiugatum suo spiritui, monstravere crebra ieiunia, discipline, fletus, vigilie, pallor, livor vultus emortui, cilicium lecti duricia. [v] Statum penalem et asperum, rex pius elegit, se velut Manassem alterum, penitens subegit'.

[26] LC1 MRV10: 'De quinque cathenis ferreis, occulte suscepta verbera, manu confessoris benigne ferebat in eis, devote recolens vulnera, nostri redemptoris. [v] Erutus a penis, carcere solvitur, libera cathenis, regnum ingreditur'.

and contemplative practice, for the aim was to release one's soul from the shakles of bodily flesh through celibacy, meditation and the rule of the flesh.

This brings us to the third strategy by which the office commemorated Louis according to essential ideals of monastic life: its Old Testament typologies. Spiegel has argued that typology of this sort functioned to collapse time, using biblical memory to shape interpretation of the present.[27] The office compared Louis to Josiah, Solomon, David, Manasseh, Jacob and Ahuseuerus. But the typologies, although centred on kings, compared Louis to these kings in terms of their devotion, suffering, humility and obedience – that is, according to spiritual and devotional ideals and not to explicit ideals of rulership. David is praised as firm in faith; Josiah for his attention to the law; Solomon for his obedience to parental authority; Jacob (not a king) as a teacher of doctrine; and Ahuseuerus as a true worshipper of God.[28] Manasseh, however, is odd. He was not among the common stock of examples of Old Testament kings and was not by and large considered an especially good king. Manasseh was the king of 2 Chronicles 33.2 and 2 Kings 21, who came to the throne at the age of 12 (Louis was 14 when he became king) and ruled for 55 years (Louis ruled for 46 years).[29] Captured and imprisoned by the Assyrian monarch, an event which led to his repentance of idolatry and penitence, Manessah ultimately humbled himself before the Lord, who then restored him to his kingdom and court. This was a fair model for Louis's capture by the sultan in Egypt and certainly evoked both the trial of his captivity and the heightened spirit of penitence with which he returned to France.[30] All of a piece, the deployment of Manasseh in this way emphasized, through a royal type, the central themes of capture and exile, penance and austerity, and marked a spiritualizing of bodily exile. In this way, the use of biblical references within liturgical chant animated the interpretation and enactment of liturgy. The Cistercian office remembered Louis using core devotional ideals at the heart of the monastic contemplative vocation, in turn reifying, in the memory of the saint king, those very ideals to the religious community as it ritually performed the liturgy each year.

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[27] Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch', *History and Theory*, 14 (1975): pp. 314–25.

[28] LC1 MV5: [v] 'Ut angelus Domini, cum David immobilis, non cedit discrimini, vir in fide stabilis'; LC1 MV2: [v] 'Si legis attentus, in iosya figuratur, cuius sic iuventus, regi regum famulatur'; LC1 MV4: [v] 'Mater regno prefuit, in potioribus bonis; matri thronum posuit, more regis Salomonis'; LC1 MV11: [v] 'More Iacob liberis, thesaurum doctrine, profuturum posteris, legavit in fine'; LC1 MR12: 'Regie tribus gemine, spiritus sincerus, Ludovicus origine, cultor Dei verus celesti regnat agmine, factus Assuerus'.

[29] 2 Chr. 33:1–3; 2 Kgs 21:1.

[30] Guibert of Tournai OFM cited Manassah precisely in this manner with respect to Louis: Guibert de Tournai, *Le traité Eruditio regum et principum de Guibert de Tournai, O.F.M. (étude et texte inédit)*, ed. Alphonse de Poorter (Louvain, 1914), p. 28.

*2. The Royal Court (*Ludovicus decus regnantium*)*

The themes of asceticism, penitence and obedience of the Cistercian office for Louis contrasted sharply with the interpretation of Louis's sanctity in the ritual memorialization at the royal court. Like the Cistercian office, the secular royal tradition drew on the language of the Psalms and on Old Testament typology, but to different interpretative ends and in ways that fed not monastic spirituality, but an ideal of sacral kingship. For instance, drawing on Psalm 5.9, in which David, the putative author of the Psalms, sings 'Lead me, o Lord, in thy justice' ['Domine deduc me in iustitia'], the office spoke of how Louis, 'led in justice ['deductus in iustitia'], ruled his subjects clemently and instituted laws, punishments and rewards wisely'.[31] This technique for sacralizing Louis's royalty was initially established in the Dominican *Nunc laudare*, from which a number of texts were retooled for *Ludovicus decus regnantium*. For example, the ninth Matins antiphon for *Nunc laudare* ran 'Rex innocens manibus, atque corde mundo, regnat cum celestibus in regno iocundo' ['The king, innocent in hands and clear of heart, reigned with the heavens in happy rule']. This was adapted for *Ludovicus decus* as 'Innocens manus prebuit cordis quoque mundicia, Ludovico, quod meruit regni celestis premia' ['Innocent hands gave purity of heart to Louis as well, because he merited the heavenly kingdom as a reward']. Both drew on Psalm 23.4: 'innocens manibus et mundo corde qui non exaltavit frustra animam suam et non iuravit dolose.' ['The innocent in hands, and clean of heart, who hath not taken his soul in vain, nor sworn deceitfully to his neighbour.']. In almost every text of the office, a Psalm verse was retooled in such a way as to make Louis conform to biblical prescription and to describe Louis in the language of the Psalms. In this way, Louis was compared with David, who as author of the Psalms provided the model of the sacral and saintly king.

A second strategy was the use of vocabulary associated with the tradition of the Coronation *ordines*- that most sacralizing of liturgical rites in which the man becomes king, which was constitutive of the king's royal authority and which also reached back to the Old Testament models for royal authority dependent on God's will. Phrases used in the office such as 'Gloria et honore coronasti eum' and 'in Syon constitutus' and the images of the *virgam virtutis*, the sceptre of power (or, of virtue), were all biblical, mostly derived from what biblical scholars refer to as the 'royal psalms', which were themselves probably ancient coronation liturgies designed to showcase that the king's authority derived directly from God.[32] These phrases and images had been incorporated into medieval coronation liturgies – going back to the Carolingian tradition and adopted, for instance, in

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31 LDR MA5: 'Deductus in iusticia, clemens subiectis prefuit; leges, penas et premia, sapienter instituit'.

32 Scott R.A. Starbuck, *Court Oracles in the Psalms: The So-Called Royal Psalms in their Ancient Near Eastern Context* (Atlanta, GA, 1999).

the Last Capetian Ordo (dating to about 1250).[33] They were then in the *Ludovicus decus* to laud Louis and drew on existing sacralizing and royalizing imagery to give scriptural authority to Capetian kingship. For instance, in *Ludovicus decus* the sixth antiphon said that the saint was 'crowned with glory and honour' ['coronatur gloria sanctus et honore'].[34] The language came from the Psalms (8.6: *Gloria et honore coronasti eum*), which was used repeatedly in the ritual tradition of coronation. The Last Capetian Ordo enjoined: 'May God crown you with the crown of glory and justice' ['Coronet te Deus corona glorie atque iusticie, honore et oper fortitudinis'].[35] Another favourite was the idea of being 'made king in Sion'. *Ludovicus decus* had spoken of how Louis was 'Made king in Syon' ['Syon constitutus': MA2] and *Nunc laudare* had spoken about how Louis was 'appointed by God' ['a dei constitutus', NL MA2]. Both drew on Psalm 2:6: 'But I am appointed king by him over Sion [that is, Jerusalem] his holy mountain, preaching his commandments' ['Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Syon, montem sanctum eius predicans preceptum eius']. A third example is the use of the *virgam virtutis*, which derived from Psalms 109.2 and had been adopted in both the text and the symbols of the coronation ritual as one of the most enduring symbols of royal authority.[36] The *virgam virtutis* – the sceptre of power, the *Main de Justice* – was one of the most important symbols of the coronation ritual, both in the text itself and also, on a broader plane, in the visual symbolism of royal authority. Images of crowned kings throughout the Sainte-Chapelle, for instance, are shown bearing the sceptre and the investiture of the sceptre was a key moment in the coronation rites.[37]

Lastly, Old Testament kings – and particularly David and Solomon – were also evoked throughout this office, though to a very different end than in the Cistercian office. Andrew Hughes has noted that, surprisingly, Old Testament typology played little role in the offices for other royal saints and royal typology was not

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[33] Richard A. Jackson (ed.), *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages* (2 vols, Philadelphia, 1995–2000); for *gloria et honore*, see pp. 79, 85, 86, 161, 209, 246, 261, 359; for the image of the *rex constitutus*, see pp. 70, 108, 119, 123, 128, 150, 189, 211, 256, 354; for *virgam virtutis*, see pp. 121, 149, 162, 187, 210, 245, 260, 358.

[34] LDR MA6: 'Coronatur gloria, sanctus et honore, quia mundi gaudia, duxit in timore'.

[35] Jackson (ed.), *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, p. 401, Ordo XIIA.

[36] Hervé Pinoteau, 'La tenue de sacre de Saint Louis IX roi de France son arrière-plan symbolique de la "renovatio regni juda"', in *Vingt-cinq ans d'études dynastiques* (Paris, 1982), pp. 447–504; Hervé Pinoteau, 'La main de justice des rois de France: essai d'explication', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1982): pp. 262–4; Hervé Pinoteau, 'Les insignes du roi vers l'an mil', in *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil* (Paris, 1992).

[37] Alyce Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 26–7; Jacques Le Goff et al, *Le sacre royal a l'époque de Saint-Louis, le temps des images* (Paris, 2001).

operative in the Dominican office, *Nunc laudare*, on which *Ludovicus decus* was based.[38] Royal typology was thus explicitly introduced at the court when *Nunc Laudare* was refashioned into *Ludovicus decus regnantium.* The antiphon for the Magnificat compared Louis to David, Solomon, Ezechias and Josiah – the traditional 'great kings' of the Old Testament. The author of Ecclesiasticus had spoken of David, Ezechias and Josiah as the only kings who had never sinned greatly and Solomon was, of course, the font of royal justice. Guibert of Tournai, OFM, who, in 1259, wrote on kingship for Louis IX himself, said that David, Ezechias and Josiah were the kings to whom any modern king ought to conform.[39] The office spoke of how Louis sat on the throne of David, doing the justice of Solomon.[40] The Benedictus antiphon called Louis David's 'twin in virtue' and a responsory compared Louis to David as more glorious in his humility.[41] The texts for the Little Hours reformulated scripture and Solomon was deployed in the context of the development of an ideology, as Joseph Strayer taught us, where France was being modelled as the new Israel.[42] The reading for Terce, drawing on 2 Ezra 13.26, spoke of how 'Among many nations there was not a king like him, and that he was beloved of his God, and God made him king over all of Israel'.[43] The scriptural text referred explicitly to Solomon. None, drawing on 1 Chronicles 29.25, spoke of how 'The Lord magnified him over all Israel; and gave him the glory of a reign, such as no king had before him'.[44] The text here also originally referred to Solomon. The reading for chapter, drawing on 1 Ezra 7.27, explained that the Lord 'gave this in the king's heart, so that he might glorify the house of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem'. Louis was thus identified with Solomon and France with Israel.[45] In these ways, the office modelled – memorialized –

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38 For the role of typology in the offices of other royal saints, see Andrew Hughes, '*Rex sub deo et lege: Sanctus sub ecclesia*', in Roman Hankeln (ed.), *Political Plainchant? Music, Text and Historical Context of Medieval Saints' Offices* (Ottowa, 2009), pp. 107–54.

39 Guibert de Tournai, *Eruditio regum et principum*, p. 21.

40 LDR MV6: 'David regni sedit in solio, Salomonis utens iudicio'.

41 LDR MR4: 'Gloriosus apparuit, non cultu presidentis sed cum incultus prefuit, more David ludentis; nec ex hoc sibi defuit, auctoritas regentis'. See David in 2 Sam. 6.5.

42 Joseph R. Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King', in Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (eds), *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison* (Princeton, NJ, 1969), p. 316; reprint, *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton, NJ, 1971), pp. 300–315.

43 LDR Terce: 'In gentibus multis non erat rex similis ei et dilectus Deo suo erat et posuit eum Deus regem super Israel'. [See 2 Ez 13.26].

44 LDR None: 'Magnificavit eum Dominus super omnem Israel et dedit illi gloriam regni qualem nullus habuit ante eum rex'. [See 2 Chr. 19.25].

45 France as the new Israel was certainly a theme that was developed at the Capetian court in the mid-thirteenth century. See discussions in: Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship*; Chiara Mercuri, *Corona di Cristo corona di re: la monarchia francese e la corona di spine nel Medioevo* (Rome, 2004); Matthias Müller, 'Paris, das neue Jerusalem? Die Ste-Chapelle

Louis according to ideals current at the royal court in 1300, thus using Louis to legitimize those ideals while at the same time allowing the image, the memory and the symbol of Louis as a saint in turn to represent these ideals, to associate Capetian kingship with biblical, Old Testament and Christic kingship. To the extent that these royalizing ideals so closely tracked the larger ideological claims and propagandistic strategies of the Capetian court around the year 1300, *Ludovicus Decus Regnantium* is an example of how liturgical offices might represent not only saintly memorialization (as was their explicit function), but here, also, the construction of political memory.

### 3. *The Franciscans (*Francorum rex*)*

In comparison to Cistercian memorializaton, which sought to valorize monastic contemplative ideals, and courtly memorialization, which emphasized the sacral quality of Louis's kingship, the Franciscans framed their liturgical memory of Louis in terms of the life and sanctity Saint Francis. The Franciscan office, *Francorum rex magnificus*, was built upon the liturgical memory of Saint Francis. That is to say, the liturgy for Louis was explicitly designed to recall the liturgy for Saint Francis, *Franciscus Vir Apostolicus*, written by Julian of Speyer and dating to 1232.[46] The recital of the office for Louis – its cadence, its language, and quite possibly its music – would have per force recalled Francis and thus melded the virtues and qualities of Francis *onto* Louis.

The first technique for comparing Saint Louis to Saint Francis was simply the use of language and poetic rhythm. The very opening of the office echoes that of Francis. For Louis: 'Francorum Rex magnificus, Ludovicus vir celicus'. For Francis: 'Franciscus vir catholicus: et totus apostolicus'. Borrowed language structured the entire office and in particular the long service for Matins. In both offices, the Matins hymn began with 'In celesti collegio' and the antiphons and responsories throughout the office drew directly on *Franciscus vir*. For example, the fifth antiphon for Matins: in *Francorum rex* this antiphon described Louis's steadfastness before the Saracens when in captivity: 'The prince did not desist from fear of the violent people, showing himself to be willing to suffer evil for Christ' ['Populi princeps furie non cedit effrenati monstrans se voluntarie pro Christo mala pati']. The antiphon was drawn directly from the fifth Matins antiphon in the office of Saint Francis, which had described Francis's confrontation with his father: 'And then, freed from the fury of his father, he did not desist from proclaiming that he was willing to suffer evil for Christ.' ['Iam liber patris furie non cedit effrenati clamans se voluntarie pro Christo mala pati.']. Francis's struggle against his father was juxtaposed to Louis's struggle against the infidel. Where Francis had been

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als Imitation der Golgatha-Kapellen', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59/3 (1996): pp. 323–36; Daniel Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge, 1998).

[46] Enrico Menestò and Stefano Brufani (eds), *Fontes Franciscani* (Assisi, 1995), pp. 1097–1121.

quoted as saying of poverty 'this is what I desire' ['inquit est quod cupio'], Louis was quoted as refuting the Saracens by saying 'this I will never do' ['respondet … nunquam sum hoc facturus'].

Both men were said to have been led from jail, to have fed lepers with their own hands, to have built churches, to have served the poor with generosity and compassion. The seventh antiphon for Matins described both as anxious in fulfilling God's mission (for Francis: 'Cor verbis nove gracie sollicitus apponit verbumque penitencie simpliciter proponit'; for Louis: 'Cor verbis sacre scripture sollicitus apponit omnique regali curie verbum Dei proponit'). The ninth antiphon explained that both were eager to teach their children (spiritual children, in Francis's case; Francis: 'Ut novis sancti merita remunerantur natis his nova tradit monita viam simplicitatis'; Louis: 'Ut regis sancti merita remunerantur natis his pia tradit monita semitas equitatis'). Both offices divided their hero's lives into three parts: preparation, the 'battle' (for Louis, the crusade; for Francis, the renunciation of wealth) and finally, good works and death. In all, this constituted a kind of *imitatio* of Francis, in the same way that, around the year 1300, Francis was being explicitly understood as an *alter Christus* in the language of *imitatio*. After Bonaventure's writing of the official life of Francis, the notion of *imitatio* had become central to the Franciscan understanding of sanctity and spiritual identity, and by the turn of the fourteenth century, Francis's life was primarily defined as an *imitatio Christi*, a re-enactment and thus a fulfilment of the essential virtue of Christ's life. Louis thus imitated Francis in much the same way that Francis imitated Christ.[47]

For the Franciscans, what most exemplified Louis's sanctity was the crusade – and it was crusade understood in a very Franciscan way: as renunciation, service to the church, and suffering.[48] The bulk of the office was devoted to a celebration of Louis's crusade – just as the bulk of Francis's office was devoted to his renunciation. In particular, Louis's crusade was modelled as a parallel to Francis's stigmata. Crusade and stigmata were both understood on a metaphysical level (articulated by Bonaventure) as the mystical moment of compassionate unification – that is, a co-suffering (*compassio*) – with Christ.[49] The best example

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[47] On *imitatio*, see Giles Constable, 'The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ', in his *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 143–248, especially pp. 92–3; and Jan Ziolkowski, 'The Highest Form of Compliment: *Imitatio* in Medieval Latin Culture', in John Marenbon (ed.), *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 293–305.

[48] On these themes in the Franciscan corpus, see Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate: una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin, 1993); Richard Trexler, *Naked Before the Father: The Renunciation of Francis of Assisi*, ed. Peter Lang (New York, 1989).

[49] On unification with Christ, see John Fleming, *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1977), p. 46; Frugoni; John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 256–94 (repr. 1988, pp. 256–94).

of this is the antiphon for the Magnificat – the *O martyr desiderio antiphon* – which for Francis treated his reception of the stigmata and for Louis, the crusade. In Francis's office it ran:

> O martyr by desire, Francis, suffering with such zeal, you followed Him, whom suffering you found in the book that you opened. You, peering into the sky, at the Seraph placed upon the cross, thereafter on your hands and your side and on your feet, you bore the likeness of the wounds of Christ.[50]

The Magnificat antiphon for Louis ran:

> O martyr by desire, how you suffer with the Crucified One by the zeal of your pious mind, whose cross you twice took upon your shoulders, the passion weakened you, but the fervour and zeal for Christ has made you a martyr.[51]

Liturgically, the Magnificat itself was predicated on the exaltation of reversal – eternal life in death, greatness in humility, and so forth[52] – and at the heart of both *O martyr desiderio* antiphons were the images of suffering on the cross and desiring martyrdom, themselves Franciscan tropes.[53] The antiphon for Louis picked up the very language of martyrdom, desire, zeal and suffering prioritized within the Franciscan scheme. It said that Louis suffered with Christ, took the cross upon his shoulders and was affixed to (or, in some manuscripts, afflicted by) the cross, weakened by passion, and made a martyr. The language was itself evocative of the ideals of the stigmata and of suffering with Christ, and the interpretation of Louis as a willing martyr whose crusading was salvific precisely because of its failure, was an essentially Franciscan argument, bolstered by the memory of Saint Francis as bequeathed by Bonaventure to Franciscans at the end of the thirteenth century. Louis's sanctity was understood through and imbued with the aura of Francis's sanctity, the connection between them established through the association of language and the recall of sound and cadence in the performance of Louis's office.

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[50] Menestò, (ed.), *Fontes*, p. 1117. 'O martyr desiderio, Francisce, quanto studio, compatiens hunc sequeris, quem passum libro reperis, quem aperuisti. Tu contuens in aere, Seraph in cruce positum, ex tunc in palmis, latere, et pedibus effigiem, fers plagarum Christi.'

[51] FR WMag: 'O martyr desiderio, quam pie mentis studio, crucifixo compateris, cuius crucem in humeris, tuis bis aff[l]ixisti; passio tibi defecit, sed martyrem te effecit, fervor et zelus Christi.'

[52] Elizabeth A. Johnson, *Truly our Sister: A Theology of Mary in the Communion of Saints* (New York, 2003), pp. 266–7.

[53] E. Randolf Daniel, 'The Desire for Martyrdom: A *leitmotiv* of St. Bonaventure', *Franciscan Studies*, 32 (1972): pp. 74–87; Frugoni.

## Final Thoughts

Different orders remembered Louis in different ways according to their spiritual ideals and institutional identity. The Cistercians memorialized the king as a quasi-monastic contemplative and ascetic; the royal court, as a glorious and sacral king; the Franciscans, as a new Francis, suffering on crusade in the work of passion and martyrdom. On the one hand, memorialization of this sort was backward-looking – institutions sought to map onto their own history the sanctifying memory of the new saint king, using Louis to valorize essential and root ideals that defined the community to begin with. But this memorialization also carried forwards in time and influence: it structured communal memory ritually by encoding in the memory of Louis the ideals and qualities of the institution that then became part of the larger fabric of the *opus dei*, the institution's raison d'être. Performed every year, on the feast day of the saint, the ritual of liturgical memorialization ensured that Louis – or, rather, the memory of a particular Louis – was recalled and celebrated.

Yet these memories did not all carry forwards in time equally. The Franciscan and Cistercian offices were not widespread and do not seem to have outlived the transition from manuscript to print. In contrast, versions of the secular royal liturgy, *Ludovicus decus*, were disseminated throughout (northern) France,[54] and this was the office that was reworked in a newer version in breviaries of the sixteenth century printed in Paris.[55] No doubt, this was in large part because of the political interest of the French kings and the strength of Louis's cult in Paris (itself owing to the monarchy's interests). But it is surely consequential that it was the royalized memory of Saint Louis (not the monasticized or Franciscanized memories) that flourished and then survived, bolstering the consistent and almost continuous role that Louis has played in the development of French national consciousness as the symbol of just kingship and legitimized political authority.

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[54] On the manuscript tradition, see Gaposchkin, *Making*, Appendix 1, pp. 245–9.

[55] Ibid., pp. 90–92.

# Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture

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