The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris

M. Cecilia Gaposchkin

Gesta, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2000), 58-72.

Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0016-920X%282000%2939%3A1%3C58%3ATKOFAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V

Gesta is currently published by International Center of Medieval Art.

The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: the Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris*

M. CECILIA GAPOSCHKIN
University of California, Berkeley

Abstract

The Porte Rouge (ca. 1270) on the north flank of Notre-Dame in Paris depicts a king and queen kneeling before an image of the Coronation of the Virgin. These figures have traditionally been identified as donor portraits of Louis IX and his wife Marguerite of Provence. The royal pair never were patrons of the cathedral, however, preferring friars and monks to the secular church in their endowments and shunning a long tradition of Capetian support of Notre-Dame. Suffering from the resulting loss of prestige, the cathedral canons sought to appropriate the image of royal authority within their own ecclesiology and depicted the king in supplication to the Virgin Mary, whose image symbolized the church. In 1270 the kneeling praying figures we have come to identify as donor figures did not convey financial patronage of specific works of art, but rather spiritual supplication and entreaty. By showing the king and queen in a ritual gesture of supplication to Maria-Ecclesia, the portal expressed the church's ideal of the king subordinate and supplicant to the triumphant cathedral. Furthermore, in the image of the king the portal denies any likeness to the figure of Christ, rejecting the contemporary, but competing ideal articulated by the crown during Louis's reign of a sacral and christological kingship independent of the church. Rather than simply representing a reductive coronation iconography, the Porte Rouge offers a bold and deft statement of ecclesiastical authority and ideology of the second half of the thirteenth century.

And the king rose up to meet her,
and bowed himself unto her,
and sat down on his throne,
and caused a seat to be set for the king's mother,
and she sat on his right hand.

I Kings 2:19

Louis IX returned from his first crusade in 1254. Between that year and his departure in 1270 on his second, fateful crusade, the canons of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris undertook a massive reconstruction of the east end of the church.[1] The reconstruction included the insertion of a small private doorway known as the Porte Rouge, which allowed the canons direct entry into the choir for the performance of the liturgy and the sacraments (Fig. 1).[2] This doorway was decorated with an image of the Coronation of the Virgin, one of the most popular themes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and certainly appropriate for a church and a chapter dedicated to Our Lady, the Virgin Mary. As Mary was considered to signify *Ecclesia*, images of the Coronation of the Virgin were taken to represent the Church Triumphant. The canons chose to include in this image representations of a king and queen kneeling as patrons and supplicants to the crowned queen of heaven. These figures have traditionally been identified as Louis IX and his queen Marguerite of Provence (Figs. 2, 6).

The portal presents two particularly critical problems. First, with the exception of the images of the king and queen, the Porte Rouge is a close if reductive reformulation of a tympanum on the west facade of the cathedral, known as the Coronation Portal, which was carved a half century earlier (Figs. 3, 7); thus, the Porte Rouge is thematically redundant. Because the builders of Gothic churches usually did not repeat iconographic statements on their major portals, the deliberate decision to re-represent the Coronation suggests that this iconography had a special meaning to the cathedral's canons. Second, the practice of representing a reigning king in this type of monumental sculpture was uncommon at this time, and thus demands investigation.[3]

Until recently, the development of Gothic style and iconography has been viewed as the result of growing Capetian power, and images such as that of the Porte Rouge were taken simply as illustrations of royal beneficence and patronage towards the cathedral upon which they were represented. However, in the last decade Stephen Murray and Donna Sadler have sought to reinterpret such imagery within the context of a dialogue, or interchange, of competing royal and ecclesiastical ideologies. Murray has argued that Beauvais cathedral, far from being a product of centralizing royal authority, was the proud expression of episcopal authority of Bishop Milo of Nanteuil, and that the church was built in opposition to growing royal power.[4] In the same vein, Sadler has shown how the verso sculpture at Reims, the coronation cathedral, voiced an ecclesiastical view of good and bad kingship directed in part towards the king.[5] In this instance, the church incorporated the royal iconography of the king into its own vision of ecclesiastical and ecclesiological authority.

It is within this new framework that the Porte Rouge will be examined, seeking to understand the image of the king within the context of the church's own ecclesiology. This period of Louis's reign was characterized by indifferent, if not contentious, relations between the crown and the secular church. It is the argument of this paper that the Porte Rouge

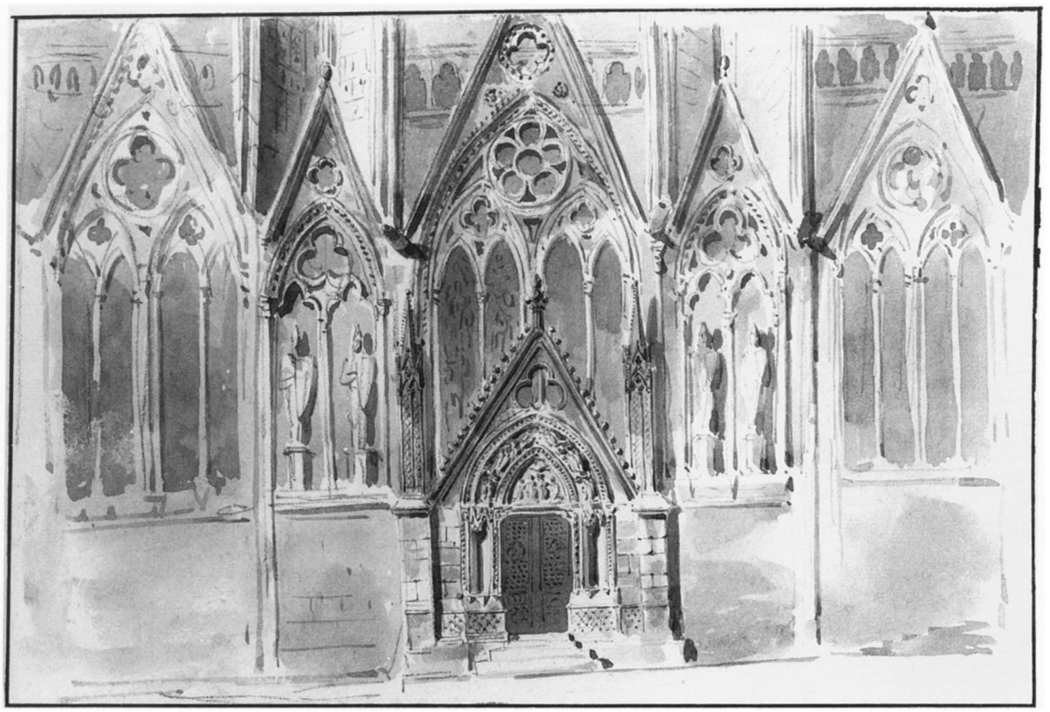

FIGURE 1. *Paris, Notre-Dame, north flank, watercolor by Charles Percier, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 1013 (photo: J.-L. Charmet).*

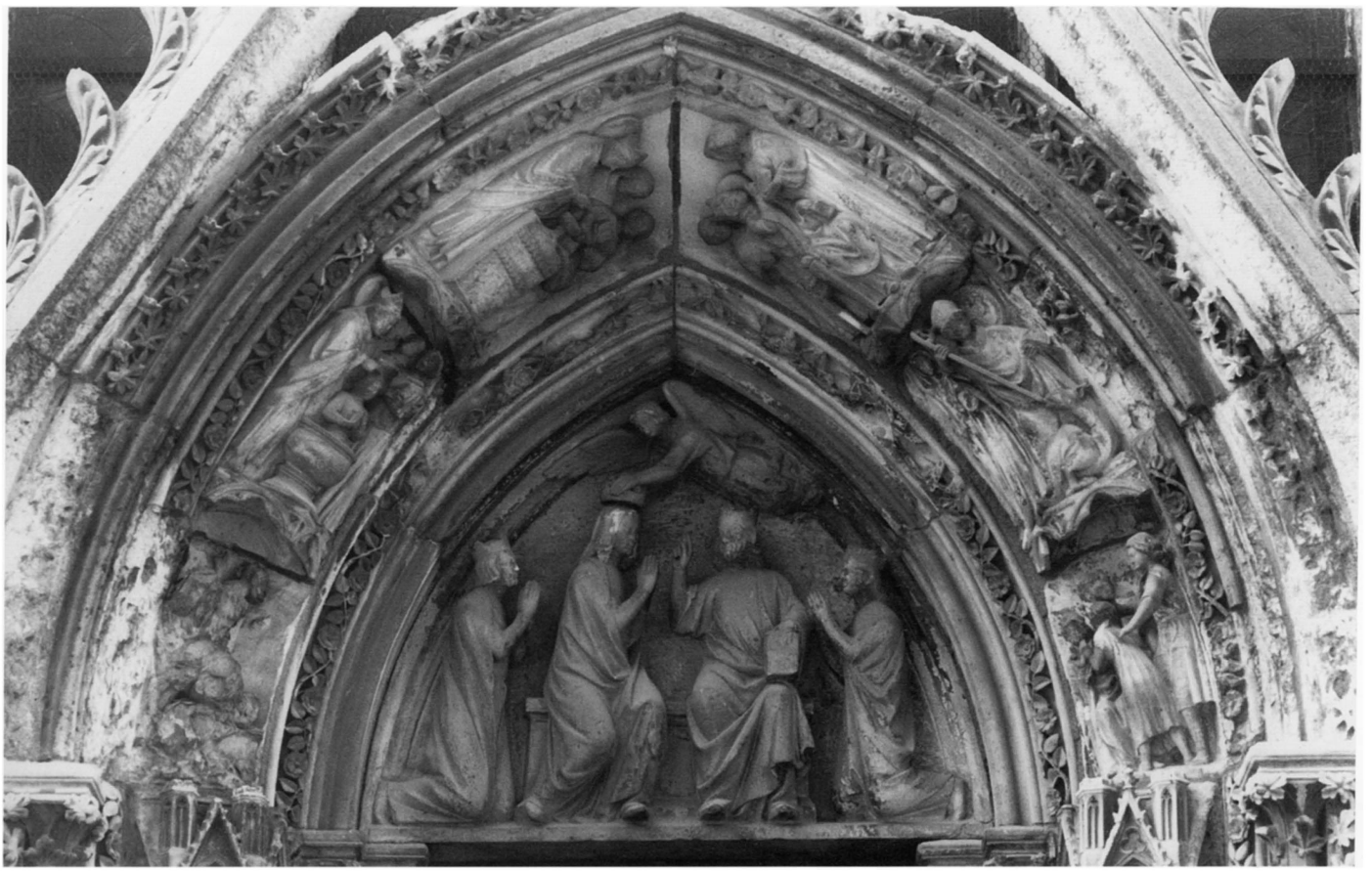

FIGURE 2. *Paris, Notre-Dame, Porte Rouge, tympanum and voussoir (photo: author).*

represents an attempt on the part of the cathedral chapter to claim, or to appropriate, the image of royal patronage in a time of strained relations, and by depicting the king and queen as supplicants, to present a vision of the ideal and proper relationship between the church and the monarchy. This image was produced at a time when Louis had turned his attentions away from the secular church to support Cistercians and mendicants instead. In this climate of religious competition and lost prestige the canons wished to underscore their sacral authority with a representation of the king's fictive supplication and support.

This paper is divided into two parts. The first will discuss the iconography of the Porte Rouge within the context of the building as a whole, addressing the issues of dating, audience, and iconographical models and interpretation. Part two addresses the historical circumstances of the portal. It asks how likely it is that Louis IX was the patron of the Porte Rouge, and concludes that the king in fact turned away from a tradition of Capetian patronage of Notre-Dame of Paris.

The Porte Rouge: iconography and meaning

The iconography of the Porte Rouge has been all but ignored.[6] The strange inclusion of the king and queen in the Coronation has never been critically addressed, and any interest that the portal has engendered has been focused not on content but on stylistic concerns. There is a general consensus that the portal was begun sometime between 1260 and 1271 during the rebuilding of the east end of the church, that is to say, during the last decade of Louis's reign or shortly after his death in 1270.[7]

The private entrance for the canons consisted of a small portal with a tympanum and a single archivolt enclosed within a rayonnant gable which is stylistically related to the north transept facade (Figs. 1, 2). The image of the Coronation of the Virgin fills the entire tympanum. Christ and Mary are seated facing each other on a bench. Christ is shown fully frontal and the Virgin—the Queen of Heaven, the Bride of Christ, the church itself—is turned in full profile towards Christ, her hands raised together in prayer. The crowned Christ raises his right hand in benediction, and with his left hand he balances a book on his left knee. An angel emerges from clouds, about to place a crown on the head of the Virgin-church; her triumphal coronation, frozen in stone, is imminent and continuous. The celestial pair are flanked by two figures who kneel in prayer and adoration, echoing the Virgin's own pious gesture. Traditionally identified as King Louis IX and his wife, Queen Marguerite of Provence, these two are almost equal in size to Mary and Christ. They are crowned and youthful, and in theory, they represent the secular or the earthly component of the triumph of the Virgin-church,[8] although no spatial or symbolic distinction between the two spheres is represented. The single archivolt representing six scenes from the life of St. Marcellus, an early bishop of Paris and one of the cathedral's most important local saints, is deeply and elaborately carved (Fig. 2). The voussoir figures are large in proportion to the figures of the tympanum and show St. Marcellus in his ecclesiastical capacity as cleric and bishop.[9]

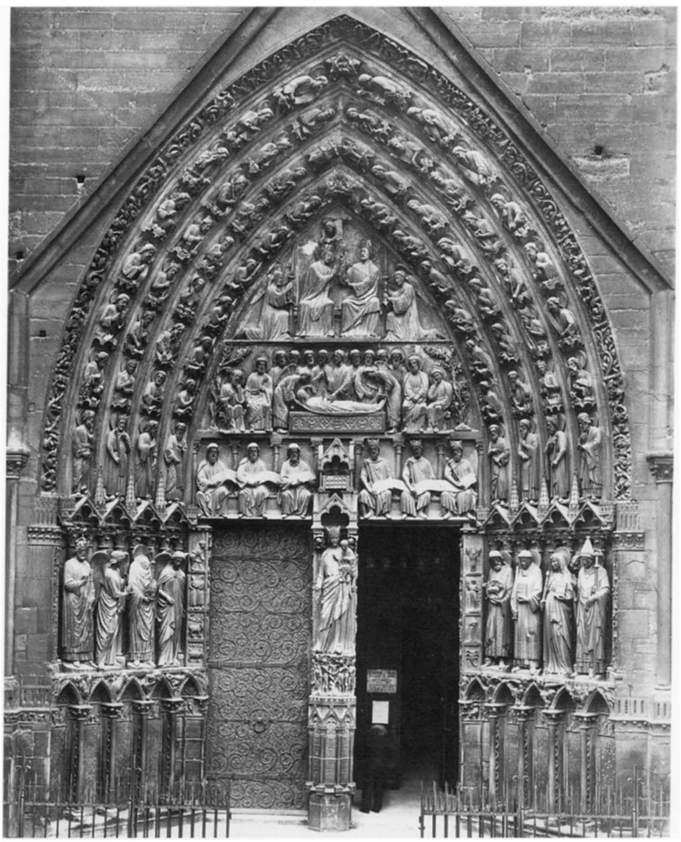

FIGURE 3. *Paris, Notre-Dame, west facade, Coronation Portal (photo: Alinari/Art Resource).*

The small portal connected the church's interior to the canons' cloister. It was designed specifically to allow the canons direct entrance into the chancel to celebrate the divine office (Fig. 4). Unlike a monastic cloister, which was the exclusive domain of the monks, the canons' cloister was not a restricted area.[10] Evidence suggests that a fair amount of traffic passed through its walls. The nascent university actually began within this cloister; classes were moved outside the cloister walls and across the river only in the 1150s.[11] In 1245 the papal legate Odo of Châteauroux wrote a letter enjoining the chapter to correct certain behavior, forbidding all women—excepting mothers, sisters and nieces, and "magnates mulieres," to whom it would be embarrassing to forbid entrance—from spending the night within the cloister.[12] The implication is not only that women were allowed to enter the cloister during daytime hours, but, more broadly, that non-canons—non-clerics even—had free access to it.[13] An injunction of 1328 forbade canons from turning their houses into taverns.[14] We further know that canons housed both masters and students from the university, and

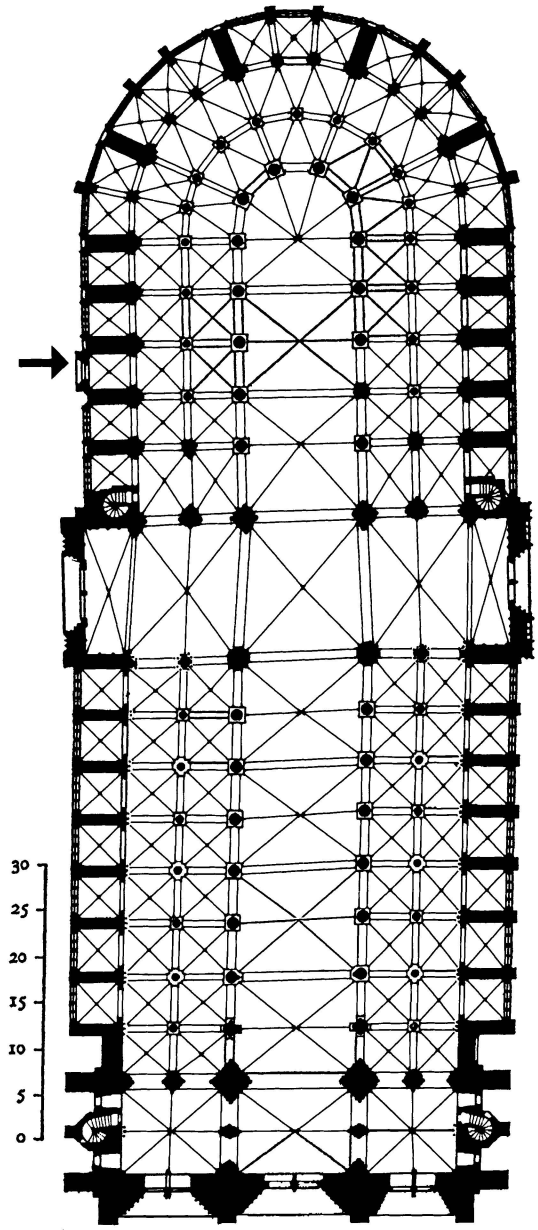

FIGURE 4. *Paris, Notre-Dame, groundplan, ca. 1300 (after Aubert, La cathédrale Notre-Dame: notice historique et archéologique).*

it seems clear that canons were free to invite guests and visitors into their homes.[15]

The images on the Porte Rouge, then, had an audience greater than the exclusive community of canons. However, because the Porte Rouge was designed specifically for the canons' use, the doorway was necessarily associated particularly with them and their liturgical, sacramental duties. Unlike the cloister, the chancel was strictly restricted to the clergy associated with the cathedral.[16] The portal, traditionally a sign of welcoming admittance, here in fact denied entrance to all but the priestly few who were allowed into the chancel because of

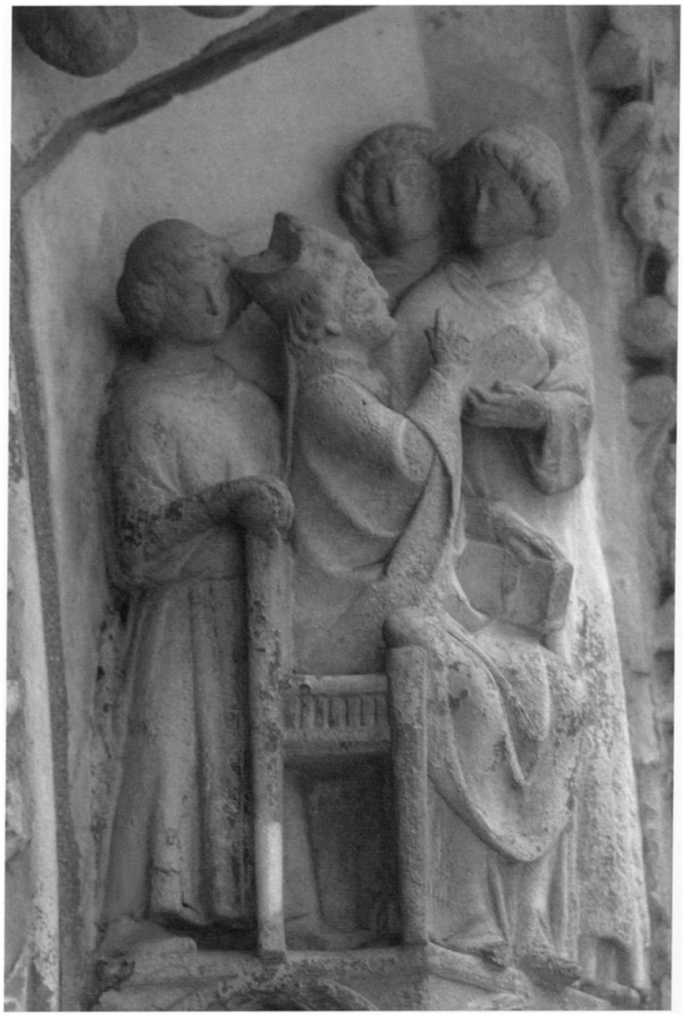

FIGURE 5. *Paris, Notre-Dame, Porte Rouge, voussoir, detail, St. Marcellus (photo: author).*

their special and sacramental status. As laymen, the king and queen depicted on the tympanum were among those refused entrance, underscoring their ultimate need for the sacramental mediation within. The image of the Coronation was intended to be specifically associated with the canons whom the portal admitted. Indeed, the figure of Christ sitting, holding a book in one hand with the other raised in benediction, is echoed in the voussoir by the image of St. Marcellus, an early cleric of Notre-Dame (Fig. 5).[17]

The association between the image of the Coronation of the Virgin and the idea of the Church Triumphant had been established in the course of the twelfth century.[18] The oldest extant example in French monumental sculpture is the famous scene on the west facade at Senlis, which Marie-Louise Thérel places against the backdrop of twelfth-century developments concerning devotion to Mary and the doctrine of her bodily assumption. Thérel demonstrates that in the twelfth century the crowned figure of Mary—conceived as the *sponsa* of the

bridegroom Christ—was recognized as an image of *Ecclesia*. *Ecclesia* was not only the institution of the church, but also the community of the baptized, which is ultimately saved by its marriage to Christ. The image of Mary's victorious coronation by Christ was read as a type and prefiguration of the ultimate victory of the church at the end of time.[19] During the period following the creation of the west facade at Senlis the coronation theme became increasingly popular in portal sculpture.[20] Its inclusion on the west facade at Paris in the 1210s is no surprise.

The top register of the Coronation Portal at Paris was clearly the model for the Porte Rouge fifty years later (Figs. 6, 7).[21] The proportions and posture of the figures are the same, although the Porte Rouge is rendered in a single register and in much higher relief, with simpler folds of drapery and a more naturalistic or supple rendition of facial features. The two adoring angels holding candlesticks who flank the Coronation pair are replaced in the Porte Rouge by the two royal figures in prayer, thus joining in a single register the two spheres and two time-frames of the divine and temporal worlds. The lowest register of the Coronation Portal depicts the tabernacle of the Old Testament, flanked on the right by three Old Testament kings, and on the left by three Old Testament prophets. This register represents Old Testament time and the Old Law. The tabernacle is a sign of the old covenant, and was also commonly understood as a type and prefiguration of Christ in the womb of the Virgin, and thus, of the incarnation and humanity of Christ.[22]

The middle register of the Coronation Portal represents the Dormition of the Virgin. The hand of Christ, centered among the apostles, gestures unambiguously to the Virgin's womb, breaking the clean horizontal line of her body. Notably, the Virgin is positioned in the middle register so that her womb lies on the central axis, aligned as it were with the tabernacle which prefigures it.[23] In a stroke of innovative virtuosity, the iconographer made the gable of the tabernacle pierce the upper sphere, so that it is spatially connected to the Virgin and points directly to the figure of Christ above her.[24] No ambiguity here; it is the incarnation (indeed, Christ himself) which links Old Testament time to the new covenant, and thus to the first historical phase of salvific time, and ultimately to the eschatological vision of the triumph of the Virgin.

Historical time, then, moves upwards on the portal along the central axis through the three stages of Christian history: Old Testament time in the bottom register, time under the new covenant brought about by Christ's incarnation in the middle register, and the future time of salvation which will be brought about by the Second Coming in the apex. By spanning all past and prophesied Christian history, the images are in "eschatological time"—that is, time which is measured in relationship to ultimate salvation.[25] Salvation is predicated on the incarnation, and its (re)presentation, the eucharist, which was performed daily inside the church. In the same decade in which the Fourth Lateran Council defined the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Coronation Portal articulated a vision of salvation based precisely on the incarnation.[26]

When the canons decided to adorn their private entrance with the Coronation theme, they chose to reproduce only the top register of the earlier image, thus eschewing the incarnational meaning established by the two lintel registers on the west facade (Fig. 2). The image of the Coronation was thus brought into the service of a more immediate and local agenda. This was accomplished no less by the exclusion of the tabernacle and the Dormition than by the inclusion of the royal pair and the six scenes from the life of St. Marcellus in the voussoir, all subjects associated specifically with Paris. In his biography of the cathedral, Alan Temko suggested that Louis IX and Marguerite of Provence together "donated" this "smallest" and "most charming" portal to the cathedral on the eve of Louis's second crusade.[27] He voices two commonly held assumptions which must be addressed: that the kneeling, praying king and queen are "donor portraits," and that they represent Louis IX and his wife.

The king and queen kneel in prayer on either side of Christ and Mary, in a pose which by the end of the following century would be readily identified as that of donors. In the absence of any study of the history of donor portraiture, however, we must ask what such kneeling, praying figures would have meant to mid-thirteenth century viewers. It is unclear whether the kneeling pose would have been interpreted primarily as a sign of donorship as early as *ca.* 1270.[28] Formerly there were two prevailing types of donor portraits. The first showed the donor upright (standing, or later kneeling), holding a miniature representation of the work of art being donated, sometimes presenting it to the central object of devotion, as for example, in the stained glass of the cathedral at Poitiers (late twelfth century) and the cathedral at Rouen (thirteenth century).[29] The image of the kneeling-praying donor that concerns us evolved ultimately from the second type, in which the patron lies prostrate before the object of veneration. These figures do not bear the object of their donations; instead they offer their prayer and adoration. Implicit in these images of supplication, as Geoffrey Koziol has demonstrated for the eleventh century, is an act of subordination and a humble recognition of authority—"begging pardon and favor."[30] The Infancy Window at Saint-Denis represents an example of this form in its incipient stage, as Suger is represented prostrate before an image of the Annunciation.[31] Another image on the west facade probably showed him kneeling in prayer before Christ.[32] These images should be read as representations of generalized patronage, rather than of specific donorship. Inscriptions composed to accompany images of Suger demonstrate that the act of patronage still was conceived primarily as an act of supplication, and that the patron hoped for spiritual protection in return. The lintel of the central portal of the west facade read "For the splendor of the church that has fostered and exalted

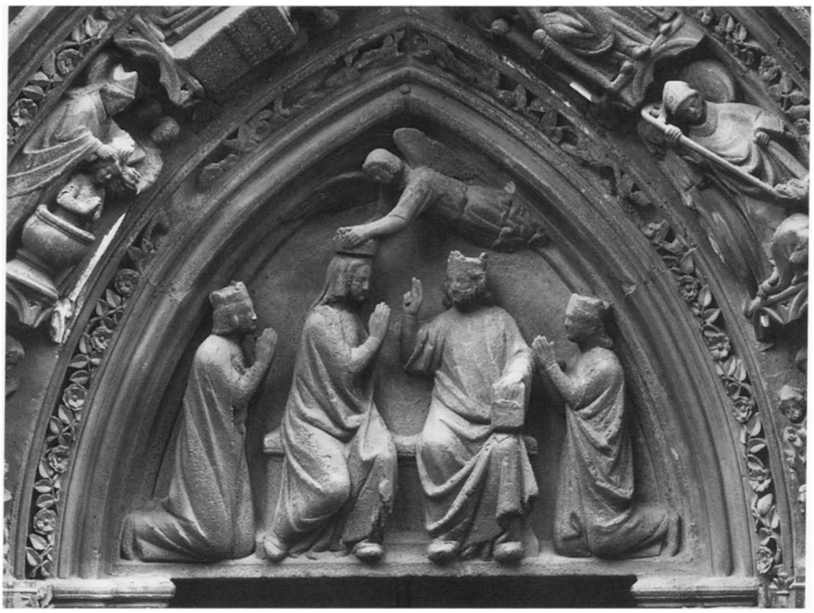

FIGURE 6. *Paris, Notre-Dame, Porte Rouge, tympanum (photo: Alinari/Art Resource).*
FIGURE 7. *Paris, Notre-Dame, Coronation Portal, tympanum (photo: Alinari/Art Resource).*

FIGURE 8. *Cosenza, cathedral, Tomb of Isabella of Aragon (photo: Scala/Art Resource).*

him, Suger has labored for the splendor of the church. Giving thee a share of what is thine, O Martyr Denis, he prays to thee to pray that he may obtain a share of Paradise."[33] Both types (the upright donor and the prostrate supplicant) express entreaty and adoration and it is easy to see how the two are melded in the "donor figures" typical of the end of the fourteenth century.

With the images on the Porte Rouge we are not quite there yet. The portraits of "Louis" and "Marguerite" belong to an evolving tradition in which two types ultimately merged. In portal sculpture, the kneeling figure with hands clasped in prayer first appeared, not in the representation of donors, but in images of Mary and John the Evangelist flanking Christ in majesty. The form was probably taken from rituals of homage sometime in the twelfth century,[34] and the borrowing underscores the meaning of entreaty and subordination to authority. It also suggests that, at this stage, the pose implied primarily an act of supplication for salvation; it is prayer as much as benefaction that is offered. Comparison should be made with the tomb of Louis's daughter-in-law, Isabella of Aragon, commissioned by Philip III and carved *ca.* 1275 by artists from the Ile-de-France for the cathedral at Cosenza (Fig. 8). The two crowned figures exactly mimic the poses of the Porte Rouge and were likely directly influenced by it.[35] The funerary context underscores the eschatological flavor of the suppliant figures, who pray to the Virgin in perpetuity. These kneeling, praying figures of the king and queen, so like those in the Porte Rouge, cannot be interpreted as donor figures in any traditional sense. If the multivalent kneeling-praying posture on the Porte Rouge was meant to suggest patronage, it would be more in the general sense of being benefactors of the church and entreating her spiritual efficacy, than of being the sponsors of a specific work of art.

The other frequently held assumption which must be addressed is that the figures represent Louis IX and Marguerite.[36] No written evidence from the thirteenth or fourteenth century identifies them. Among modern interpreters it was F. de Guilhermy who, in 1855, first identified the two figures as Louis and Marguerite, and his interpretation has since been assumed, if not definitively accepted, by most authors.[37] It remains possible that in 1270 the figures were not intended to represent Louis and Marguerite specifically.

To a certain extent the identification does not matter. The images of the king and queen closely resemble a veritable kingdom of such representations in mid-thirteenth-century France, a stone family of youthful men, women, angels, and saints. In this period nascent royal portraiture sought to identify individuals not so much by individuated faces as by particularities of costume and attributes, yet no such specification occurs here. The generic nature of the images on the Porte Rouge ensured that the figures would be associated with the king and queen of France in some general sense, and this was all that was needed.[38] By 1270 Louis had been king for the better part of half a century. The quintessential thirteenth-century king, he was conscious of the image of his kingship, and nowhere was that image more publicized than in Paris. The crown worn by both the king and queen on the Porte Rouge, which the Virgin herself is also about to wear, is the very same crown which angels bear all over the Sainte-Chapelle.[39] The use of the king's crown in the Porte Rouge could only serve to associate the figures with the Capetians.

In sum, the image on the Porte Rouge would have been seen as an image of the king's spiritual support and supplication, most certainly of his subordination to Mary and in turn to the cathedral which bore her image and name, and perhaps also of his patronage of it. In the absence of a single piece of documentary evidence to suggest that Louis played any role in the patronage, planning, or construction of any part of the rebuilding of Notre-Dame, let alone of the Porte Rouge specifically, the inclusion of this representation must be explained.

Historical circumstance: Louis IX and the church

Except for this image of the supplicant king and queen, there is not a single piece of evidence that the king ever patronized the cathedral or that he provided funds for the cloister doorway. Instead, Louis seems to have turned away from the tradition of patronage pursued by his forebears and directed attention to Cistercians and mendicants, whose presence in Paris coincided with Louis's early education and accession to the throne.[40] In order to understand the image of the Porte Rouge, then, we can examine the local political and ecclesiastical context and Louis's relationship with the secular church.

Given our knowledge of the role the king did play as patron of various religious groups in Paris, including mendicants, who were not in these early years keeping systematic records as did the cathedral, the lack of any evidence of donations suggests that there were indeed no donations. Joinville, Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, and Geoffrey of Beaulieu all take pains to enumerate King Louis's long list of pious donations, but none mentions Notre-Dame of Paris as an object of his munificence.[41] The king did provide funds to both the Franciscans and the Dominicans for the building of their Parisian convents in the years after his first crusade, and in the 1250s and 1260s Louis was instrumental in nurturing the smaller mendicant groups imitative of the friars.[42] In the decade preceding the building of the Porte Rouge Louis introduced a number of monastic and quasi-mendicant groups into Paris, but the project perhaps closest to his heart after the building of the Sainte-Chapelle, and into which he poured enormous sums, was the construction of the *Grand Couvent* for the Franciscans, started sometime after 1250 and consecrated in 1268.[43] The king clearly enjoyed the company of friars and sought to include them at his court. He commissioned two important texts from Dominicans. Vincent of Beauvais and Guibert of Tournai both wrote tracts on kingship and education noticeably marked by a "mendicant ideology."[44]

In addition to mendicants, the order of Cîteaux benefited from Louis's pious generosity, especially the monastery at Royaumont.[45] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus tells of how Louis was present at the very construction of the building, helping to gather stones and lay mortar.[46] Once it was built, he loved spending evenings there with the monks. Guillaume also wrote with admiration that Louis would come for an evening to the Dominicans at Compiège, desiring to eat dinner with the monks, to say compline with them, to listen to the abbot read the chapter of the evening, and to hear the daily sermon.[47] While each order, the Cistercians, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, tried to claim Louis as its own special provider after his canonization, in his lifetime his generosity flowed to all alike.[48]

In contrast to the king's support of monks and mendicants is the marked absence of such patronage of the secular church. The obituary of the cathedral records the sequence of anniversary masses performed there, and the chapter's compensation for them.[49] Such provisions secured votive masses for the dead and should be considered a kind of spiritual patronage, a statement of support and faith in the efficacy of the institution and its liturgy, in which the clergy are trusted mediators with God. That the kings of France should endow masses to be said for the sake of their souls at the cathedral and that the cathedral, which stands two blocks east of the royal palace, should be a forum for the performance of pious acts would be expected. And indeed, the Capetians established such a tradition. The father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of Louis IX and other ancillary members of the Capetian family were all commemorated in the cathedral's calendar. Louis VII gave the chapter 200 pounds *parisienses* along with a golden chalice for "the daily consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ at the high mass."[50] His wife, Adela, gave liturgical ornaments and 20 silver marks "to the fabric of the church" for her commemoration.[51] His brother, Philip, was the archdeacon of the cathedral (as well as deacon at Tours) and was also commemorated in Notre-Dame's calendar.[52] Another brother, Henry, archbishop of Reims, endowed anniversary masses for his soul.[53]

The cathedral was also a special object of patronage of the family of Philip Augustus. His first wife, Isabella of Hainault, chose to be buried in the cathedral; in 1189 she founded a chaplaincy at the altar of Saint-Nicolas.[54] Philip Augustus endowed two chaplains to "continually serve in our church" to celebrate masses for her soul, his soul, and the souls of all the dead.[55] A later entry in the obituary provides evidence that he instituted two more chaplaincies for the soul of Geoffrey III, Count of Brittany.[56] Philip's own anniversary was commemorated by the chapter at the high altar, and he further provided for a mass to be sung for his soul each All Saints Day.[57] Long after the end of his reign, when his estranged wife Ingebourg of Denmark died in 1236, the executors of her will paid four pounds for her commemoration.[58]

By the time Louis IX came to the throne, the Capetians had a long established tradition of endowing masses for their souls at the cathedral. When his elder brother Philip died in 1218, the young prince was buried in the church, and Blanche of Castille endowed a chaplaincy "at the altar of the blessed John the Baptist and St. Thomas, archbishop and martyr of Canterbury."[59] The chaplain was to say a daily mass for the soul of the dead prince, "no less than for the souls of the king and the queen and for all the faithful."[60] A charter of Louis VIII of 1225 records the establishment of a chaplaincy for the sake of his and Blanche's soul.[61] When Blanche died in 1252, provisions were made by Louis IX for her commemorative masses.[62] Even Marguerite de Provence, who died in 1310, is listed in the obituary. Thirty-two years after St. Louis's death, she founded a chaplaincy.[63]

Louis IX, however, is not commemorated in the calendar.[64] Louis never endowed masses for his soul or the souls of his children, despite the fact that the encyclical letter from his son announcing his death is recorded in the cathedral's cartulary, and his brother Alphonse count of Poitiers, who died

along with the king in Tunis in 1270, is commemorated. The entry in the calendar which records the endowment for Alphonse takes pains to mention that in his lifetime the count had "bequeathed to the church of Paris ten Parisian pounds for the annual performance of his anniversary." Alphonse also instituted a chaplaincy "at the chapel of St. Agnes for the daily celebration of a mass."[65] Louis IX broke from this tradition in other ways as well. In contrast to the cathedral burial of his brother Philip, when two of Louis's children died in young adulthood, he had them interred at Royaumont, and the cathedral clergy was never asked to pray for their souls.[66]

Louis IX chose to have the masses for his own soul said at another type of religious institution. We know from his biographer, Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, that each year "he would send letters to the Chapter General which was held at Cîteaux to ask for the prayers of the chapter, and that he asked the entire Order to have said for him three masses from each monk each year, one for the Holy Spirit, one for the Cross and a third one for Notre Dame, and that he got this also from several other religious houses."[67] It was with the Cistercians that he buried his children.[68] Although it is unclear whether the king requested masses from the Dominicans, a letter of 1256 from the minister general Humbert of Romans informs the king that the general chapter had decided that priests of the order were each to celebrate three masses for the king and another three at the time of the king's death, totaling, Humbert writes, over 30,000 masses.[69] The Carthusian convent of Mont-Dieu in the diocese of Reims promised prayers and masses for Louis now and after his death "as if for one of our own brothers."[70] The brothers at Saint-Michael of Bastebourg promised even more, that after his death the monks would say a daily mass for Louis in perpetuity.[71] It was to these monks and friars that the king entrusted his soul and the souls of his family.

None of Louis's patronage was directed to the cathedral. While Philip Augustus had given very important relics to Notre-Dame, Louis built a private chapel, the Sainte-Chapelle, when he acquired the crown of thorns. It is perhaps not unimportant that the Sainte-Chapelle was located in the king's palace, two short blocks away from the cathedral. In a sense, Louis kept the relic for himself, creating a rival sacred space which was the exclusive domain of the crown, specifically independent of the cathedral. At his private chapel, Louis installed his own canons, as well as a thrice-yearly procession.[72] The liturgy was that of the cathedral but it was performed by the king's own chaplains. It seems that under Louis there was a marked break from the crown's association with the neighboring cathedral, due in part to his attraction to the mendicants and, in part, no doubt, to a desire to emphasize the French crown's own sacrality.[73]

Louis IX no longer had need of the intercessory power of the canons of the cathedral. The tracts on kingship written for him by the Dominicans Vincent of Beauvais and Guibert of Tournai espoused for the first time the theory of a body politic distinct from the church, the *corpus reipublicae mysticum* which had as its head the king and was an entity separate from the *corpus ecclesiae mysticum* from which it borrowed this transcendental ideology.[74] These were the years which witnessed the development of the notions that France was the new Jerusalem and when the independently sacred nature of kingship was emphasized.[75] This bold ideology, visibly expressed in the glass cycle of the Sainte-Chapelle, in which images of the king carrying the crown of thorns to Paris appear within the sequence of Christian and salvation history, was most eloquently articulated in the account of the reception of the crown of thorns by Gauthier Cornut, archbishop of Sens and the king's associate: "Just as the Lord Jesus Christ chose the Holy Land for the display of the mysteries of the redemption, he [has] specially chosen our France for the most devoted veneration of the triumph of his Passion."[76] The crown of thorns as an analogue for the crown of France was an especially potent symbol for the king, and consciously or not, Louis was creating a claim to his own sacrality. It was even reported that he placed the crown of thorns on his head at the dedication of the chapel.[77] Before the relics were placed in the *Grande Chasse*, Louis placed three of the crown's thorns into his own crown.[78] Integral to the notion of the sanctity of the French crown were ideals—perhaps unarticulated but certainly present—acquired from the king's association with friars. To be Christ-like was to adopt great humility, and Louis accepted the Franciscan notion that one served God by serving the world. What better way to undercut the legitimacy of traditional religion than to forge an alliance with an opposing group—the friars—who took poverty and obedience as their form of empowerment?

These developments in ecclesiastical politics make it unlikely that Louis would have chosen to be portrayed on the canons' portal at Notre-Dame. Moreover, the design of the Porte Rouge came just after a series of events which polarized mendicant and secular clerics, in which the king took the side of the friars. These events occurred at the university, an institution intimately associated with Notre-Dame and located directly across the river from it, where three of the twelve faculty chairs were reserved by statute for cathedral canons. By the early 1250s, members of the newly arrived mendicant orders had captured three of the nine remaining chairs.[79] The success and popularity of the friars stirred the secular masters to attempt to expel them from the university. Under the leadership of William of Saint-Amour, secular master at the university and canon at Saint-Pierre of Beauvais, the seculars appealed to the pope in 1254, asking for redress against these "false-Christians." When Innocent IV failed to act the seculars wrote an encyclical letter, dated 4 February 1254, to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, deacons, archdeacons, and prelates of the church, calling for the expulsion of the friars from the university. By November Innocent, in a surprising reversal of half a century of papal protection, issued the bull *Etsi animarum* which effectively stripped the mendicants of their

rights and autonomy, subjecting them to the clerical authority of the secular church.[80] The seculars' victory was short-lived, however, as Innocent IV died within two weeks of issuing *Etsi animarum*, and his successor, Alexander IV, summarily reversed the decision, reinstating the friars' privileged position within the university and their independence from the secular church.

The response of William of Saint-Amour was the *Tractatus brevis de periculis novissimorum temporum*, which accused the friars of being false Christians and preaching a false word. The secular master followed this with a Pentecost sermon in 1256, in which he attacked the king for non-royal behavior, rising in the middle of the night to recite matins and wearing the dress of the poor, thus robbing the crown of its royal dignity. William accused the king of favoring the poor to the neglect of justice and of robbing towns and counties of money to wage improper wars in which Christians were killed, clearly an attack on Louis's crusades. Further, William criticized the mendicants' presence at the court, which distracted the king from his royal duties.[81]

Louis, who until this point had stayed out of the fray, immediately dispatched two priests to Rome with William's *Tractatus brevis* and a request for its examination.[82] William was summoned to the curia for questioning. In the proceedings the friars were represented by the lights of the mendicant orders: John of Parma, Bonaventure, Humbert of Romans, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas. Not surprisingly, the result was the total defeat of the secular faction. The condemnation of the *Tractatus brevis* was followed a month later by an encyclical in support of the mendicants.[83] William was deprived of all offices and benefices, exiled from France, and ordered on pain of excommunication never to preach or teach thereafter. Louis was notified personally of William's fate in a letter from the curia, which says that the pope had sought to follow the king's wish in the matter.[84] In the letter Alexander further noted Louis's special and protective relationship with the mendicants.

> And because we know with certainty that you honored those beloved sons, the Brothers Preachers and Minors, with special favor, concerning which we, expressing to you worthy praise in God, presented you with many acts of thanks, we ask your magnificence for all, with as much affection as we are able, that you, holding those commended with customary kindness, may protect and defend these friars for the sake of the reverence of Christ from the injury and molestation of whomsoever, and thus those people fortified by your peace ought serve the maker of peace with a quiet peace and a peaceful quiet.[85]

The friars' victory was Louis's victory, and the secular masters must have seen their defeat as coming at the hands of king and beggars both. This resolution of the affair left the king unmistakably in the mendicant camp, in a climate of keen competition between clerics and friars. Worse yet for the clerics, after 1256 the aforementioned battery of new fringe mendicant groups established themselves in Paris under the king's tutelage.[86] Those whom he did not actually install he funded generously. Further, in these years the now respectable Franciscans and Dominicans were busy building their own large convents, aided by the crown. Friars were everywhere.

It was in this friar-friendly climate that, in the 1260s, the canons of Notre-Dame of Paris decided to decorate their private entrance to the cathedral with an image of the king and his queen in supplication to Christ and the Virgin, the image of *Ecclesia* herself. I argued above that the relief did not so much denote a fictive donorship of the portal as it suggested the king's spiritual and suppliant relationship to the church. The iconographers of the Porte Rouge drew on a tradition of images of entreaty and supplication to articulate a notion of sacramental legitimacy, adopting and adapting the formula of intercession and prayer to construct a fictional relationship between the king and the chapter, or, more broadly, between the crown and the church.

This fictional relationship, of course, was also the church's ideal, a vision of the relationship between crown and church as it should be. The Porte Rouge constructs an image of the king as spiritual patron (which he was not), as supporter of the cathedral (which he was not), and not least as suppliant to the church (which, the canons were wont to suggest, he should have been). After all, the king was a parishioner of the cathedral, and in theory he should have been looking to her clergy for mediation.[87] Both king and queen are given Mary's praying, supplicatory pose. The Savior is the only figure on the tympanum shown frontally, and any likeness between the king and Christ, *i.e.*, any claim to Christ-like sacrality, is denied. Instead, the portal argues that the king requires the intercession of the cathedral and her clergy to approach the divine and to attain salvation. The king supplicates Mary (the church); she in turn supplicates Christ on his behalf. Underlying this relationship is the church's claim to mediating access to Christ through the performance of the sacraments. In this vision, the king has no direct access by virtue of his kingship, but is subordinated to the church to which he must pray. The portal is clear in its rejection of the model of sacred kingship articulated by the crown at the nearby Sainte-Chapelle. With its generic images of the king, the claims of the Porte Rouge were both universal and typological; the king represents Louis as much as he represents any king, and the portal articulates the idea that all kings must kneel before the church.

Far from being a reductive re-articulation of the theological themes gracing the front of the cathedral on the Coronation Portal, the iconography of the Porte Rouge makes a boldly ambitious claim about *this* world, focusing on the earthly relationship between crown and church. This subject had been broached in the cathedral's decoration more than a century earlier, on the west Sainte-Anne Portal of *ca.* 1160, on which a bishop and a king are seen flanking the Virgin and Child in

the top register of the tympanum (Fig. 9). Although an ample literature has not yet satisfactorily restored to these figures their proper identities, scholars have generally agreed that the iconography represents some notion of measured cooperation in the mutual effort regarding *Ecclesia-Maria*. A century after the erection of the Sainte-Anne Portal, the Porte Rouge tackled this theme with a vision of the relationship between church and crown appropriate to the latter half of the thirteenth century. While earlier bishop and king cooperated, around 1270 the king supplicates, and the image of a bishop, St. Marcellus, is elevated into the upper spheres of the voussoir, where he is shown holding a book on his left knee with his right hand raised in a gesture of benediction, imitating precisely the image of Christ in the tympanum (Figs. 5, 6). Here it is the priest who is Christ-like. It is the cleric who could pass through the Porte Rouge and into the chancel to perform his sacramental office. King and cleric no longer share the common distinction of flanking Mary. Though small, constrained and simple in aspect, the Porte Rouge is enormous in its claims. In its image of the Coronation, the canons claimed exclusive access to the divine and the sole power to ensure salvation.

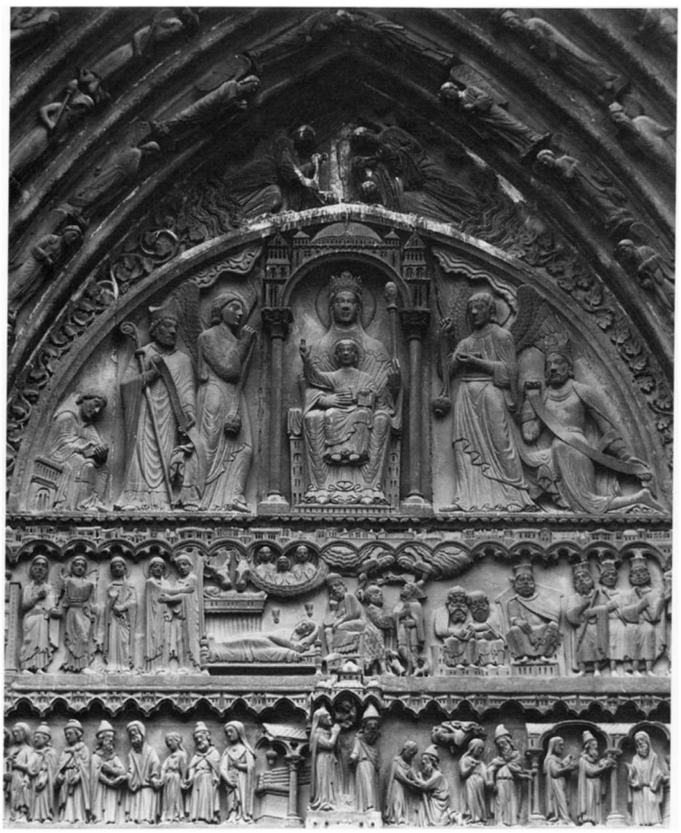

FIGURE 9. *Paris, Notre-Dame, west facade, Sainte-Anne Portal, tympanum (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource).*

NOTES

* The number of people to whom I am indebted for help while writing this article is great. In addition to my anonymous readers, I wish to thank Stephen Murray (to whom I owe its inspiration), Geoffrey Koziol, Harvey Stahl, Michael Davis, Daniel Weiss, Anne-Marie Bouché, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Sigrid Goldiner, and Pegatha Taylor, Lindsay Koval, E. M. Gaposchkin and, although she might not recognize her hand in it, Caroline Bruzelius. I hope that, where I have not followed their suggestions, I have sufficiently indicated why.

1. This rebuilding project has recently been re-evaluated by M. Davis, "Splendor and Peril: The Cathedral of Paris, 1290–1350," *AB*, LXXX (1998), 34–66.

2. The equivalent door in the twelfth-century edifice is mentioned in a document of 1243 as "the small door of the aforesaid church leading to the cloister." See H. Kraus, "New Documents for Notre-Dame's early Chapels," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXIV (1969), 121.

3. The practice might have had a precedent at Notre-Dame. The two "donor" figures on the Sainte-Anne Portal have been identified as Bishop Maurice de Sully, during whose episcopacy the new building was begun, and Louis VII, great-grandfather of St. Louis and king during the twelfth-century reconstruction of the cathedral; see M. Aubert, *La cathédrale Notre-Dame: notice historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1950), 105, 128. Alternatively, the figures have been identified as Childebert and St. Germain, recalling the cathedral's historical foundation; see J. Thirion, "Les plus anciennes sculptures de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France. Comptes rendus* (1970), 92–93. However, W. Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Sainte-Anne at Notre-Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages," *JWCI*, XXXII (1969), 55–72, argues that the crowned figure and his ecclesiastical counterpart represent generic figures and articulate a contemporary conception of the division of powers. M.-L. Thérel, *Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Église: à l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis* (Paris, 1984), 321–323 came to the same conclusion independently. L. Gelfand, in a paper delivered at the 32nd International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, MI, May 10, 1997), entitled "Bishop and King on the Portail Ste.-Anne of Notre-Dame of Paris," argued that the figures reflect a contemporary legal agreement struck between church and crown. Most recently, A. Lombard-Jordan, "L'Invention du 'Roi Fondateur' à Paris au XIIe siècle: de l'Obligation Morale au Thème Sculptural," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, CLV (1997), 485–542, argues for the identification of the figures as Étienne de Senlis and Louis VI. Also, the two outermost jamb figures of the Coronation Portal, which portray a crowned figure and a mitred figure, have been identified as Charlemagne and Pope Leo III by W. Hinkle, "The King and Pope on the Virgin Portal of Notre-Dame," *AB*, XLVIII (1966), 1–13; Hinkle argues that this portal was executed under Philip Augustus. A. Erlande-Brandenburg and D. Kimpel, in "La Statuaire de Notre-Dame de Paris avant les destructions révolutionnaires," *BMon*, CXXXVI (1978), 226, summarily dismiss Hinkle's identification. See also K. Horste, "'A Child is Born': The Iconography of the Portail Ste.-Anne at Paris," *AB*, LXIX (1987), esp. 191, n. 16.

4. S. Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton, 1989), 26–30, esp. 29.

5. D. Sadler, "The King as Subject, the King as Author: Art and Politics of Louis IX," in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. H. Duchhardt, R. A. Jackson and D. Sturdy (Stuttgart, 1992), 53–68.

6. The only publication of which I am aware that deals at all with the meaning of the Porte Rouge is J. Bayet, "Le Symbolisme du Cerf et du Centaure a la Porte Rouge de Notre-Dame de Paris," *RA*, XLIV (1954),

21–64, which discusses the meanings and textual traditions of the stag and the centaur. D. Kimpel discusses questions of dating and attribution, reviewing previous works: "Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame zu Paris und ihre Skulpturen" (Dissertation, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1971), 124. Beginning with antiquarian historians, students of the portal have often put forth identifications of the two so-called donor figures, but never with much discussion. W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140–1270*, trans. J. Sondheimer (New York, 1973), 490, hesitates to definitively identify the two "donor" figures as Louis IX and Marguerite of Provence.

7. Because of the foliate articulation, which resembles that of the south transept facade, M. Aubert attributed the portal to Pierre de Montreuil (d. 1267), placing it prior to Louis's death in 1270: *Notre-Dame de Paris: sa place dans l'histoire de l'architecture du XIIe au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1920), 142, and *idem, La cathédrale Notre-Dame*, 152–153, where he dates the Porte Rouge to *ca.* 1265. Agreeing with Aubert is P.-M. Auzas, *Notre Dame de Paris* (Paris, 1956), 105. Branner suggested that the articulation of the architectural forms differs too much from the south transept to be definitively attributed to the same hand; R. Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965), 104, esp. n. 36. Sauerländer suggests that stylistically the Porte Rouge belongs to the north transept facade, and dates the sculpture to *ca.* 1260; *Gothic Sculpture in France*, 490. More recently Kimpel argued that the portal was executed only after the death of Pierre de Montreuil, and thus sometime between 1267 and 1271; Kimpel, "Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame," 193–194. Davis discusses the rebuilding of the east end, "Splendor and Peril," 34–39.

8. For the coronation of the Virgin as an image of the triumphant church, see Thérel, *Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Église*.

9. Only five of the six scenes in the voussoir are authentic. They are based on the sixth-century *vita* of St. Marcellus by Venantius Fortunatus. From the lower left they are: 1) unknown, restored; 2) Bishop Prudentius consecrating Marcellus *in fonte*; 3) a eucharistic miracle; 4) Marcellus restores Prudentius's voice; 5) Marcellus vanquishes a dragon; and 6) Marcellus exorcizes a demon from a youth by confessing him. Dragons, centaurs and stags grace the lower level; these were heavily restored in the nineteenth century. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, 490. Two niches on either side of the door possibly contained statues.

10. For a different view, see Davis, who argues for the clerical exclusivity of the cloister, "Splendor and Peril," 51.

11. A. Gabriel, "Les Écoles de la Cathédrale de Notre-Dame et le commencement de l'Université de Paris," in *Huitième Centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris (Congrès des 30 mai–3 juin 1964): Recueil de Travaux sur l'Histoire de la Cathédrale et de l'Église de Paris* (Paris, 1967), 146.

12. "Item, districcius inhibemus, ne quis canonicus mulierem aliquam, monialem seu aliam, in domo sua, in claustro, sustineat pernoctare, nisi sit mater, vel soror, vel propinqua saltim in tercio gradu canonici penes quem aliquando contigerit pernoctandum, vel nisi alique magnates mulieres, que sine scandalo evitari non possunt, aliquando ad claustrum cum familiaritatis honeste duxerint divertendum, vel nisi, urgente necessitate, matronas aliquas aliquando vocari contigerit ad custodiam infirmorum." B. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris, 1850), II, 405.

13. Three small chapels, each attached to a prebend, stood within the cloister walls: Saint-Denis-du-Pas, Saint-Jean-le-Rond, and Sainte-Agnes. These, or at the very least, the baptistery would have been available for public use.

14. R. Cazelles, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris, de la fin du règne de Philip Auguste à la mort de Charles V, 1223–1380* (Paris, 1972), 44, 229; P. du Colombier, *Notre-Dame de Paris: Mémorial de la France* (Paris, 1966), 16–17.

15. Gabriel, "Les Écoles de la Cathédrale," 144. A famous instance is Peter Abelard, who boarded with the canon Fulbert around 1114.

16. C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. ch. 1. See also P.-C. Timbal and J. Metman, "Évêque de Paris et Chapitre de Notre-Dame: la juridiction dans la Cathédrale au Moyen Âge," in *Huitième Centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 115–140. Even the bishop had to obtain permission from the dean to enter the chancel in times other than Lent.

17. See the episode in which Marcellus restores Prudentius's voice; above n. 9.

18. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, 33–34, esp. n. 16 and *passim*. For the origins of the image, see Thérel, *Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Église*, and P. Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique* (Paris, 1980).

19. Thérel, *La Triomphe de la Vierge-Église*, 236, 338.

20. For example, the collegiate church of Notre-Dame of Mantes (*ca.* 1180), Notre-Dame of Laon (1195–1205), the abbey church of Saint-Yved of Braine (1205–1215), Notre-Dame of Chartres (1205–1210), Notre-Dame of Amiens (1220–1235), and Notre-Dame of Strasbourg (*ca.* 1230); see Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, 33–34 and *passim*, and Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, 113–152. For the suggestion that Senlis (*ca.* 1170) was not the first representation of the Coronation in monumental French art, see P. Blum, "The Lateral Portals of the West Facade of the Abbey Church of St.-Denis: Archaeological and Iconographic Considerations," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: a Symposium*, ed. P. L. Gerson (New York, 1986), 199–228.

21. W. Sauerländer, "Die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Westportale von Notre-Dame in Paris: ein Beitrag zur Genesis des hochgotischen Stiles in der französischen Skulptur," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVII (1959), 1–55.

22. On incarnation symbolism, see I. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972), 22–30.

23. This is not the case in other roughly contemporaneous Coronation cycles, in which the middle register is divided into halves, with the Dormition on the right and the Assumption on the left; for instance, Senlis (*ca.* 1170), Chartres (*ca.* 1205–1210), Amiens (*ca.* 1220–1235), Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois (*ca.* 1240–1250).

24. For a similar analysis of the Saint-Firmin portal of Amiens cathedral, see A. Katzenellenbogen, "Tympanum and Archivolts on the Portal of St Honoré at Amiens," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panfosky*, ed. M. Meiss (New York, 1961), I, 281. See also S. Murray, *Notre-Dame Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge, 1996), 108–111.

25. This scheme was by no means new; the eschatological construction, moving from temporal elements in the lower zone towards the timeless and heavenly, was common in portal iconography beginning in the twelfth century. It is the break from this scheme in the Porte Rouge which is notable.

26. Gerhart Ladner has argued that the early years of the thirteenth century were characterized by a dual preoccupation with the incarnation and the eschatological dimension of salvation; G. Ladner, "The Life of the Mind in the Christian West around the Year 1200," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, ed. J. Hoffeld (New York, 1975), 1–23, esp. 1–6.

27. A. Temko, *Notre-Dame of Paris* (New York, 1959), 266–283. In the chapter entitled "The Gift of Saint Louis," Temko claims that the cathedral was not excluded from the beneficence of Louis IX.

28. For a crack at the question, see G. Ladner, "The Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in

Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda (New York, 1961), 245–275, rpt. in *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art* (Rome, 1983), I, 209–237.

29. R. Crozet, "Le vitrail de la Crucifixion de la Cathédrale de Poitiers," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXVI (1934), 231; G. Ritter, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen* (Cognac, 1926), Pl. 4, 33. Further examples include two related early Romanesque capitals in the Auvergne, at Bulhon and Trizac, each depict a man and a woman holding an image of the very same column as the one on which they are represented. On the west facade of Notre-Dame itself, images of a king and a bishop flank the Virgin and Child on the twelfth-century Sainte-Anne Portal (see n. 3 above), and on the left portal a socle relief dating to 1210–1220 shows a little figure of a king presenting a long band to the Virgin. In French stained glass of the period it was common practice to depict a standing donor in the bottom panel holding a small window, as at Rouen, Poitiers, Tours, Angers, Chartres, and Bourges; cf. n. 32.

30. G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor, Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992).

31. The figure offering a stained glass window in the Tree of Jesse Window now in the chevet is a nineteenth-century forgery. L. Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis: Étude sur le Vitrail au XIIe siècle*, I (Paris, 1976), 169, 177–179.

32. The figure on the west facade has been restored; see C. Maines, "Good Work, Social Ties, and the Hope for Salvation: Abbot Suger and Saint Denis," in *Abbot Suger and Saint Denis*, 87, n. 7. P. Blum, *Early Gothic Saint-Denis: Restorations and Survivals* (Berkeley, 1992), 32, argues that enough of the original figure remains to identify it as Suger and to confirm the authenticity of the kneeling pose.

33. For inscriptions in both Latin and English, see Maines, "Good Work, Social Ties," 77–95.

34. See, for instance, the central judgment portal on the west facade. For the origin of the image in rituals of homage, see Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 297–298.

35. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu' à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1975), 101, 115, 118–119.

36. This question has been raised for other so-called representations of Louis IX near or soon after his death, for example, the statue from Saint-Pierre of Mainneville (*ca.* 1305–1310) and the relief said to be of the king and his daughter from the Franciscan convent of Paris (1300–1320). For a recent discussion and bibliography, see Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *L'Art au Temps des Rois Maudits, Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328* (Paris, 1998), 100–103.

37. Kimpel, "Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame," 243, n. 540. Antiquarian historians of the early nineteenth century believed the figures to represent Jean Duc de Berry and Marguerite of Bavaria, Kimpel, 253, n. 539. Only Kimpel, 124, and Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, 490, admit that there is no substantive evidence that the figures represent Louis IX and Marguerite of Provence.

38. Particularly helpful on this issue is R. Recht, "Le portrait et le principe de réalité dans la sculpture: Philippe le Bel et l'image royale," in *Europäische Kunst um 1300*, ed. E. Liskar (Vienna, 1986), 189–202, the knowledge of which I owe to Michael Davis.

39. Crowns of the identical type on the Coronation Portal of *ca.* 1215 are the creation of nineteenth-century restorers. The photographs taken by LeSecq, which predate the restoration and which are now housed in the Bibliothèque du Patrimoine (Cliché 00.1.P.285–288), show the crowned figures of the Coronation Portal wearing simple cylindrical caps without the distinctive fleur-de-lis contour of the upper edge. Instructive also is a comparison between the crowns of the Porte Rouge and the crowns on the tomb of Isabella of Aragon, as above, n. 35.

40. See Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, esp. 88–105; W. C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusades* (Princeton, 1979), 90–94; A. Dimier, *Saint Louis et Cîteaux* (Paris, 1954); L. Little, "Saint Louis's involvement with the Friars," *Church History*, XXXIII (1964), 125–148. On the effect of this relationship on contemporary artistic projects, see Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral*, and Sadler, "The King as Subject," 53–68.

41. For Joinville, see *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1840), XX, 297–299, and *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (London, 1963), 342–344. For Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, see *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, 92–95, and *La vie et les miracles de Monseigneur Saint Louis*, trans. M. C. d'Espagne (Paris, 1971), 60–63. For Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, 11–12, and L. Carolus-Barré, *Le Procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272–1297): Essai de reconstitution* (Rome, 1994), 39.

42. In the decade prior to the building of the Porte Rouge Louis introduced a number of monastic and quasi-mendicant groups to Paris: the Carthusians in 1257, the Carmelites, the *Pieds Saks* (the "Sack" friars) and the Williamites in 1258, and a group of Augustinian Friars in 1259. In 1261 the king gave a house in Paris to the Sack Friars; see R. Emery, *The Friars in Medieval France: A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents, 1200–1550* (New York, 1962). Patronage of hospitals and support for the poor by the king are attested to by all of his early biographers. Louis IX also helped fund the construction of many mendicant convents outside Paris, from Rouen to Jerusalem. See J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), 332.

43. L. Beaumont-Maillet, *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris: Étude historique et archéologique du XIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1975), 231. For a critical redating of the construction, see J. Poulenc, "Une histoire du grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris des origines a nos jours," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, LXIX (1976), 493. Louis IX was also instrumental in the funding and building of the *Couvent Saint Jacques*, the Dominican convent in Paris.

44. Little, "St. Louis's involvement with the Friars," 134; and more recently, Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 744–781, also 402–432.

45. Dimier, *Saint Louis et Cîteaux*.

46. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *La vie et les miracles*, trans. d'Espagne, 72; *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, 103.

47. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XXIII, 80.

48. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 333–344.

49. The obituary is published by Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame*, IV. It was written during the reign of Philip III, probably between 1271 and 1279; see Guérard, I, v.

50. *Ibid.*, IV, 153. The charter is dated 20 September 1180. Louis VII died 18 September.

51. *Ibid.*, IV, 79, in 1206.

52. *Ibid.*, IV, 142, in 1161.

53. *Ibid.*, IV, 187, in 1175.

54. H. Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar: the Economics of Cathedral Building* (London, 1979), 215, n. 28 (4).

55. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame*, IV, 29.

56. *Ibid.*, IV, 109–110. Geoffrey, the son of Henry II of England, had come to Paris in 1186 to enlist the support of Philip II in his war over Anjou. The count died accidentally in a tournament and was buried in the ca-

thedral. Philip endowed two chaplaincies for the soul of his would-be ally. This charter also records two chaplaincies which he founded "pro animam quondam uxoris sue Elysabeth Francorum regine," also known as Isabelle.

57. *Ibid.*, IV, 109. Also see charter on IV, 63, dated 14 May, which may refer either to Philip I or II; *ibid.*, n. 1.

58. The patronage of Philip Augustus was not restricted to the endowment of masses. He provided for the continuation of the construction of the cathedral should the bishop die during the king's absence on crusade, because "Notre-Dame has won his special affection"; J. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus, Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), 344. Philip donated many precious relics to the cathedral, including a piece of the true cross, hair of the Virgin, three teeth of John the Baptist, the arm of St. Andrew the apostle, stones with which Stephen the protomartyr was killed, the head of St. Denis, one of St. Catherine's fingers, "and many other ornaments for the altar." For the charter, see Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame*, IV, 109–110. The relics of St. Marcellus, however, had originally belonged to the cathedral, and having been removed during the ninth-century Viking invasions, were replaced in the cathedral under the auspices of Philip II; see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 69.

59. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame*, II, 403.

60. *Ibid.*, IV, 192–193, in 1218.

61. *Ibid.*, II, 403.

62. *Ibid.*, IV, 192.

63. *Ibid.*, IV, 27. Marguerite's obit was made and paid for by a certain master Peter of Baugy. His anniversary mass and hers were said on the same day. Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, 215, No. 28 (9), says that Marguerite founded a chaplaincy in 1302.

64. I have considered the possibility that Louis IX would have been commemorated in the calendar as a saint and not otherwise; that after his canonization, it would have been inappropriate to say masses for his soul in purgatory. According to the manuscript's editor Benjamin Guérard, however, the necrology was compiled in the 1280s, almost certainly during the reign of Philip III, and thus before the canonization. Furthermore, the canons hardly would have removed notices of acts of patronage made during his lifetime, such as chaplaincies for deceased members of his family or beneficences towards the canons themselves.

65. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame*, IV, 139–140: "Qui legavit ecclesie Parisiensi, pro anniversario suo annuatim faciendo, decem libras Parisiensium annui redditus . . . " For the endowment of masses in the chapel of St. Agnes see Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, 215, No. 28 (7).

66. B. Guenée concludes as well that the cathedral did not benefit from Louis's reign; "Le Voeu de Charles VI. Essai sur la dévotion des rois de France aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles," *Journal des Savants* (1996), 75–86. He does note as the one exception to an otherwise indifferent relationship of the king to the cathedral that a tradition of stopping at Notre-Dame and Saint-Denis in processions was inaugurated.

67. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, in *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, 81: "Et chascun an il enveoit devotes lettres au chapitre general qui est fet a Cystiax dan en an, esqueles letres il se recommandoit au dit chapitre et a leur oroisons; et il li renveoient leur letres que par toute lordre il feroient dire trois messes de chascun moine en lan, une du Saint-Esperit, lautre de la Croiz et la tierce de Nostre-Dame, pour lui; et il avoit dels et de pluseurs autres pluseurs messes."

68. Louis IX buried his eldest daughter Blanche (d. 1248), his son Jean (d. 1248), and then his eldest son Louis (d. 1259 or 1260) at Royaumont. He also buried a younger brother named Philippe, who died in 1235, at the abbey. After Louis's death, two of his grandsons were buried at Royaumont; Dimier, *Saint Louis et Cîteaux*, 76–81. Philip III, the son and successor of Louis IX, like his father is not commemorated in the calendar. His son Philip the Fair (Philip IV) did endow services for his own soul at the "altar of St. Louis" in the cathedral (Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame*, IV, 91–95, charter of 22 June 1304). Louis IX was canonized under Philip IV in 1297, and Philip assiduously promoted his grandfather's cult. Louis's daughter Blanche (born after the first Blanche had died in 1248) is commemorated in a marginal notation to the calendar; Guérard, IV, 65, n. 1.

69. J. Le Goff, "Saint Louis et la pratique sacramentelle," *Maison Dieu*, CXCVII (1994), 113.

70. *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, III (Paris, 1863), 292–293. The document quoted adds that Blanche of Castille, already deceased, would incur spiritual benefit as well. For thirty days after Louis's death each monk would perform a mass for Louis's soul and each lay brother would say thirty Pater Nosters, and subsequently his anniversary would be celebrated by the convent.

71. *Ibid.*, III, 284. This conventual priory in Val-des-choux in the diocese of Bayeux was founded by Louis IX in 1255.

72. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *La vie et les miracles*, trans. d'Espagne, 38; *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, 75. It is telling that the processions were to be led alternately by Franciscans, Dominicans, and "another religious group."

73. On the expression of the sacrality of the French crown in the iconographic program of the Sainte-Chapelle, see B. Brenk, "The Ste.-Chapelle as a Capetian Political Program," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. V. Raguin *et al.* (Toronto, 1996), 195–213.

74. E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies; A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 207–208.

75. There is abundant literature on this. See Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 194–232; J. Strayer, "France, the Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, 1969), 3–16; rpt. in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. J. Benton and T. Bisson (Princeton, 1971), 299–314. More recently, A. Hedeman has reviewed the development of French ideology of kingship in the thirteenth-century: *The Royal Image: Illustration of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley, 1995), 1–3. On the articulation of these ideas by the kings themselves, see Brenk, "The Ste.-Chapelle," and D. Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle," *AB*, LXXVII (1995), 308–320.

76. Gauthier Cornut, *De Susceptione Coronae Spineae Jesu Christi*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XXII, 27: "Sicut igitur Dominus Jesus Christus ad suae redemptionis exhibenda mysteria terram promissionis elegit, sic ad passionis suae triumphum devotius venerandum nostram Galliam videtur et creditur specialiter elegisse"; trans. Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism," 308; Brenk, 197. On the glass, see L. Grodecki, *Ste.-Chapelle* (Paris, 1961), 85–96, and J.-M. Leniaud and F. Perrot, *La Ste.-Chapelle* (Paris, 1991), 127–201. On Louis IX as the suffering Christ, see Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 858–886, who argues that the Christology of Louis's reign was predicated on the notion of the suffering body.

77. Innocent IV's charter for the foundation of the Ste.-Chapelle made the connection between Christ's crown and Louis's crown: "Inter alia quae tuae celsitudini et divina gratia tuis suffragantibus meritis sunt concessa, illud prae sua celsitudine singulare ac praecipuum, nec immerito reputamus, quod te Dominus in sua coronea Spinea, cujus custodiam ineffabili dispositione tuae commisit excellentiae, coronavit"; S.-J. Morand, *Histoire de la Chapelle Royale du Palais* (Paris, 1790), 2–3. Branner redates the bull to 24 May 1244: *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, 56, n. 2, cited by L. Papanicolaou, "Stained Glass from the Cathedral of

Tours: The Impact of the Ste.-Chapelle in the 1240s," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, XV (1981), 63 and n. 30. Gauthier Cornut reported the events of the dedication of the chapel; Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism," 317.

78. L. Twinings, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960), 220–221; *European Regalia* (London, 1967), 127.

79. A. Van den Wyngaert, "Querelles du clergé séculier et des Ordres Mendiants à Paris au XIIIe siècle," *France Franciscaine*, V (1922), 257–281, and VI (1923), 46–70. Van den Wyngaert's analysis of the build-up to the crisis of the 1250s, taken outside the university milieu, is the most complete, and appears in the first installment of his article. See also P. Glorieux, "Prelats français contre religieux mendiants," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, XI (1925), 309–331 and 471–495; P. Gratien, "Ordres mendiants et clergé séculier a la fin du XIIIe siècle," *Études Franciscaines*, XXXVI (1924), 499–518; and more recently Little, "St. Louis's involvement with the Friars," whose narrative I have borrowed. Gratien also treats the crisis in *Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1928). The most complete analysis, by far, is by M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne, 1250–1259* (Paris, 1972). For the impact of the struggle on the building of Beauvais Cathedral, see Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral*, 39–41.

80. Addressed to the friars, the bull criticizes them for confessing the faithful without the permission of the parish priest, for performing masses, and for preaching on Sundays so that the parish church is left empty. It ordered complete subservience to the parish priest, forbidding the friars to hear confessions without permission, forbidding them to welcome the faithful in mendicant churches on Sundays and feast days, forbidding them to preach in their convents before the solemn mass was performed in the parish church, forbidding friars to preach on days when the bishop was scheduled to preach, and requiring heavy payment to the parish when a layman was buried in a mendicant cemetery. Van den Wyngaert, "Querelles du clergé seculier," 271–272.

81. The sermon is partially transcribed by Little, "St. Louis's involvement with the Friars," 148, n. 51, and discussed on 141–142. For a complete transcription see P. S. Classen, "Die Kampfpredigten des Wilhelm v. St. Amour gegen die Mendikantenorden," *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien: P. Michael Bihl, O.F.M., als Ehrengabe dargeboten* (Colmar, 1941), 88–95; for William's pointed criticisms of Louis, see *ibid.*, 89–90.

82. For Louis's role in the university crisis see Little, "St. Louis's involvement with the Friars," 125–148, and M.-M. Dufeil, "Le roi Louis dans la querelle des mendiants et des séculiers," in *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint-Louis: Actes des Colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21–27 mai 1970)* (Paris, 1976), 281–289.

83. Little, "St. Louis's involvement with the Friars," 142.

84. *Ibid.*, 138–139.

85. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle (Paris, 1889), I, 363, No. 315: "Et quia pro certo novimus, quod dilectos filios fratres Predicatores et Minores speciali favore prosequeris, super quo te dignis in Domino laudibus efferentes gratiarum tibi referimus multiplices actiones, magnificentiam tuam omni qua possumus affectione rogamus quatinus eosdem fratres pro Christi reverentia, cujus sunt deputati obsequiis, habens benignitate solita commendatos, eos a quorumlibet injuriis et molestiis protegas et defendas, ita quod tua potentia communiti pace quieta et quiete pacifica pacis auctori valeant famulari."

86. It is only with the injunction of the Second Council of Lyon in 1274 that these groups would be suppressed; R. Emery, "The Second Council of Lyon and the Mendicant Orders," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXIX (1953), 257–271.

87. Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 197–198.