

In a previous paper dealing with Marie of Brabant, wife of Philip III of France, I chanced upon the fact that Marie and Jeanne I, Queen of Navarre, Countess of Champagne and Brie and wife of King Phillip IV of France and Blanche-Anne, daughter of Saint Louis IX of France and wife of the Infant of Castille, had all chosen to be buried with the Franciscans. It appears there was no problem with this, except in the case of Jeanne whose husband wanted her buried at Saint-Denis, the burial place for those associated with the royal house of France. Still, Jeanne was allowed to be buried according to her wishes. I found this curious. Why did Jeanne I of Navarre and Marie of Brabant and Madame Blanche-Anne wish to be buried with the Franciscans and not at Saint-Denis with the French royal family? Jeanne I of Navarre had a husband who was greatly devoted to her and with whom she had been brought up since early childhood in the court of France. (Jeanne was three years old when she was brought to the French court). Marie had been queen of France. Blanche-Anne was the daughter of a very celebrated king of France. Did they not wish to be associated with the French throne? Or were these three women such friends that they planned similar burial sites? Or were the Franciscans so special to these women? Or was there still something else? It is to answer these questions that I have begun this paper. And, in so doing, I shall explore the relationships of the three ladies with each other and with their families. I will then examine their relationships with the Franciscans and the society in which they all were living, in an effort to shed some light on the why of their funeral arrangements.

Madame Blanche-Anne and Marie of Brabant, as well as Marie's two brothers, Jean I and Geoffrey, and Jeanne's uncle, Robert II of Artois, are well known to literary scholars from the verses of the *Cleomades*, a 13th century romance. Not only does the poet, Adenet le Roi, tell the listener/reader that Madame Blanche-Anne is the source of the tale, which finds much of its theme in the tale of the Magic Wooden Horse of *Arabian Nights*, but he also credits Marie's father with teaching him his trade and her brothers with protecting him from cold and hunger. In the miniatures that accompany Arsenal MS 3142, Madame Blanche-Anne is shown telling the story which it is supposed that she heard during her sojourn in Spain as the wife of the Infant of Castille. The manuscript itself was thought, for a variety of reasons, to have been a gift for

Marie of Brabant, even a wedding gift.⁽¹⁾ (In a previous paper, I have, hopefully, shown that this manuscript was intended instead as a coronation gift for Marie's cousin, the young Jeanne I of Navarre).⁽²⁾ The *Cleomades* itself was dedicated to Robert II of Artois, brother to Jeanne's mother and uncle to Jeanne.⁽³⁾ Adenet himself had been in the service of Henry III of Brabant, Marie's father, and was, at the time of the *Cleomades*, in the service of Guy of Dampierre, Count of Flanders. The *Cleomades* would thus unite the houses of France, Brabant, Navarre, Castille, Artois, and Flanders. Strangely, or perhaps not, as we shall see, these houses are also going to be as involved in Franciscan burials as they were in the *Cleomades*. Consequently, we shall be looking at the family backgrounds of the three and the territorial connections and concerns relevant to their respective families.⁽⁴⁾

Let us begin with the mother of Jeanne I, Blanche of Artois, who married Henry I of Navarre, Count of Champagne and Brie. The mother of Blanche of Artois was Mahaud of Brabant who married Robert of France, third son of Louis VIII and of Blanche of Castille, made Count of Artois by his brother, St. Louis. Mahaud of Brabant was the daughter of Henry II of Brabant and Marie of Suabia. Henry III of Brabant, the father of Marie of Brabant, was her brother.⁽⁵⁾ Jeanne's mother and Marie of Brabant are thus first cousins, making Marie and Jeanne first cousins once removed. Jeanne is at once the great grand-daughter of Blanche of Castille and Louis VIII of France and the great grand-daughter of Henry II of Brabant, Marie's grand-father.

Blanche-Anne was the daughter of St. Louis, sister to Phillip III of France, and thus sister-in-law to Marie of Brabant. Blanche-Anne was married to Ferdinand, Infant of Castille, the son of Alfonso X, King of Castille. Since Blanche-Anne was the daughter of St. Louis and Jeanne's mother the daughter of St. Louis' brother, Robert, Jeanne's mother, Blanche of Artois, and Blanche-Anne were first cousins, making Jeanne I and Madame Blanche-Anne first cousins once removed. Consequently, Jeanne I was first cousin once removed to both Blanche-Anne and Marie of Brabant. Jeanne I would be, of course, second cousin to the children of Philippe III and Marie of Brabant, a not unimportant factor in their subsequent dealings and burials.

It would seem, therefore, given the relationships of proximity (all three were at one time at the court of Philip III in Paris) and blood, that the three might have simply

decided together to be buried with the Franciscans. However, few people of any period are capricious in choosing a burial site, least of all women cognizant of family and land. I have, therefore, made a study of their relatives and the choices these relatives made of burial sites and, as will become evident, the data would not indicate that the three, exclusive of other considerations, had decided to be similarly buried. In fact, the choices and the relatives involved would indicate far broader considerations, leading perhaps to different conclusions.

Let us begin with the family of Blanche-Anne, daughter of St. Louis (1226-70) and of Margaret of Provence, and wife of the Infant of Castille. In so doing, one finds that her father, St. Louis was greatly devoted to the Franciscans. Some even imagined that he had become a member of the Third Order, created by Saint Francis for a laity unable to join the Brothers Minor or the Poor Clares.⁽⁶⁾ The simplicity of St. Louis' dress, as described by Joinville, would in deed parallel that of the Friars Minor.⁽⁷⁾ However, it was Louis' s mother, Blanche of Castille, who initially took the Friars, the religious of both St. Francis and of St. Dominic, under her protection. Louis followed suit, building monasteries for both Dominicans and Franciscans.

Although the *Histoire Genealogique et Chronologique des Rois de France* (1726: 83) credits Louis' only sister, Isabelle (1224-1269), with the foundation of the Franciscan monastery of Longchamp near Paris, indicating that she lived a holy life as a nun and that she was buried there, Joinville indicates that it was St. Louis who was responsible for its establishment.⁽⁸⁾ However, *A History of the Franciscan Order* says that the Poor Clares "owed much to a devout member of the royal family, Isabelle of France, the only daughter of Louis VIII and Blanche of Castille" (Moorman, 1998, p. 210). According to the *History*, "she was intended for matrimony with the Hohenstaufen, being promised to a son of Frederick II. But she had decided to dedicate her life to poverty and virginity and in 1252 joined the Order of Damianites [also called Poor Clares or Clarisses]. Gathering a group of pious ladies around her, she built at Longchamp, near Paris, a convent where they proposed to live as followers of St. Francis and St. Clare. In 1261 the ladies began to occupy the buildings, four sisters coming from Reims to assist them in regulating their lives," (p. 210). Be that as it may, Louis IX was definitely involved in supporting

the religious whenever and wherever he chanced upon them.⁽⁹⁾ However, neither Louis nor his wife chose to be buried outside of the royal abbey of Saint-Denis.

Louis' wife, Marguerite of Provence (married in 1234), oldest daughter of Raymond-Berenger II, Count of Provence, and of Beatrice of Savoy, continued the gifts and patronage of the Friars begun by her mother-in-law, Blanche of Castille (1185-1252). Yet Marguerite, if Joinville is to be believed, did nothing without discussing it with Louis.⁽¹⁰⁾ Since, again according to Joinville, Louis' mother and her daughter-in-law, Marguerite, were not great friends, her collusion in this matter with her mother-in-law seems unlikely. In fact, Marguerite greatly outlived her mother-in-law, dying only in 1295. So either Marguerite had her own reasons for patronage or she respected her husband's devotion to the Friars, or both. Joinville, who wrote the *Life of St. Louis*, mentions Louis' use of the Franciscans as envoys and diplomats while he was on Crusade in Acre. Joinville also mentions the gifts Louis brought for them when he returned.⁽¹¹⁾ And Salimbene, in his biography of St. Francis, gives other examples of Louis' devotion to the Franciscans.⁽¹²⁾

Still, it was Louis' wife, Marguerite of Provence (+1295), who gave her royal house to the Franciscans at Paris, on condition that her daughter Blanche-Anne, princess of Castille, could use it during her life. Blanche-Anne (1252-1320), widow of Ferdinand, Infant of Castille, had returned to France after his death in 1275 and was in the French court when her mother bequeathed the house.⁽¹³⁾ She had been married to the Infant of Castille at Burgos in 1269.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Franciscan house at Burgos was one of the earliest foundations of St. Francis in Spain (Moorman, 1998, pp. 27-28). The Parisian housing arrangement was to allow Blanche-Anne a life of her own on one hand, but subject to the regulations of the Bishop on the other, so that she did not interfere with the Franciscan life of the convent of which she was to become part. When she returned to France, she built a church and part of the convent of the Cordeliers (Franciscans) in the faubourg of St. Marcel of Paris.⁽¹⁵⁾ She received permission to live in the enceinte of this monastery, but not in the cloister, with the number of women and serving girls that the minister of the order in France and the abbess of the house judged appropriate. Pope Clement V, by a letter dated from Avignon, 29 December 1313, gave her permission to allow entry to persons of both sexes of which she might have need in her house situated outside the cloister of the nuns, but not, however, for use in the

enceinte of the monastery. She spent the rest of her days there. She died on 17 June 1320. She was buried in the church of the Cordeliers of Paris where her tomb is seen (HGC, 1726, 86-87). This is the same church where Jeanne I of Navarre and Marie of Brabant chose to be buried. However, Marguerite of Provence, who made the initial gift of her house to the Franciscans, was herself buried in 1295 at Saint-Denis in front of the high altar.

One of Blanche's brothers, Pierre, Count of Alencon, died in Salerno, in the kingdom of Naples, 6 April 1283. His body was carried to the church of the Cordeliers of Paris and his heart to that of the Dominicans. His choice of burial follows the patronage of his parents to the Friars of both the Dominican and Franciscan orders. Also, the date of his burial would show that his choice of burial site preceded Blanche's own death and burial with the Cordeliers of Paris. Consequently, it would seem the family had ties with the Franciscans prior to Blanche-Anne's.

Blanche's sister, Isabelle (1241-1271), wife to Thibaut II, King of Navarre, was buried in the church of the Cordeliers of Provins, near her husband. Her heart was buried at Clairvaux. Thibaut II, called the Young, was the son of Thibaut VI, count of Champagne and of Brie, who became King of Navarre by the death of Sancho VII, his maternal uncle. Thibaut VI of Champagne founded the monastery of the Cordeliers of Provins in 1237. Thus his son, Thibaut II, and Isabelle of France were being buried in the family's foundation. Thibaut II, in turn, founded a monastery for the Dominicans, also at Provins. It was at this foundation that he wished his heart to be buried. Thibaut died in 1270, his wife, in 1271.⁽¹⁶⁾

Thibaut II's two brothers, Pierre and Henry, were buried with the Franciscans as well. Pierre of Navarre, called Lord of Muracabal, was buried with the Cordeliers of Provins. Henry I, King of Navarre and Count Palatine of Champagne and of Brie, who carried the title of Count of Rosnay during the life of Thibaut, his older brother, died in Pamplona, 16 July 1274. His body was buried in the Church of Notre Dame la Reale. But his heart was carried to the Cordeliers of Provins en Brie. His wife was Blanche of Artois, daughter of Robert of France, I Count of Artois, and of Mahaud of Brabant. Henry I of Navarre and Blanche of Artois are the parents of Jeanne I, Queen of Navarre. After Henry I's death, Blanche of Artois married Edmund of Lancaster,

brother to the king of England. Blanche died at Vincennes in 1302, having enjoyed her double dowry in England and Champagne for six years after the death of Edmund (Powicke, 1962, p. 241). In England, Blanche founded a branch of the order of Poor Clares.⁽¹⁷⁾ This order was to follow the rule of the order established in Paris by her aunt Isabel.

Blanche's daughter, Jeanne I of Navarre, married Philip the Fair in 1284. In 1304 Jeanne I died at Vincennes and was buried with the Franciscans of Paris (HGC, 1726: 90). Jeanne's choice of burial with the Franciscans could, therefore, be associated with the choice of her father and mother, as well as with that of her cousins, Marie of Brabant and Madame Blanche-Anne.⁽¹⁸⁾ In fact, of the three, Jeanne I was the first to die. However, by 1304, Blanche-Anne was installed in the faubourg of St. Marcel in Paris, where the church of the Cordeliers was located.

Jean, called Tristram, another brother of Blanche-Anne, married Ioland of Burgundy, who was buried in the Church of St. Francis at Nevers in 1280. Since she was the countess of Nevers, heiress of Eudes de Burgundy and of Mahaud de Bourbon, countess of Nevers, her burial would place her in an area of her family's holding. However, Jean, called Tristram, was buried at Saint-Denis with his father. This was somewhat natural since St. Louis and Tristram were buried the same day, 22 May 1271, both having died in Tunis.

Philip III, King of France and oldest living brother to Blanche-Anne, married Isabelle of Aragon who became the mother of Philip IV and Charles, count of Valois. At her death he married Marie of Brabant. It was Philip IV who married Jeanne I of Navarre. Among Philip IV's children were Louis X who was to marry Marguerite of Burgundy, who was buried with the Cordeliers at Vernon; Philip V, who had his heart buried at the Cordeliers of Paris; and Isabel, who married Edward III of England and who was buried with the Cordeliers of London.

Marie of Brabant, second wife to Philip III, was the daughter of Henry III of Brabant (+1260) and of Alix of Burgundy. Alix of Burgundy, died in 1273 and is buried with her husband in the Church of the Friars Preachers (Dominicans) that she founded at Louvain (HGC, 545). She also founded the convent of the Friars Preachers of Oudergem at Louvain (HGE, 793). Alix was in frequent communication with St. Thomas Aquinas

(Dominican), who dedicated to her the 27th book of his *Opuscles*. However, her daughter, Marie, chose to be buried with the Franciscans, in the church of the Cordeliers of Paris in 1321. Again, why?

Given that Marie of Brabant was the second wife of Philip III of France and that his first wife, Isabelle of Aragon, was buried at Saint-Denis (1271+) and, that Philip III, who died at Perpignan in 1285, had his bones buried at Saint-Denis and his heart with the Dominicans of Paris (HGC, 1726: 88), it would not be unseemly that Marie would choose to be buried elsewhere--especially since she died much later than her husband. Yet, why with the Franciscans? Perhaps, there is more to it.

Now Marie of Brabant had two brothers, Jean and Geoffroy. Geoffroy, who died in 1302, is cited, along with his brother, Jean I, by Adenet le Roi in the *Cleomades*.⁽¹⁹⁾ Among Geoffroy's children were Marguerite and Jeanne of Brabant. These two nieces, Marguerite and Jeanne of Brabant, were religious (nuns) at the monastery of Longchamp near Paris where they are buried. Longchamp, it will be remembered, was founded by St. Louis and his sister, Isabelle. Since Geoffrey was only married in 1280 and Isabelle died in 1269 and St. Louis in 1270, the influence to join this particular convent was not coming directly from St. Louis or from Isabelle. But Blanche-Anne might have exercised an influence since she was involved with the Franciscans from her return to France in 1275 to her death and burial in the Church of the Cordeliers of Paris in 1320. But Isabelle's influence did not entirely stop with her death. As we have seen, her niece, Blanche of Artois, who married the brother of the English king, Edmund of Lancaster, founded an order of Poor Clares in London that was to follow the Isabelline rule. It was one of several such foundations.⁽²⁰⁾

Marie's other brother, Jean I of Brabant, was buried in the choir of the Church of the Cordeliers in Brussels in 1294 (HGC, 1726: 795). Jean I of Brabant is shown at the court of Philip III and Marie of Brabant in the company of Blanche-Anne, princess of Castille, in a miniature in the *Cleomades*. He was married in 1269 to Marguerite of France, daughter of St. Louis and of Marguerite of Provence. Consequently, he was brother-in-law to Blanche-Anne, just as his sister, Marie of Brabant, was sister-in-law to the same. Marguerite of France died in childbirth in 1271 and was buried at Saint-Denis (HGC, 1726: 87). Her father, St Louis, would have been buried at Saint-Denis 22 May 1271. It

would seem that the mother, Marguerite of Provence, chose to bury the daughter with her father and brother, all having died the same year, and that Jean I acquiesced, perhaps not having, at that time, another place in mind.

In 1273, Jean I married again. His second wife was Marguerite of Flanders, daughter of Guy, Count of Flanders and of Mahaud, dame of Bethune. After the death of Henry III of Brabant, Guy of Dampierre, Count of Flanders, became the patron of Adenet le Roi, author of the *Cleomades*, the romance that features or involves the ladies in question. Guy knew St. Louis and did homage to him for Flanders in 1251. He also made the voyage to Africa with St. Louis in 1270. His older brother, William of Dampierre was married to Beatrice of Brabant, sister to Henry III of Brabant, the father of Marie. William died without children in 1251 (HGC, 1726: 730).

When Guy's mother died in 1280, Guy of Dampierre received full use of Flanders and renewed his homage to King Philip the Hardy, husband to Marie of Brabant. However, Guy of Dampierre fell into disfavor with the subsequent French king, Philip the Fair, Jeanne I's husband, when Guy tried to marry his own daughter with Edouard, Prince of England.⁽²¹⁾ Guy was at first buried with the Friars Minor at Pontoise in 1305 and then moved to the abbey of Flines, order of Citeaux, two leagues from Douay in the diocese of Arras, a monastery which had been founded by his mother, Marguerite of Hainaut and Flanders, and where his sister, Marie of Dampierre (+1302), was the first abbess. His brother, William (1251), and his first wife, Mahaud of Bethune (+1264) were previously buried there.⁽²²⁾ However, his seventh child, Marguerite of Flanders, she who married Jean I of Brabant in 1273, was buried in 1285 in the church of the Cordeliers of Bruges.

Guy de Flanders' second wife, Isabel of Luxembourg, daughter of Henry, Count of Luxembourg, and of Marguerite de Bar, was married in 1265. She was buried, in 1295, in the church of the monastery of Saint Clare, founded by her at Pettinghen, near d'Oudenarde. Their fifth child, Henry of Flanders, who died in 1337, was brought to Bruges and was buried there in the church of the Cordeliers. Henry's daughter, Marguerite of Flanders who died in 1334, at about 15 years old, was also buried in the

church of the Cordeliers de Bruge (HGC, 1726: 733). Her brother, too, was buried there in 1366.

Given that Guy of Dampierre had 17 children and that most of them were buried at Flines, it would seem that Marguerite of Flanders, wife of Jean I of Brabant, was more in tune with her step-mother, Isabel of Luxembourg. Jean I was buried in 1294 in the choir of the church of the Cordeliers of Brussels near where Marguerite of Flanders, his second wife, had been buried in 1285 (HGC, 1726: 795). Jean's young nieces could not have been even a factor at this time.

Jean II, son of Jean I of Brabant, nephew to Marie of Brabant, married Marguerite of England, daughter of Edouard I, king of England and of Eleanor of Castille, countess of Ponthieu. He died in 1312 and was buried in the middle of the choir of the church of Saint Gudule in Brussels. His wife died in 1318 and was buried near her husband. Their son, Jean III of Brabant, in death, took the habit of the order of Citeaux in the abbey of Villers, and was buried there in the choir before the main altar in 1359. His wife, however, Marie of Evreux, second daughter of Louis of France, Count of Evreux, and of Marguerite of Artois, died in 1335 and was buried in the church of the Cordeliers of Brussels. Marie of Evreux would be Marie of Brabant's grand-daughter, daughter of her son Louis, count of Evreux and Navarre, and of Marguerite of Artois. Louis's sisters, Marguerite of France, who married Edward I of England as his second wife, and Blanche of France, who married Rodolph III, duke of Austria and king of Bohemia, were both buried with the Franciscans--Marguerite in London and Blanche in Austria.

It is thus apparent that the families of Jeanne I of Navarre and Marie of Brabant and Madame Blanche-Anne were no less devoted to the Friars, be they Franciscan or Dominican, than were the three women themselves. Jeanne's father and mother both chose to be buried with the Franciscans, as would her children and those of Marie of Brabant, and as did Marie's brothers and nieces. Madame Blanche-Anne, daughter of St. Louis, continued the patronage and devotion of her aunt Isabelle, the Foundress of the Longchamp house. Consequently, the choice of a Franciscan burial site was not an isolated one, based solely on the friendship of three women living in proximity. Apparently there were influences and ideologies afoot which affected whole families.

Of primary concern among the families of the three royal cousins were their territorial holdings. In this regard, it is perhaps useful to recall that Louis VIII (1187-1226), husband to Blanche of Castille, was the son of Philip-Augustus (1165-1223). It was Philip-Augustus, left with little more than the Isle de France upon the death of his too chivalrous father, Louis VII, who launched veritable crusades against the Albigensians in Languedoc (1215, 1219) and used them to create a kingdom of considerable size for himself.⁽²³⁾ Louis VIII fought in these crusades under his father and continued into Avignon, Provence and Auvergne (1225, 1226), even after his father's death. However, when Blanche of Castille became Regent (1226-34), during the minority of their son, Louis IX, she took a different tactic toward the Albigensians and patronized the Dominicans and Franciscans so that they would evangelize these areas and bring them back to beliefs more in accord with the orthodoxy of Rome and its pontiffs. In this, she was in accord with the wishes of various pontiffs for the use and patronage of the Friars.⁽²⁴⁾ Furthermore, she negotiated with her cousin Raymond of Toulouse, not only to bring him back to his duties as a Christian sovereign, but also, to arrange marriages between his four daughters and the heirs to the French and English thrones and their respective brothers, further securing the orthodoxy of Provence. Thus her son, Louis IX, was married to Marguerite of Provence and Henry III of England was married to Eleanor of Provence.⁽²⁵⁾ Beatrice of Provence married Charles, Count of Anjou, King of Naples. And the marriage between Richard of Cornwall to Sanchia of Provence took place 23 November 1243.⁽²⁶⁾ The sisterly relationships and interests of these ladies would underlay much of the territorial negotiations of the next generations.

These marriages made Edward I of England and Philip III of France, Marie of Brabant's husband, first cousins and in the same degree of kinship with the sons and daughters of Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, who continued to rule as count of Provence after Beatrice's death in 1267. Charles of Anjou and Philip III both died in 1285. Aragon, the territory of Philip III's first wife, was frequently under attack or attacking, and his nephews, the young princes of Castille, were held hostage there.⁽²⁷⁾ The areas of Navarre, Aragon, Castille and Provence, represented in the families and relationships of Jeanne I of Navarre, Marie of Brabant, and Blanche-Anne of France,

princess of Castille, were of political and territorial importance.

To protect the royal interests in these and surrounding areas and to insure that these areas did not fall heir to heresy and reconquest, the Friars, both Franciscan and Dominican, were patronized by the families of Aragon, Castille, Navarre, Provence, England, France, Brabant and Flanders.⁽²⁸⁾ The simplicity of the Friars allowed them movement among the people and, since their lives at this time were in accord with the Gospels, the people would listen to them instead of to the so-called heretics who lacked Church support.⁽²⁹⁾ At the time of St. Francis (1182-1226), and well before, there were many other groups intent upon reforming the church, among them, the Waldensians and the Cathars. Most of these groups were condemned as being heretical.⁽³⁰⁾ However, Francis, with great care, placed his newly gathered Friars under the care of the Pope. And in every area where his Friars went, they were equally careful to insure their orthodoxy by placing themselves under the jurisdiction of the Bishops and priests in these areas. Consequently, although St. Francis began his work in Italy, by 1213, he was active in Spain and Compostella. In 1217 he founded a house at Burgos (the city where Blanche-Anne was married) and, by 1218, he had houses in the Holy Land, France (two provinces), Spain and Italy (six provinces). In 1215, a convent of the Poor Clares had been formed by St. Clare. And, by 1228, there were houses of Poor Clares in Reims, Beziers, and Bordeaux. In 1221, the rule was formulated for the Third Order (which was comprised of the laity who wished to live in accord with Franciscan ideals) and approved by Pope Honorius III.⁽³¹⁾

However, the Friars needed training in order to teach and preach, and training required money or support, in one form or another. Although Francis and the original Friars were more than effective, using their simple paraphrase of the gospels, later Friars, some like St. Anthony coming from learned orders, saw the need for establishing schools for the Friars. Too, the sheer numbers of those wishing to follow the vocation of Francis would have required schools and training even if there were no other demands. For the order even during St. Francis' life grew to the thousands, many of which were not educated people.

Consequently, in Paris, we see Jeanne I of Navarre leaving money for the foundation

of the school of Navarre at the University of Paris and, in England, Henry III and his wife, Eleanor of Provence, sister of the wife of St. Louis, providing money at Oxford and Cambridge for the Franciscans.⁽³²⁾ The kings of Castille and Aragon also patronized the Friars. Continental holdings of the English kings, especially in Gascony, made patronage of the Franciscans not only a worthwhile spiritual endeavor, but a political one as well.⁽³³⁾

The Franciscans themselves were dynamic. In his own life time St. Francis went as far as Compostella in one direction and Damietta and the Moors in another. He sent his Friars into every area. They became not only preachers to the poor and rich alike of the cities and villages, but they became popular teachers at the universities of Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge.⁽³⁴⁾ Students were so attracted to their life style that they joined not only their classes but also their order. In addition, the Friars became confessors and advisors. The influence of the Friar Adam Marsh on Simon de Montfort, son of the famous crusader and fighter of the Albigensians, brother-in-law to Henry III and godfather to Edward I, is well known.⁽³⁵⁾ Simon de Montfort's sense of justice has been linked with the Franciscans, and its affect on the Baron's War and the eventual creation of Parliament has often been discussed. Simon of Montfort's wife, sister to Henry III of England, is buried at Fontevrault, but the daughter who was married to Llywelyn was buried with the Franciscans.⁽³⁶⁾

Letters written by Marsh to Simon's wife, counseling a more frugal life style have been collected. The confessor of Jeanne I of Navarre was as well a Franciscan.⁽³⁷⁾ The influence of the Franciscans on the general populace is attested by Salimbene's own conversion. And their appeal to the upper classes is indicated both by Salimbene and Joinville who tell of Louis IX who would go to hear them, inviting them afterwards to come to his court, though the more dedicated refused.⁽³⁸⁾ St. Louis' grand-nephew, the grandson of his youngest brother Charles, became the Franciscan saint, Louis of Anjou [known as Louis of Toulouse].⁽³⁹⁾

Consequently, the Franciscans were important to the royal houses of France and England, not just as confessors and teachers at home, but also as protectors of political interests further afield. Therefore, although the possibility exists that Marie of Brabant and Jeanne I of Navarre did not wish to be buried among the Capetian kings, since both enjoyed a lineage of greater prestige, there is the very real presence of Franciscan

confessors and Franciscan envoys and diplomats in their lives.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Furthermore, there is the continuing approval of most Pontiffs regarding the work of the Friars in rebuilding the Church. Nicholas IV (1288-92) was himself a Franciscan Pope, while the number of Friars as bishops was ever increasing.⁽⁴¹⁾

But there is one more thing of interest in the choice of Franciscan burial sites with regard to Jeanne I, Marie of Brabant, and Blanche-Anne. That is, each cousin and the families immediately associated with them that were buried with the Franciscans were also part of the *Cleomades*. Perhaps this has no relevance, but territorial concerns apparent in the troubadours represented in the Arsenal MS are also apparent in the territorial concerns of the three women. Blanche-Anne is not only connected to Provence through her mother, but she is linked to the concerns of Castille and Aragon through her marriage to Ferdinand de la Cerda. Marie of Brabant is linked with Brussels, Arras, Flanders and Anjou as well as with Brabant and the interests of France. Jeanne I of Navarre is deeply involved with Navarre, Castille and Aragon, in addition to Champagne and Brie. Through her mother's interests in Navarre, Champagne and England, Gascony also becomes significant. In each of these areas, the family patronized the Franciscans, even founding religious houses for the Poor Clares. In these foundations, the linking role of St. Louis' sister is apparent, since it is the Isabelline Rule that was followed in Paris and London and which was embraced by nieces and grand-daughters of all three women.⁽⁴²⁾

Now while one might say that Blanche-Anne and Marie of Brabant did not wish to be buried with their respective husbands, since their husbands had died so many years before, there would be no similar reason for Jeanne I to refuse burial at Saint-Denis.⁽⁴³⁾ And though Blanche-Anne had left the territory of her husband for the safety of the French court after her husband's death and Marie of Brabant was a second wife, with the first wife buried at Saint-Denis, such was not Jeanne's situation. Consequently, the reasons that could be proposed, if one pursued only the personal or marital situations of each cousin, would not suit all three. One could further suppose that Jeanne I and Marie of Brabant simply wished to preserve in death their own territorial and familial links, Jeanne placing herself with her father's Franciscan choice. But Marie of Brabant was not buried with her father and mother. They were buried with the Dominicans. Blanche-

Anne did not choose to be buried in Castille or with her father and mother at Saint-Denis. Moreover, the arrangements for her later life and burial with the Franciscans were initiated and augmented by her mother, Marguerite of Provence, even before they were supplemented by Blanche herself. Yet, all three cousins were buried in the church of the Cordeliers of Paris. It would seem therefore that location is a significant factor in their choice.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Let us recall that Blanche-Anne had returned home after the death of her husband and was in the French court when her mother bequeathed her Paris house, with the agreement that the Franciscans might have it at the death of her daughter. Marie of Brabant was also living in Paris in a house given her by Philip IV. And Jeanne I had her household in Paris as well. The Franciscans were active as confessors in the royal houses and parishes of Paris and as teachers at the University of Paris. The Franciscan foundations in Paris were supported by family members of all three cousins. Since their other relatives had chosen to be buried with the Franciscans, be it in Brussels, Champagne, or Provence, as well as in the Paris house, prior to the choices made by the three royal ladies, a Paris burial site was not an innovation. The ladies were part of the city of Paris—cities being the chosen domain for Franciscan ministry. Thus when the ladies negotiated or litigated—through a last will and testimony—where they wished to be buried—even in opposition to a living and powerful husband, this was doable because of other family members who had supported the Franciscans as a means of solidifying family territorial claims. Furthermore, the particular choice of burial in the Franciscan Church of Paris not only acknowledges the growth of that city but also acknowledges the foundation of Blanche-Anne at St. Marcel, where she was then living. Her foundation followed that of her aunt, the saintly Isabelle, sister to St. Louis, at Longchamp where the subsequent presence of living nieces within its walls to pray for the dead would attest to the continued importance of the Franciscans in the thinking of family members. It would, therefore, have been difficult for Philip IV, husband of Jeanne I of Navarre, as grandson of St. Louis, whom he had recently promoted to sainthood, to have refused Jeanne's burial in Paris. He himself hoped to move St. Louis' heart from Saint-Denis to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Thus the Paris church of the Franciscans became a viable place of burial for royal family who did not choose

to be buried at Saint-Denis.⁽⁴⁶⁾

So, finally, why did the three royal cousins choose to be buried with the Franciscans? Indeed, they were friends—daughter-in-law/sisters-in-law, first cousins once removed, great-grand-daughters—good friends. Their proximity and friendship and good fellowship is evident from many documents but most graphically in the miniatures of the *Cleomades* which picture the sisters-in-law together, in a work dedicated to Jeanne's uncle. The familial relations of the three led to a shared concern for titles and territory brought by birth, marriage or conquest. As members of a Christian monarchy, the Christianity of their lands was a concern. Thus when heresy or conquest necessitated, efforts had to be made to bring the lands into conformity with Church doctrine. To do this, the Pope had backed the Franciscans. Consequently, as members of a Christian nobility, the families of those with territories in danger of falling to heresy would patronize those who would restore them to orthodoxy. Although St. Louis patronized every religious who crossed his path, his mother made sure her territorial concerns were met at the same time. Thus she promoted the Franciscans at home and in territories important to the French crown.

In addition to friendship and territorial concerns, there was also the sincere devotion of these women and their families to a Christian way of life. St. Francis and his followers were considered to be good and holy men. When Isabel established the convent of Poor Clares at Longchamp in 1252, she was given full support by her brother, as well as family land. The daughters of Marie's brother, Geoffrey, were to become nuns here. Marguerite of Provence, St. Louis' wife, bequeathed her house to the Franciscans, with the provision that Blanche-Anne live there until her death. Blanche-Anne established a church there and added on to the house bequeathed by her mother in Paris. She was buried in 1320 in the church she founded. Marie of Brabant was buried there with her in 1321. Undoubtedly, Marie visited her sister-in-law over the years. They surely had a great deal in common, especially with Marie's nieces Poor Clares and Blanche-Anne living a semi religious life. This same church had been the burial site of Jeanne I in 1304. Such was the devotion of the three to the Franciscans that three out of four of Jeanne's children will be buried with the Franciscans as well as two out of three of Marie of Brabant's children and at least one of her grand-daughters, Marie. In brief, the Franciscans at this time

served both the territorial needs of a Christian monarchy and the spiritual needs of its Parisian patrons. Perhaps it was this dual ability that allowed the Franciscan churches to assume viability as a burial site equal to that of Saint-Denis. Certainly that was so for the three royal cousins.

Notes:

- (1) See A. Henry (1951:96) *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, tome I, for the citation of H. Martin, *La Miniature française du xiii^e au xve siècle*, 17, “. . . manuscrit qui fut execute pour Marie de Brabant [. . .] et que j' ai cru pouvoir dater de 1285 environ.”
- (2) See “Marie of Brabant and the *Eructavit*,” Tamkang Journal, 2001. A version of the paper was presented at the International Medieval Institute at Leeds in 2000. Jeanne I had grown up in the court of Marie of Brabant and Phillip III. She became her successor as Queen after the ascension of Jeanne's husband, Marie's step-son, Phillip IV, to the French throne.
- (3) In another literary union, it was Jeanne I of Navarre who requested Joinville to write for her son, Louis X, the life of Blanche-Anne's father, Saint Louis. See Joinville & Villehardouin (1967). Joinville's *Life of St. Louis* is dedicated to Louis X. Requested by Jeanne I it is, “a book written for her containing pious sayings and the good deeds of our King, St. Louis” (Dedication, p. 163).
- (4) In the aforementioned article involving Marie of Brabant and Arsenal MS 3142, I remarked that the troubadours included in the manuscript, heretofore ascribed to Marie of Brabant, were from areas in the control of the families of Marie of Brabant and Jeanne I of Navarre, countess of Champagne and Brie. Perhaps just as territorial relations were relevant to the content of the Arsenal MS, they are also relevant to the burial choices of the three women in question.
- (5) See A. Henry (1948: 14-15), *L'oeuvre lyrique d'Henri III duc de Brabant*. “De son vivant [Henri III] et apres lui, la politique des mariages assura a la maison ducal des alliances, de l' autorite, de l' influence. Henri III lui meme, fait chevalier vers 1253, epousa, vers le meme temps, Aleyde ou Alix, fille du duc Hugues IV de Bourgogne; parmi ses soeurs, Mathilde epousa Robert, comte d' Artois, puis Gui de Chatillon, comte de Saint-Pol, Marie epousa le duc de Baviere et Beatrix fut femme du landgrave Henri de Thuringe, roi des Romains, puis de Guillaume de Dampierre; parmi ses enfants, son fils puine et successeur, Jean Ier, d' abord marie a Marguerite, fille de saint Louis, morte prematurement en 1271, epousa, en 1273, Marguerite,

fille de Gui de Flandre, tandis que Marie, sa fille, fut la second femme de Philippe III le Hardi.”

- (6) St. Francis founded three orders during his lifetime. The first was the Friars Minor for the men who wished to live as Francis lived. The second was the Damianites or Clarisses (so called for the location or foundress). The Clarisses or Poor Clares were cloistered women who followed the rule of Saint Francis. The Third Order was created by Francis for the laity who wished to live in the spirit of St. Francis while following the duties of a secular life in the world.
- (7) “After the king’s return from oversea he lived with such a disregard for worldly vanities that he never wore ermine or squirrel fur, nor scarlet cloth, nor were his stirrups or his spurs gilded. His clothes were made of camlet or gray woolen cloth; the fur on these and on the coverings of his bed was either deerskin, hare-skin, or lambskin” (Joinville, p. 331).
- (8) “From the moment he came into possession of his kingdom and recognized what he had in his power to do King Louis had begun to erect churches and many religious houses, among which the Abbey of Royaumont is pre-eminent for its beauty and grandeur. He built hospitals in several places, as for instance in Paris, at Pontoise, Compiègne, and Vernon, all of which he richly endowed. He founded the abbey of Saint-Mathieu at Rouen, to house sisters of the Order of Predicants; and also the abbey of Longchamp, for the nuns of the Order of Minorists. To each community he assigned an ample revenue for their livelihood” (Joinville, p. 343).
- (9) “King Louis loved all people who devoted themselves to the service of God by taking on the religious habit; none of these ever came to him without his giving them what they needed for a living” (Joinville, p. 344).
- (10) Caught in heavy winds on the sea, Queen Margaret came to find the king “and ask him to make a vow to God or to His saints, to go on some pilgrimage so that the Lord might deliver us from the peril in which we were; [. . .] ‘Madame,’ I said to her, ‘promise to make a journey to the shrine of Saint Nicholas at Varangeville,’ [. . .] ‘I would do so very willingly seneschal,’ she replied, ‘but the king has such a curious temper that if he knew I had made that promise without his knowledge he would never let me go,’ ” (Joinville, p. 322).

- (11) “The king gave me leave to go to Tortosa, and told me, on the advice of his council, to buy a hundred pieces of camlet in different colors for him to give to the Franciscans when we returned to France” (Joinville, p. 314).
- (12) See Coulton (1968). “Now this brother Rigaud was of our Order, and one of the most learned men in the world. He had been doctor of theology in the convent [at Paris]: being a most excellent disputator and a most gracious preacher. He wrote a work on the Sentences; he was a friend of St. Louis, King of France, who indeed labored that he might be made Archbishop of Rouen. He loved well the Order of the Friars Preachers, as also his own of the Friars Minor, and did them both much good” (p. 290). [. . .] “And I myself have encompassed the diocese of Auxerre three times on foot; once with a certain Brother who preached and gave men the Cross for the Crusade of St. Louis” (p.137). [. . .] “In the year 1248, about the feast of Pentecost or somewhat later, I went down from Auxerre to the convent of Sens, for the Provincial Chapter of our Order in France was to be held there; and the Lord Louis (IX), King of France, was to come thither [. . .]. After those two, the King and Lord Oddo, Cardinal of the Roman Court, who had formerly been Chancellor of the University of Paris [. . .] began to speak and concluded the matter, Brother John of Parma, the Minister-General (on whom in virtue of his office fell the task of replying) spoke as follows: ‘Our King and lord and benefactor has come to us humbly and profitably, courteously and kindly, and he first spoke to us, as was right; nor does he pray us for gold or silver, whereof by God’s grace there is sufficient store in his treasury; but only for the prayers and suffrages of the Brethren, and that for a most laudable purpose.’ [. . .] Moreover, the King took upon himself all that day’s cost, and ate together with us in the refectory” (pp. 141-42).
- (13) She had no reason to stay in Castille since her brother-in-law, not her young children, was to be the immediate heir to the throne of Castille. See Powicke (1962: 242, 253). After his heir, Ferdinand de la Cerda, husband to Blanche-Anne, died in 1275, King Alfonso (+1284) was worried about the succession to the throne. When his younger son was acknowledged by the *cortes* as heir and Ferdinand’s young sons were disregarded, King Philip of France, husband to Marie of Brabant, initially

maintained the rights of his nephews. Peter of Aragon initially gave refuge to the sons of Ferdinand de la Cerda and later detained them as hostages.

- (14) *Histoire Genealogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* (1726: 86-87). Subsequent data referring to Blanche-Anne and the foundation at St. Marcel and other family members is from this source. It is abbreviated in the text as HGC.
- (15) Hillairet (1956: 134-5, Rive gauche) indicates that “l’hopital Broca est situe a l’emplacement d’une partie d’un vaste couvent, le couvent des cordelieres, installe en cet endroit en 1289. Il fut agrandi, par la veuve de saint Louis, la reine Marguerite de Provence, qui, en 1290, se fit construire dans le voisinage une maison ou elle se retira jusqu’ a sa mort, en 1295. Sa fille, Blanche de France, veuve depuis 1275, s’y fit religieuse et y fut inhumee en 1320. Ce couvent fut pille, en 1590, par les troupes d’ Henri IV, qui y cantonnerent quelque temps.”
- (16) The mother of Thibaut VI was Blanche of Navarre, daughter of Sancho VI, King of Navarre and of Sancia of Castille. She was sister of Berenger, Queen of England and of Sancho VII, King of Navarre who died with out children, 7 April 1234 (HGC, 1726: 842). When Philip III of France had custody of Jeanne I of Navarre, he had also to protect her interests against those of Castille and Aragon. In 1284 when Jeanne was eleven, the younger Philip (the Fair/ IV of France) took over in the right of his wife the kingdom of Navarre and the county of Champagne. Though Edward I of England’s brother, Edmund of Lancaster, had married Blanche of Artois, and though his brother in law, Alfonso of Castille wanted to contest Navarre, Edward I was loyal to the interests of the Philips (Powicke, 1962: 242).
- (17) See Gilchrist (1997: 40-41). “Few nunneries of the mendicant orders were established in England (five Franciscan; one Dominican). Friaries—communities of male mendicants—were usually established with an evangelical mission in mind. About 189 friaries existed in medieval England. [. . .] Despite the work of early Franciscan and Dominican nuns in preaching and education, by the time of the English foundations the mendicant nuns were strictly enclosed. [. . .] The overall pattern in the founding of nunneries is one of time-lag, or a delayed response. This trend must be mainly a product of choices made by patrons. The earlier tendency for setting up male houses may be based in economic and political motivations.[. . .]

Those who could afford to set new trends in religious foundations opted for male institutions. The establishment of a nunnery was seldom an innovation in pious benefaction.”

- (18) Jeanne I of Navarre was brought up at the court of Philip III. Her mother had married Henry I of Navarre and Champagne and Brie. Upon his death she returned home with her daughter and subsequently married Edmund of Lancaster and left for England. She left her daughter in the care of Philip III, her brother. When Jeanne I married Philip IV, the territory of Champagne and Brie was incorporated into that of France.
- (19) See Adenet le Roi (1951-71). In volume 1, A. Henry makes reference to these lines. They are of course apparent in his edition of the *Cleomades* and in that of van Hasselt (1865-66). The relevant lines of the *Cleomades* are as follows: lines 18657-, for Jean and Geoffrey; lines 18531- for Marie; lines 18552- for Blanche-Anne; lines 18645- for Guy of Flanders; lines 18579- for Henry III of Brabant; lines 18677- for Robert, count of Artois.
- (20) “So the Order did not secure a permanent footing in England until 1293, when two houses were founded, one in London by Blanche of Navarre, wife of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, and one at Waterbeach by Denise of Munchensey. Both adopted the Longchamp version of the Rule”(Moorman, 1998: 211).
- (21) Although the families got on remarkably well in spite of similar territorial claims, under Philip IV there was much discussion and warfare regarding Provence and Gascony. See Powicke (1962: 226-69) on Edward I.
- (22) See Daniell, (1997: 92-93). “The monasteries complained bitterly if the new orders of canons or friars buried important people. [. . .] In 1298 William IV de Beauchamp, on the advice of the friar John de Olney, changed his will and so chose to be buried in the Franciscan church in Worcester, rather than in Worcester Cathedral—the traditional burial place of his ancestors. The shocked chronicler wrote of the body being carried through the city as if it were ‘the spoils of war.’ [. . .] When conflicts of burial place arose, one solution was to divide up the body and distribute the parts to different churches. [. . .] The body of Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, was buried in his foundation, Hailes Abbey, but his heart was interred in the choir of

the Franciscan church in Oxford. A permanent shift in burial place was most likely to occur when there was a change in dynasty, rather than depending on an individual's personal religious affinity. Burials away from the dynastic churches were likely to be for negative reasons, such as personal disagreements, rather than positive support for the different church. [. . .] Rather than the rural isolation of many monasteries, the friaries were deliberately placed in towns and were in an excellent position to receive burials of the richer members of society. In Toulouse the friars were very successful, receiving between a third and a quarter of burial requests, but in Norwich the figure seems to have stabilized at around 10 percent of burial requests, the same percentage as friary burial requests in the diocese of York."

- (23) See Heer, (1962: 140). "From the time of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the internal Crusade against 'heretics' and other enemies of the Roman Church came to occupy an important place in the legal thinking of the canonists." See also *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe* (1990: 170 and 308) which speaks of Philip Augustus' acquisition of Artois, Amiens, and Vermandois as a result of his marriage to Isabelle of Hainault and the extension under Philip Augustus of the territory of the French monarchy to embrace Normandy in 1204 and much of Languedoc.
- (24) Honorius III was Pope from 1216-27 and Gregory IX from 1227-41. "It was Gregory IX who, in 1227, called on his friends among the Friars Minor to take up the task both of preaching the Crusade and of going out with the crusading armies," (Moorman, 1998, p. 300).
- (25) Briffault, (1965: 129 and 145) writes that "Provence in the twelfth century was the most civilized, in the widest sense, of any country in Christian Europe.[. . .] The main object of the Crusade was to annex Provence to France. This Blanche of Castille, with the assistance of Romieu de Villeneuve, the astute minister of Raimon Berenger VI, was able to attain by the arranged marriage of Marguerite, the eldest daughter of the Count, to the young Louis IX, and that of Beatrice, the youngest of the four Provençal princesses, to Charles of Anjou, the King's brother."
- (26) See Powicke's genealogy of the houses of Aragon, Provence and Toulouse (1962: 101).

- (27) “Since Charles of Anjou’s marriage to Beatrice of Provence in 1246, there had been a feud between the houses of Aragon and Anjou. The count of Provence, Raymond Berengar, the father of Queen Margaret of France, Queen Eleanor of England, and Beatrice, was head of a younger branch of the house of Aragon and after his death James I, the king of Aragon had hoped to renew the connection with the elder branch. Charles of Anjou had prevented this,” (Powicke, 1962, p. 252).
- (28) See Lawrence (1989: 256). “To both their patrons and their enemies the two orders came to appear almost indistinguishable except by the color of their habits—the gray or brown habit of the Franciscans derived from the tunic of sackcloth Francis had adopted, whereas the Dominicans wore a distinctive scapular of black over the white habit of the Augustinian Canon. At least one bishop—Alexander Stavensby of Coventry and Lichfield—saw no point in having them both in the same town. Both orders made the evangelization of the urban populations the objective of their missionary effort. [. . .] The success they had with their urban congregations was the result of their effectiveness as preachers and confessors.[. . .] In their hands sermon-making became a new art, which was inculcated in their schools and through their writings.[. . .] There is a sense in which they pioneered the idea of the devout life for the laity; a Christian life, that is not modeled upon that of monks or dependent upon the vicarious merits acquired by professional ascetics, but one lived fully in the world.”
- (29) St. Francis considered himself called by God to repair His Church. And, since the little church in Francis’ village had fallen into disrepair, St. Francis interpreted God’s plan to be the physical rebuilding of churches for God’s glory. However, as he prayed more and was advised more, he came to realize that it was not the physical building about which God was talking to him, but rather about His people--often referred to as the stones of the Church. He was to build up the Church by building up the faithful of God’s church.
- (30) See Heer (1961: 197-98 and 202). “Waldensians were persecuted along with Cathars and accounted arch-heretics.[. . .] There were numerous small groups of these ‘poor men of Christ’ (as some of them called themselves) in southern and northern France, in Flanders, the Rhineland and northern Italy.[. . .] The people, in

their longing for the ‘Christ of poverty’, were themselves in conflict with their bishops and looked to the Papacy for aid. In 1077, for example, fanatical Flemish laymen begged the Pope’s protection against the Bishop of Cambrai, who had denounced them as heretics.”

- (31) Dominic, founder of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers, was himself was born in Castille in 1170. He began the Friars Preachers to teach the people in the areas of Provence and Toulouse (only four leagues from Languedoc). His work was to preach and teach the people of the territories that had been exposed to the teaching of the Albigensians. The Dominicans also preached in the areas of Spain that had been reconquered from the Moors. From the beginning, they were to be cerebral in attacking the errors of the so called heretics. However, they soon moved to the northern areas to educate their members better.
- (32) “Le celebre college de Navarre, l’honneur de l’universite de Paris, [fut] fonde en 1304 par Jeanne de Navarre, femme de Philippe le Bel. Le roi en fut, de tout temps, le premier boursier” (Hillairet, 1956, p. 42, Rive gauche). According to Moorman (1998) “there was scarcely a house in the country which did not owe something to the liberality of the king. Many convents received gifts of money either for building or for clothes and household expenses, while Henry III instituted annual grants from the exchequer for the Franciscans of Oxford, Cambridge, and Berwick-on-Tweed. . . .Edward I regularly gave money to the friars in the towns through which he passed”(p. 172). In Spain and Portugal, “the success of the Christian forces in driving the Moors out of most of the peninsula [. . .] created new problems for the Church, and the kings were glad of the help which the friars could give. Convents were therefore founded in many places, often with royal support, and the Order flourished. Later monarchs gave considerable help to the friars and took them into their service as confessors”(p. 170).
- (33) Provence was one of the earliest districts to be colonized by the friars. Houses were founded at Avignon by 1227, at Narbonne and Carcassone before 1231, and Marseille before 1248. Both Narbonne and Marseille had schools to which friars might be sent as well as to Paris. See Moorman (1998, p. 161). Houses were also founded in Aquitaine during the lifetime of St. Francis, “but many are of a later date.

Owing to the activities and generosity of the English king, Edward I, in Gascony in 1289 we are able to estimate the size of some of these houses. It was Edward's custom when travelling, to make grants to houses of mendicant friars, normally at the rate of a groat for each friar to feed him for one day.[. . .] The Franciscan house at Bordeaux contained 73 friars, that at Condon 43 [. . .] (pp. 161-62).

- (34) Coates (1999, p. 69) mentions that “a Franciscan house had been founded in Reading in 1233. Christ Church, Canterbury, employed Franciscans to teach there from 1275-1314, and at Worcester, Bishop Giffard asked for a Franciscan lecturer in 1285, and Franciscans taught there till c. 1300.”
- (35) See Maddicott (1994: 79-81). “From 1258 onwards their [Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, Walter de Cantilupe] example and teaching helped to shape his political outlook, and their friendship, with one seemingly so different in background, provided one of the most remarkable features of his career.”
- (36) See Smith (1998: 206) which refers to a Franciscan house at Llan-faes in Gwynedd in the 13th century. “Aber, which may have been an important residence among the courts included in the prince's itinerary [. . .] was situated on the Menai Straits north of Bangor and directly opposite Llan-faes. It stood, too, at the head of an ancient routeway which, traversing the Conwy at Gronant, the lowest point at which the river could be forded, led through Bwlch y Ddeufaen to the straits. Aber was at the heart of the lordship of Snowdonia, yet located at a point from which the prince could have easy access to Anglesey and Perfeddwlad and to the southern parts of his lordship. Though documents dated at Aber are not numerous, it is known to have been the place where both Joan, wife of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and their son, Dafydd ap Llywelyn, died, and it was from there that Joan, and perhaps Eleanor, wife of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, were taken for burial at the Franciscan house of Llan-faes. Aber was almost certainly the court to which John Pecham made his way to conduct his discussions with Llywelyn in 1282” (p. 233). “There is good reason to believe that it was from Aber, not many months before (1282), that Eleanor de Montfort—like Joan, princess of Llywelyn Fawr, in whose honour the house was founded—had been borne to her final resting-place at the Franciscan friary at Llan-faes” (pp. 539-40). “The chronicle of Bury St Edmunds says that Eleanor died on 19

June. The Welsh chronicler provides no precise date, only that Eleanor died in giving birth to a daughter who was called Gwenllian, and that the mother was borne to the monastery of the Barefooted Friars at Llan-faes in Anglesey” (p. 510). “Though there is not certainty, Llywelyn himself was probably buried in the consecrated ground of the Cistercian Abbey of Cwm-hir, but his head was carried to London, “the severed head raised on the Tower of London displayed for the derision of the crowd”(p. 568).

- (37) See Brown (1991, Chapter V, pp. 255-6). “A chronicler of Saint-Denis reported, however, that under the influence of her Franciscan confessor (Durand of Champagne), she left secret instructions that her body should be interred in the Franciscan Church in Paris.”
- (38) See Coulton (1968, pp. 143-44) who cites Salimbene who cites Joinville, “So, I, Joinville, told the King [Louis IX] that he should not let this man [Brother Hugh] quit his company [. . .]. ‘I [Louis] have already prayed him, and he will do naught for me.’ [. . .] We came to him [. . .]. And he answered me in great wrath, ‘Be sure, Sir, that I will not do so: for I shall go to a place where God will love me better than He would love me in a King’s company.’ ”
- (39) Charles of Anjou (1226-85) was the youngest son of Louis VIII of France (1223-26). He was brother to Saint Louis. Charles married Beatrice the heiress of the county of Provence. His brother Robert was count of Artois. In 1265, Charles’ older daughter Blanche became the wife of Robert of Bethune, son of the countess of Flanders. According to Dunbabin (1998, p. 184) “The marriage alliance was a brick in the wall of friendship between Charles and the Dampierres, laid in Charles’s 1253 campaign in Hainault.” Charles’ son, Charles of Salerno, married Maria of Hungary in 1272. Charles of Salerno’s son, Louis of Toulouse, was canonized in 1317.
- (40) When Marie of Brabant married Philip III of France, her coronation was even more magnificent than her husband’s had been. It was considered a great feat to have married a woman whose lineage represented more than 22 generations of descent from Charlemagne. After the death of Philip III, Marie continued to live in Paris in a home given her by Philip IV, her step-son. Her own son, Louis, received the title of Navarre, Champagne and Brie, the title associated with Jeanne I of Navarre.

- (41) See Moorman (1998, p. 183). Jerome of Ascoli, elected Pope in 1288 as Nicholas IV was himself a Franciscan, the first Franciscan pope.
- (42) The Longchamp or Isabelline version of the Rule was adopted by a number of houses in France, by all the English houses, and by at least two houses in Italy—Palestrina and San Silvestro at Rome (Moorman, 1998, p. 213).
- (43) Blanche-Anne's husband died in 1275 and Marie of Brabant's in 1285. Blanche-Anne died in 1320 and Marie died a year later. Jeanne died in 1304 with her husband living until 1314.
- (44) That location mattered, see Brown (1991, Chapter VI, p.258) which indicates that Philip V's wife, Mahaut of Artois, "in the will she drew up on 27 August 1319, ordained that her body should be buried in the church of the Franciscans in Paris, wherever she died; that her heart should lie at Saint-Denis at her husband's feet if he predeceased her and [. . .] that her entrails should be interred in the Franciscan nunnery of Longchamp if she died in France and if her daughter Blanche, a nun there, was alive at the time of her death, and otherwise if she died in Burgundy, that they should be buried in the church of the Franciscans at Gray." The widow of Peter of Alençon, Jeanne of Chatillon "decreed that if she died between Paris and Chartres, her body was to be buried at the church of the Franciscans in Paris and her heart in the Church of the Dominicans there (the same churches selected by her husband). If she died beyond Chartres she was to be interred in the Franciscan abbey of La Guiche (which her parents had founded and where they were buried [. . .]) 'so she might profit from the prayers of the two orders and because of her love for her husband, the count of Alençon (1283+)' " (Chapter VI, pp.244-45).
- (45) See Brown, II, 310-11, "Had Philip[the Fair] had his way, the celebration of Louis' [IX] canonization would have been held in Paris rather than at Saint-Denis. [. . .] Had it not been for the determined opposition of the monks of Saint-Denis, Philip would have had all save a token portion of St. Louis' bones transferred from Saint-Denis, his grandfather's chosen burial site, to the Sainte-Chapelle, adjoining the palace that Philip later rebuilt at the center of royal government and justice. The king persisted, and in 1306 he finally succeeded in gaining for the Sainte-Chapelle

the larger part of his grand-father's head, widely considered the body's most important (chief) part.”

- (46) See Thompson (1991) wherein the author in her chapter, “The Role of Lay Founders and Patrons in the Foundation of the Nunneries,” writes of the relationships between donations to establish religious houses for women and the subsequent participation by these women in the foundations.

References

- Adenet, le R. (1865-66). *Li roumans de Cleomades* (2 Vols.). Bruxelles: Victor Devaux.
- Adenet, le R. (1951-71). *Les oeuvres* (5 Vols.). Brugge: De Tempel.
- Anselme, le P. (Ed.). (1726). *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*. (Tomes I-IV) (3ieme Ed.). Paris: Compagnie des Libraires.
- Bievre, E. de. (1996). *Utrecht: Britain and the continent: Archaeology, art and architecture*. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XVIII. Leeds: Maney.
- Briffault, R. S. (1965). *The troubadours*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Brown, E. A. R. (1991). *The monarchy of Capetian France and royal ceremonial*. Hampshire, England: Variorum.
- Coates, A. (1999). *English medieval books: The reading Abbey collections from foundation to dispersal*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Constable, G. (1996). *The reformation of the twelfth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulton, G. G. (1968). *From saint Francis to Dante: Translations from the chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene (1221-1288)* (2nd Ed.). New York: Russell & Russell.
- Daniell, C. (1997). *Death and burial in medieval England: 1066-1550*. New York: Routledge.
- Doubleday, H. A. et al. (Ed.). (1929). *The complete peerage*. London: St. Catherine.
- Dunbabin, J. (1998). *Charles I of Anjou: Power, kingship and state-making in thirteenth-century Europe*. London: Longman.

- Gerson, P. L. (1986). *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Gilchrist, R. (1997). *Gender and material culture: The archaeology of religious women*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, B. (1995). *Living and dying in England 1100-1540: The monastic experience*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Head, T. (Ed.). (2000). *Medieval hagiography: An anthology*. New York: Garland.
- Heer, F. (1961). *The medieval world*. (J. Sondheimer, Trans.). New York: Mentor.
- Henry, A. (1948). *L'oeuvre lyrique d'Henri III duc de Brabant*. Brugge: De Tempel.
- Henry, A. (1951). *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi. Tome I. Biographie d'Adenet; La tradition manuscrite*. Brugge: De Tempel.
- Hillairet, J. (1956). *Connaissance du vieux Paris*. Paris: Editions Princesse.
- Holmes, G. (Ed.). (1990). *The Oxford illustrated history of medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Joinville, J., & Villehardouin, G. (1967). *Chronicles of the crusades*. (M. R. B. Shaw, Trans.). Baltimore, Md.: Penguin.
- Kelly, A. (1950). *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the four kings*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Kerr, B. M. (1999). *Religious life for women c.1100-c.1350: Fontevraud in England*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Lawrence, C. H. (1989). *Medieval monasticism: Forms of religious life in western Europe in the middle ages* (2nd Ed.). New York: Longman.
- Leff, G. (1999). *Heresy in the later middle ages: The relation of heterodoxy to dissent c. 1250-1450*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- MacLagan, M. (Ed.). (1991). *Lines of succession: Heraldry of the royal families of Europe*. New York: MacMillan.
- Maddicott, J. R. (1994). *Simon de Montfort*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, H. (1887). *Catalogue de manuscrits de la bibliotheque de l'Arsenal*. Paris. Catalogue iii.
- Matthew, P. (1996). *The Life of St. Edmund*. (C. H. Lawrence & St. E. Hall, Trans. and Ed.). Oxford: Sutton.

- Moorman, J. (1998). *A history of the Franciscan order: From its origins to the year 1517*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- O' Shea, S. (2000). *The perfect heresy: The revolutionary life and death of the medieval Cathars*. New York: Walker.
- Parsons, J. C. (1995). *Eleanor of Castille: Queen and society in thirteenth century England*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Petroff, E. A. (1986). *Medieval women's visionary literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Powicke, M. (1962). *The thirteenth century 1216-1307*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Powicke, M. (1997). *The Christian life in the middle ages and other essays*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Robinson, D. (Ed.). (1998). *The Cistercian abbeys of Britain: Far from the concourse of men*. London: Batsford.
- Smith, J. B. (1998). *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd prince of Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Southern, R. W. (1990). *Western society and the church in the middle ages*. New York: Penguin.
- Spaulding, R. K. (1967). *How Spanish grew*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stouck, M-A. (1999). *Medieval saints: A reader*. Ontario: Broadview.
- Thompson, S. (1996). *Women religious: The founding of English nunneries after the Norman conquest*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Turner, R. V. (1994). *King John*. New York: Longman.
- Wood, S. (1955). *English monasteries and their patrons in the thirteenth century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ziegler, J. (1998). *Medicine and religion c. 1300: The case of Arnau de Vilanova*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Portions of this paper were presented at the Second Annual Fu Jen Catholic University Medieval Conference, Taiwan, March 22-23, 2001.