

Utah State University

DigitalCommons@USU

---

All Graduate Plan B and other Reports

Graduate Studies

---

5-2023

## An Ideal Monarch: The Piety, Masculinity, and Kingship of King Louis IX of France

Tell Joyner

*Utah State University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/gradreports>



Part of the [European History Commons](#), [History of Gender Commons](#), [History of Religion Commons](#), [Medieval History Commons](#), and the [Political History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Joyner, Tell, "An Ideal Monarch: The Piety, Masculinity, and Kingship of King Louis IX of France" (2023). *All Graduate Plan B and other Reports*. 1696.

<https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/gradreports/1696>

This Report is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Studies at DigitalCommons@USU. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Graduate Plan B and other Reports by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@USU. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@usu.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@usu.edu).



AN IDEAL MONARCH: THE PIETY, MASCULINITY, AND KINGSHIP OF KING LOUIS

IX OF FRANCE

by

Edward Tell Joyner

A Plan B thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirement for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

Approved:

---

Danielle Ross, Ph.D  
Major Professor

---

Susan Cogan, Ph.D  
Committee Member

---

Sarah Gordon, Ph.D  
Committee Member

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY

Logan, Utah

2022

Copyright © 2023 Edward Tell Joyner  
All Rights Reserved

## ABSTRACT

An Ideal Monarch: The Piety, Masculinity, And Kingship of King Louis IX of France

by

Edward Tell Joyner, Master of Arts

Utah State University, 2022

Major Professor: Dr. Danielle Ross  
Department: History

King Louis IX of France, who ruled from 1226 to 1270, is widely considered to have been one of the greatest European kings of the Middle Ages. His rule was long remembered as an ideal period of good government and prosperity, and future kings sought and were expected to emulate him for centuries. Historians have often discussed the key role that the king's pious exercise of his kingship played in his reign. In particular, historians have discussed the role that his belief in the twin missions of saving his subjects and making France into a Christian kingdom played in his style of kingship.

One angle that historians have not explicitly discussed, however, is masculinity. Some historians have begun to include masculinity in their discussions of medieval monarchy. They point out that characteristics of royal masculinity were essential qualities for a successful king to exhibit. This angle of masculinity, however, has not yet been applied to the study of the kingship of Louis IX. In this project, I wish to help to resolve this oversight in three essays examining the ways that living a pious lifestyle and ruling for his subject's salvation were inseparable parts of Louis's royal masculinity. I argue that aspects of the rulership of Louis IX such as government reforms, peacekeeping, abstemious living, and participation in religious rituals were not just acts

of government or of personal piety but also were a critical part of the masculine, pious behavior that was expected of Louis IX as a king of France.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ESSAY 1: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	1
ESSAY 2: MANLY, BUT IN A PIOUS WAY.....	26
ESSAY 3: SALVATORY STATESMANSHIP.....	58

## ESSAY 1

## LITERATURE REVIEW

## PIETY AND ROYAL MASCULINITY IN HIGH MEDIEVAL EUROPE

**Introduction**

This project is seeking to answer the questions of: In what ways was salvation for Louis IX individual as well as collective? And also, how did Louis IX create new standards of pious kingship, that shaped his reign as well as those of his successors? And finally, in what ways did images of masculinity shape these individual and collective means for attaining salvation, and the new standards of pious kingship that Louis used to implement his vision of how to attain salvation for himself and his people? Louis IX ruled France between the years 1226-1270, and is considered to have been one of the great rulers of Medieval French history. He is probably most famous for being the last of the great crusader kings<sup>1</sup>. He is also famous for having been made a saint thanks to his passion for piety, and pious works, this piety also helped to give his kingdom and his dynasty a more holy reputation<sup>2</sup>. Finally, he is famous for a passion for justice and morality that helped to centralize the power of the crown by increasing the crown's ability to legislate for the entire kingdom, and also by further building French institutions such as Parlement, and the bureaucracy<sup>3</sup>.

This literature review is about the piety, kingship, and masculinity of King Louis IX of France in the thirteenth century. For this literature review I will be writing about four books and

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England: From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries*, trans. E.D. Hunt (London: Kegan, Paul, Trunch & Trubner LTD, 1936), 284.

<sup>2</sup> Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). 258.

<sup>3</sup> Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, 253-8. Parlement in France was the central, royal high court of appeals that evolved out of meetings of the court to judge judicial cases in the presence of the king.

also an article from a fifth book. The books I am reviewing are: *Constructing Kingship: The Early Capetians and the Crusades* by James Naus, *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX* by William Chester Jordan, *The Royal Touch* by Marc Bloch, translated by J.E. Anderson, and *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* by Katherine Lewis. I am also reviewing the article “Propaganda and Masculinity” by Christoph T. Maier, found in the book *Crusading and Masculinity*.

These works talk about the various facets of piety and masculinity that shaped the reign of Louis IX. Some aspects of the king’s masculinity that they discuss include bravery and leadership in a just war, ruling his court, his kingdom, and his family as a hegemon, and controlling his physical appetites so that he could also rule his kingdom<sup>4</sup>. Although to be sure they also show that some parts of his kingship could be seen as being more feminine, such as caring for his subjects infected by scrofula by touching them and blessing them<sup>5</sup>. All of these facets of royal masculinity were performed within a context of pious kingship, which meant that when the king behaved in these masculine ways, he often did it piously. For example, the supreme example of the leadership in war of Louis IX, was his leading a crusade to the holy land for God and the church<sup>6</sup>.

For my project overall I differ from the books I discuss here in that I wish to apply some of the masculinity focused analysis done for the kings of Late Medieval England by Katherine Lewis and apply it to Louis IX, and his desire to save his souls and those of his subjects, which to my knowledge has not been done. I appreciate the way she discusses how masculine traits

---

<sup>4</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013) 17-29.

<sup>5</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1973) 14-5 & Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 28-9.

<sup>6</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 128-30.



such as bravery and leadership skill, or feminine traits such as mercy could make or break the reputations and careers of kings<sup>7</sup>. I would like to analyze how the portrayal of the king having such traits helped to make him a model that the kings' clerical biographers could use to help future kings lead themselves and their subjects to salvation, like they believed Louis IX had done.

Aside from the book by Katherine Lewis: *Masculinity and Kingship in Late Medieval England*, my approach is also influenced by an article by Matthew Mesley; *Constructing Plantagenet Kingship*. I thought that Mesley's analysis of how the thirteenth century English Chronicler Matthew Paris used standards of masculinity to judge whether figures like Henry III or Louis IX were good crusaders, was useful<sup>8</sup>, and so I am going to also analyze as part of my project the ways that the chroniclers of Louis IX: Geoffrey of Beaulieu, William of Chartres, and Jean De Joinville sought to use standards of masculinity to judge the actions of Louis IX, and how they helped the king to attain salvation for himself and his subjects.

### **James Naus's *Constructing Kingship: The Early Capetians and the Crusades***

James Naus argues that the early Capetian kings of France resolved the blow to their prestige caused by not going on the First Crusade by arguing that fulfilling their royal duties at home was as honorable as going on crusade, and then by leading the Second and Third crusades. In doing this the Capetians started a tradition of French kings going on Crusade. According to *Constructing Kingship: The Early Capetians and the Crusades*, by James Naus the fact that many of the monarchy's rivals in the nobility went on the First Crusade, and the king of France,

---

<sup>7</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 11.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew M. Mesley, "Performing Plantagenet Kingship: Crusading & Masculinity in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*", in *Crusading and Masculinities*, ed. Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis, and Matthew M. Mesley (London & New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis group, 2019), 275-7 & 286-9.

Phillip, did not, caused a crisis for the Capetians. This was because the nobles winning glory and salvation by conquering Jerusalem on an expedition that the king of France had played no part in weakened the reputation for holiness and leadership that the kings of France needed to have in order to be considered as legitimate monarchs.<sup>9</sup>

A defense of monarchs not going on Crusade was offered by Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, in his book *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, in which he presented the king as being the restorer of order, and the defender of the church and justice. By presenting the king in this light he was showing that a king staying home and fulfilling his duties towards his people and the church was just as honorable as a king going on crusade.<sup>10</sup> Yet, as defender of the Church, he still had a responsibility to the crusade, and this was why in 1147 King Louis VII led the French crusaders on the Second Crusade. The crusade, however, failed. After this failure, Louis VII was still interested in the crusades, but he was too busy ruling his kingdom to go again. His son, Phillip Augustus, also went on crusade. He, too, had pressing responsibilities, and they kept him from leaving until 1190.<sup>11</sup> Phillip Augustus did not, however, remain in the holy land on crusade for long. He never went on crusade again, because he was too busy ruling his kingdom, but he remained supportive of the crusades.<sup>12</sup>

What was most important, however, was that two successive kings of France had now led crusades to the holy land, which established a tradition of French royal leadership and participation that later would help drive Louis IX to lead his own crusades as well. So, the Capetians managed to resolve the crisis to their authority caused by their lack of participation in

---

<sup>9</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the early crusades* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2016), 30-3.

<sup>10</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 64-74.

<sup>11</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 112-25.

<sup>12</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 125-35.

the First Crusade by both arguing that by exercising Christian kingship they were behaving like crusaders and by taking leadership of the Second and Third Crusades. In doing this they established a tradition of Capetian leadership in the crusades.<sup>13</sup>

One of the most important themes of this book for understanding King Louis IX is the tension between a need for a king to go on crusade and a need for a king to rule his kingdom. This was especially so since churchmen emphasized that both duties were important responsibilities of Christian kingship and masculinity that could give a king glory. Suger, the Abbot of Saint Denis, gave Louis VI (and French monarchs in general) a crusader-like prestige. Suger did this by presenting King Louis VI as intervening to restore order and protect churches and the weak. In doing this, Louis VI was fighting on behalf of the Church like a real crusader just by staying home and fulfilling his royal duties.<sup>14</sup>

This is relevant for Louis IX because it shows that for a king of France, it was at least as important for his piety and masculinity to be a good king at home as to be a crusader abroad. This meant that there was some tension in the role of Louis as a defender of the Church: he was expected to be a leader of the crusades, yet he was also expected to be an effective king at home.<sup>15</sup> Geoffrey de Beaulieu thought that the willingness of Louis IX to sacrifice everything by going on crusade twice was praiseworthy, and he also praised the king's management of his kingdom, so he probably thought that Louis IX struck the right balance between going on crusade and ruling his kingdom.<sup>16</sup> Although to be sure Joinville criticizing the kings' advisors for

---

<sup>13</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 9-10.

<sup>14</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 60-74.

<sup>15</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 115.

<sup>16</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks, of Pious Memory," in *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, trans. Sean Field, ed. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean Field (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 67-68; 70-71.

convincing the king to go on the eighth crusade, shows that in Joinville's view Louis IX was neglecting his kingdom by going on Crusade again.<sup>17</sup>

On the one hand much about the administration of Louis IX was praised by his contemporaries, including his passion for justice and equity, so many people thought Louis IX did not neglect his kingdom, at least while he was home.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, there was opposition among some of his entourage to his going on crusade in the first place, to his decision to stay in the holy land for a further four years, and to his going on a second expedition to Tunis. In these critics' view, Louis IX was neglecting his kingdom by going on crusade.<sup>19</sup> So, Louis IX faced a tension as a king between being a crusader and ruling his kingdom. While his biographers praised him as a ruler and as a crusader, and so he could be seen as having in some ways balanced these demands well, he was also criticized at times for being too focused on his crusades, at the expense of his kingdom.

This book is relevant for a study of piety and masculinity because, it shows the ways in which it was considered to be an important part of kingship both to rule and defend his people at home,<sup>20</sup> and to defend Christendom abroad on crusade,<sup>21</sup> and also it shows the ways in which kings and their clerical supporters could make sense of their crusading failures.<sup>22</sup> Most important of all, the book shows why the Capetian kings considered it to be necessary for their prestige and legitimacy to go on crusade.<sup>23</sup> Although this book does not discuss masculinity, it nevertheless shows some of the places where the masculinity of the king can be found: rulership, the crusades,

---

<sup>17</sup> Jean de Joinville, "The Life of Saint Louis," in Jean de Joinville and Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, translation by Caroline Smith, (London: Penguin Books 2008) 225-26.

<sup>18</sup> Jean de Joinville, "The Life of Saint Louis," 119-120, 220-2.

<sup>19</sup> Jean de Joinville, "The Life of Saint Louis," 128, 176-7, 225-6.

<sup>20</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 64-74.

<sup>21</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 85-87 & 90-107.

<sup>23</sup> James Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 9-10.

how these were balanced, and even the ways that they could avoid being blamed for defeat on crusade.

### **William Chester Jordan's *Men at the Center***

William Chester Jordan argues in his book *Men at the Center* that Louis IX chose men for his court and his government that shared his views on the moral and judicial rigor that they believed the court needed to impose on the country, and that they were one of the chief means by which Louis IX attempted to reform his kingdom. I chose this book because it is about the men who Louis IX favored because they shared his attitudes and goals. Favoring such men in his court would have been important because having such men around him would have made it easier for the king to implement his approach to kingship and masculinity.

According to *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX* by William Chester Jordan, Louis IX surrounded himself with men like Robert de Sorbon, Etienne Boileau, and Simon de Nesle who shared his views, and aided and encouraged him in his approach to kingship.<sup>24</sup> For example, Robert de Sorbon was a preacher who like the king believed in the importance of confession of sins, and, also, like the king hated the profane songs and frivolous pastimes popular in his day. As a result, Robert de Sorbon and the king became friends, and Sorbon became a courtier.<sup>25</sup>

Etienne Boileau was a bourgeoisie, likely from Orleans, who got a reputation for rigorous justice while serving as a provost. As a result, when Louis IX decided to reform the government of the city of Paris, he selected Etienne Boileau to be the new provost of the city. Likewise,

---

<sup>24</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX*. The Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lecture Series at Central European University, Budapest (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012) 101-2.

<sup>25</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 4-7.

Simon de Nesle, who came from a noble family in Picardy that had a history of service to the French crown, also was a proponent of a stricter justice that would not shirk from publicly executing nobles who had committed crimes.<sup>26</sup> These three men were chosen by Jordan to be the focus of this work because Jordan believed that they shared the king's rigorous views of justice and the king's attempts to condemn and suppress what Louis IX considered to be unseemly behavior<sup>27</sup>.

One important theme of this book is the importance to Louis IX of having men in his court like Robert de Sorbon who shared the king's passion for suppressing vice. Robert's greatest claim to fame is his founding of a college for poor boys wishing to study theology that eventually became the Sorbonne.<sup>28</sup> However, Robert de Sorbon was also a preacher who railed against blasphemy, frivolity, and the other common vices that Louis IX also hated. As a result, Robert de Sorbon soon found favor with king Louis IX, who was known to love to listen to sermons and talk with preachers.

Robert de Sorbon, like Louis IX believed in the importance of long, drawn out confessions as a form of spiritual meditation as well as confession.<sup>29</sup> He also believed in the importance of living a contemplative life.<sup>30</sup> Once, Louis IX, and Robert De Sorbon had a debate about which was better, a beguine, or contemplative man, or a prud'-homme or wise man of action. Robert had argued that the beguine was preferable, while Louis IX had argued for the Prud'-homme.<sup>31</sup> Robert de Sorbon was not the king's confessor or chief advisor, though some nobles blamed him for not trying to restrain the king from violating their rights<sup>32</sup>. Robert de

---

<sup>26</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 71-87.

<sup>27</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 101-2.

<sup>28</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 7-10.

<sup>29</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 5.

<sup>30</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 13-14, 30-31.

<sup>31</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 13-15.

<sup>32</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 7, 34-6.

Sorbons place in the royal court does however show that it was important for Louis IX to favor men who shared his moral rigor and wanted to help him morally cleanse French society.<sup>33</sup> The other two men focused on in this book, Etienne de Boileau, and Simon de Nesle also shared the king's passion for moral reform, although while Robert de Sorbon was a preacher, Etienne de Boileau, and Simon de Nesle were both more involved in the government of the realm.

Another theme of this book is the passion the king and his advisors had for impartial and rigorous justice. Etienne de Boileau and Simon de Nesle both were known as men who did not shirk from giving nobles, royal officials, or their own relatives who committed crimes the death penalty.<sup>34</sup> This was somewhat controversial. Nobles believed that because of the privilege of their class, they should not be put to death, and certainly not in front of the people.<sup>35</sup>

A famous example of the controversy that this uncompromising attitude towards justice could cause is the matter of a noblewoman, the Lady of Pierrelaye, who had murdered her husband with the assistance of her lover. Many noble men and women, including the queen, implored the king to spare her, or at least execute her privately. Simon de Nesle, who the king asked for advice, told him that real justice should be done publicly, and so the lady was publicly executed.<sup>36</sup> Another example is the case of a kitchen servant of the kings who had broken into the house of a woman and raped her. Some people thought that because he had otherwise served the king well, he ought to be punished more lightly. Louis IX and Simon de Nesle disagreed. They believed that allowing such men to stay in their establishments unpunished would be a disgrace.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 36.

<sup>34</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 61-3, 81-6.

<sup>35</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 82-4.

<sup>36</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 81-4.

<sup>37</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 85-6.

Another example of the king's attitude towards the wrongdoings of royal officials is his taking a monk who had killed three of the king's sergeants who had robbed him, into his service as a crusader. In doing this the king was signaling that when his men committed crimes, he would not defend them.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, when Etienne de Boileau was made the provost of the recently reformed provostship of Paris, he sought to restore order by punishing unruly young men who previously had been able to get away with crime thanks to bribes and their connections to previous provosts. When his own god son was caught as a thief, Boileau had him hung despite the pleas of the boy's mother.<sup>39</sup>

Boileau's more uncompromising administration of the law was at any case, credited by contemporaries with bringing order and increased prosperity and value to the parts of Paris under the jurisdiction of the King and the Provost.<sup>40</sup> Having men like Etienne de Boileau and Simon de Nesle in his government who shared the king's views on justice as something that should be impartial and harsh played a large role in giving the king's government the tenor of moral rectitude and justice that has shaped its image and legacy ever since.

Jordan argues that the government and society that these three men and Louis IX were working for was "a morally repressive regime."<sup>41</sup> For example, although the administration of Paris by Etienne Boileau was praised by many contemporaries, many people who were used to paying bribes to get their children out of trouble were probably shocked that this no longer did any good and could itself be punished.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the punishment of a blasphemous bourgeois by branding, (a punishment often given to persons whose sentence had been

---

<sup>38</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 42-4.

<sup>39</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 58-9, 61-3.

<sup>40</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 44-6.

<sup>41</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 101.

<sup>42</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 62.



commuted to banishment as a one-time mercy), on the lips, ordered by Louis IX, was considered excessive.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, nobles and royal officials were often disquieted by the fact that their rank and service to the king would not be enough to protect them from public punishment in the France of Louis IX.<sup>44</sup>

This book is relevant for a study of kingship and masculinity because it discusses how Louis IX favored men in his court who shared his views about things such as preaching, and justice. Louis IX and these men had an attitude towards justice that rank, wealth and service to the crown should not exempt guilty men and women from justice.<sup>45</sup> This is related to masculinity because, Louis IX, Simon de Nesle, and Etienne de Boileau all believed that protecting such people from justice would be neglecting the royal duty of justice and also would dishonor them, and so seeing to it that such people would receive justice would have been important for his masculine prestige as a king.<sup>46</sup> It was essential for a king to be able to maintain control over his dependents, and prevent them from abusing power, committing crimes, or defying the king.<sup>47</sup>

Furthermore, men like Robert de Sorbon, who shared his passion for preaching and his hatred of blasphemy in his court, also helped to set the moral tone that he wanted for not only his court, but his kingdom. This is relevant for masculinity and piety because men like Robert de Sorbon would have been key for helping the king to accomplish his paternalistic mission of saving his subjects souls. Louis IX apparently believed that his subjects doing things such as blaspheming or singing worldly songs prevented his crusade from receiving divine sanction, and also put his dynasty and his kingdom in danger of loss of divine favor.<sup>48</sup> Men like Robert de

---

<sup>43</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 91-3.

<sup>44</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 81-6.

<sup>45</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 61-3, 81-6.

<sup>46</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 58-86.

<sup>47</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 58-86.

<sup>48</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 1-36.

Sorbon, Simon de Nesle, and Etienne Boileau were key parts of Louis IX's efforts to assert a pious and masculine kingship, in order to save his soul, and those of his subjects.

### **Marc Bloch's *The Royal Touch***

The book: *The Royal Touch* by Marc Bloch is about the ritual of the royal touch in France and England. Bloch argues that the royal touch was a way for the French crown to assert its political legitimacy as well as its sacred status. I added this book because it talks about the important royal ritual of the royal touch, and how it shaped French kingship. According to Marc Bloch in his book *The Royal Touch*, the French and English royal ritual of touching for the king's evil probably originated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,<sup>49</sup> although it sprang from much older traditions of sacred monarchy from ancient Germanic, Israelite, and Roman customs and beliefs<sup>50</sup>. The royal touch was a practice in which the kings of France and England touched persons afflicted with scrofula, because it was believed that the kings touch could miraculously cure them.

The first king of France who we know for sure performed the royal touch to cure scrofula was Robert the Pious in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. His pious reputation, combined with the lingering beliefs in sacred monarchy, resulted in sick people coming to him for healing. These healings seemed to be successful, and he soon gained a reputation as a royal healer.<sup>51</sup> By the time of his grandson, King Phillip I, the king healing the scrofulous with his touch seemed to be an established royal ritual.<sup>52</sup> Apart from the long traditions of sacred kingship already

---

<sup>49</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1973), 24-36.

<sup>50</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 44-63.

<sup>51</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 32-63.

<sup>52</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 24-27.

mentioned, the Capetians had political reasons to adopt and popularize this custom. Hugh Capet, the father and predecessor of Robert the Pious, had supplanted the heir of the old royal line the Carolingians when he was elected and crowned king of the Franks in 987. Because of this the new Capetian dynasty had questionable legitimacy, and so they needed something to give them a sacred prestige and legitimacy to rival that of the old Carolingian dynasty.

The new ritual of the royal touch was one of the ways that the Capetian dynasty was able to be given this prestige by itself and its propagandists.<sup>53</sup> Initially because of the Gregorian reform and its discouragement of attributing sacred status and practices to kings, royal propagandists rarely talked about or defended the royal touch before the time of Phillip the Fair, when the king and his propagandists came into conflict with Pope Boniface VIII.<sup>54</sup>

In general, the main importance of this work for a project about salvation and standards of kingship in the 13<sup>th</sup> century is its discussion of the many of the rituals of sacred kingship. The royal aura of sacrality and the various royal rituals that took root in the pious beliefs of the Middle Ages often had roots in ancient beliefs and practices.<sup>55</sup> Yet they also were a means for insecure monarchs like the early Capetians or the Valois to strengthen their rule. A prestige for working miracles could give an insecure dynasty the divine sanction it needed to help secure its claim to the throne.<sup>56</sup> It could also help monarchs in their struggles against the Church by allowing them to claim a divinely given sacred status in their own right.<sup>57</sup>

According to historians such as M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, the canonization of Saint Louis helped to give the kings of France this sacred reputation. According to her a member of the royal

---

<sup>53</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 63-7.

<sup>54</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 94-102.

<sup>55</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 44-63.

<sup>56</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 63-7.

<sup>57</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 94-102.

family being canonized gave the entire dynasty a more holy reputation, a reputation that would have helped Phillip the Fair's advisors and propagandists to more comfortably argue for the divine right of kings, against the arguments of the papacy for papal preeminence.<sup>58</sup> Much of the continued development of the legend of the royal touch occurred in the centuries following the death of Louis IX however, for example in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, it began to be claimed that it was the anointment with oil from the holy ampoule that gave the king his power to heal with his touch.<sup>59</sup> The possession of a saint in the royal family that gave the dynasty an aura of holiness would however have been one of the main reasons for this continuing emphasis on the anointment and the ritual of the royal touch.

Bloch's book is relevant for a study of kingship and masculinity because it discusses the role that rituals like the royal touch played in enhancing the religious aspect of kingship. Even if kings were in a weakened position, such rituals could give them more prestige, and legitimacy, than they otherwise would possess.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, by healing his subjects he could show that he had real power, in not just a temporal sense, but also in a spiritual sense. Attracting crowds of his scrofulous subjects could show off his power by impressing the public with an image of the king as a healer who could cure his subjects.<sup>61</sup> Although healing may be seen as more of a feminine art, the ability to do it would have helped to balance out the harsher masculine attributes needed for kingship such as punishing criminals or being a war leader. In this respect it was important for the king to be able to show himself to have some skill with some of these softer virtues, like healing.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), 48-50.

<sup>59</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 103-5.

<sup>60</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 63-7, & 94-102.

<sup>61</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 63-7.

<sup>62</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 28-9.

**Katherine Lewis's *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England***

In her book: *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, Katherine Lewis argues that standards of masculinity such as bravery, self-control, and dominance over their counsellors were important elements of how medieval kings were judged by their contemporaries. I include this book because it is about the traits of masculinity that influenced kings in Late Medieval England, and that would have also influenced Louis IX and other kings of France. According to Katherine Lewis, in late Medieval England masculinity played a role in kingship in several ways. For example, being a successful war leader was essential for a king to be seen as having the ability to be a good king, as was being seen to be in charge of the royal court.<sup>63</sup> Self-control and piety were also seen as being important masculine kingly traits.<sup>64</sup> All these traits could come and go in a king's reign. For example, in the first part of his reign Edward III was a successful warrior king and was seen as a good and just ruler, but in the second half of his reign he was seen as having become weak and lacking in self-control, all of which weakened his masculine kingship.<sup>65</sup>

One to two hundred years earlier in the France of Louis IX, masculinity also played an important role in the creation of the image of the king. The military failure of Louis IX in his Egyptian campaign would have tarnished his image as a great warrior king, and so he did not have the same reputation for military glory as the kings of England Edward III, and Henry V in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Yet Saint Louis had led successful military expeditions against rebellious nobles and also English invaders, and even on his failed Egyptian expedition, Jean de

---

<sup>63</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 23.

<sup>64</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 25.

<sup>65</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 2.

Joinville was able to show him as a brave and inspiring leader and knight at moments like the landing at Damietta and the Battle of Mansourah.<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, in 15th century England Henry V took care to always present himself as fighting in France for a just cause, namely the vindication of the inheritance and rights that he believed the French had stolen from him. Doing this was important for his masculine image and kingship, because a masculine king would not just fight for selfish ambition but for right and justice.<sup>67</sup> By going on crusade, Louis IX was not trying to vindicate his right to a kingdom like Henry V but was considered to be serving God and the Church, and so Louis IX, like Henry V was able to strengthen his image for masculinity by claiming to be fighting a good war.<sup>68</sup> Also, although in the latter part of his reign Louis IX did not fight wars and tried to keep the peace,<sup>69</sup> in the first part of his reign he fought wars against noble rebels and their English ally, but these wars, like the wars of Henry V were seen by Louis IX and his supporters as being fought to defend his rights.<sup>70</sup>

Furthermore Henry V was said to have been a rebellious and morally degenerate young man, but when he became king of England, he became a very morally upright king who rejected the sins of his youth.<sup>71</sup> Louis IX was usually said to have been morally upright and pious all his life, with a turn towards piety and austerity after his vow to go on crusade in December 1244.<sup>72</sup> After his return home, writers like Joinville and Geoffrey De Beaulieu agree that he lived a still more pious and austere life<sup>73</sup>. For Louis IX this turn towards a more pious and holy life occurred

---

<sup>66</sup> Jean de Joinville, "Life of Saint Louis", 122-7, 135, 146-7.

<sup>67</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 103-5.

<sup>68</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 112-3.

<sup>69</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 187.

<sup>70</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 527.

<sup>71</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 84-8.

<sup>72</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Sainly Comportment of Louis," 68-70, 90.

<sup>73</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Sainly Comportment of Louis," 91& Jean de Joinville, "Life of Saint Louis", 216.

after his vow to go on crusade and after his return from crusade.<sup>74</sup> This is in contrast to Henry V, for whom it occurred after his coronation.<sup>75</sup>

The book: *Masculinity and Kingship in Medieval England* shows several forms of masculinity relevant for medieval kingship in the Age of Henry V and Henry VI, and, also, in the age of Louis IX. These include: (1) skill as a soldier and a general in war; (2) fighting wars not just for vain ambition or glory, but for a just cause;<sup>76</sup> and (3) a moral transformation or change by the weight of the duties of kingship.<sup>77</sup> Louis IX may not have been as successful in war as Henry V, but he was seen as being a good warrior king while on crusade and while fighting against invasion and rebellion at home.<sup>78</sup> Also, like Henry V, Louis IX was seen as fighting for his royal rights against vain and ambitious men seeking to take them from him, and when Louis IX went on crusade, he was also seen as fighting a just war rather than a selfish war.<sup>79</sup> Finally, Louis IX, like Henry V was seen as having undergone a moral change to a more pious and abstemious life, although the change of Henry V came about from his kingship, while the change of Louis IX came from going on crusade.<sup>80</sup>

### **Christoph T. Maier’s “Propaganda and Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth-Century Sermons”**

According to the book chapter “*Propaganda and Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth-century Sermons*” by Christoph T. Maier, thirteenth-century preacher models for preaching the crusades emphasized models from the Old Testament, the role of the crusader as a

---

<sup>74</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 155-7; 131-2.

<sup>75</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 84-97.

<sup>76</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Medieval England*, 103-5.

<sup>77</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Medieval England*, 84-8.

<sup>78</sup> Jean de Joinville, “Life of Saint Louis“, 122-7, 135, 146-7.

<sup>79</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 57-69, 102-8.

<sup>80</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 155-7, 131-2.

vassal of God, and of God as a feudal lord, as well as the importance and merit of leaving behind family and home to serve the lord in a foreign land. These were, according to Christoph Maier, the primary terms in which the masculinities of the crusades were expressed.<sup>81</sup> I include this book because it discusses the qualities that crusaders needed to have to be successful crusaders, according to clergymen trying to convince nobles and kings, such as Louis IX and Jean De Joinville to go on crusade.

Usually figures from the Old Testament were cited to make a particular point about what was expected from crusaders. For example, the Maccabees and some of the great Israelite leaders from the Old Testament were used as examples of “zeal for the house of the lord.” Eli falling to his death in sorrow after the ark was lost could be used as an example of the sorrow that crusaders should feel about the loss of the holy land. Uriah the Hittite could be used as an example of shunning their homes and wives while they were needed in the field. Old Testament examples such as these were used to help motivate crusaders by appealing to manly, chivalric values. Also, characters such as Abraham and Jacob were used as examples of the rewards that could come from patiently obeying God and making sacrifices for his cause by going on crusade.<sup>82</sup>

In the case of Louis IX, he was compared to the Old Testament king Josiah, because both were pious from young ages and endeavored to lead their people to do proper worship and to purify their kingdoms.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Louis IX was also compared to Moses, because like him,

---

<sup>81</sup> Christoph T. Maier, “Propaganda & Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth-century Sermons,” In *Crusading and Masculinities in Crusade, Subsidia 13*, ed. Natasha Hodgson, Katherine Lewis, and Matthew M. Mesley (London: Routledge, 2019), 21-3.

<sup>82</sup> Christoph T. Maier, “Propaganda & Masculinity,” 23-6.

<sup>83</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, “The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis,” 66-8; William of Chartres, “On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Famous Memory, And on the Miracles that Declare his Sanctity,” In *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, ed. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean Field, trans. Sean Field, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2008), 114-6.



Louis IX was seen as a model for leading his people to salvation.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, preachers also encouraged crusaders by saying that the relationship between crusaders and God was akin to that between a lord and his vassal. For example, a lord on earth would gather his vassals together to go to battle to defend his lands and honor and would distribute his treasure to his vassals to reward them, and likewise God from this point of view called Christian knights to defend the holy land for him, and God would reward them with forgiveness of sins and heaven. Also, an important part of this was the mutual love between God and the crusader, which was compared to the love that a lord and his vassal held for each other. If vassals served their earthly lords, then they should so much the more serve their heavenly Lord, because their heavenly lord already had shown his love by giving them indulgences.

In the case of Louis IX, he was praised for risking everything to serve the Lord on crusade twice. For that reason, he could have been seen as having been a good vassal, especially since he apparently saw the defense of the holy land as being an important enough priority for him that he remained there for four years after he was ransomed from the Egyptians. Going on crusade to die for God could even be seen as imitating the suffering and death of Christ, and Geoffrey of Beaulieu indeed speaks of Louis IX as having been a martyr for Christ.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, an important part of the masculinity of crusading was being able to say goodbye to their wives, children, and parents, despite the fact that they may not have wanted to leave them. It would have especially been manly to go on crusade despite opposition from family, such as one's wife or mother. Doing this would have shown that a male crusader was man enough to

---

<sup>84</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis, King of the Franks of Famous Memory," 116-8.

<sup>85</sup> Christoph T. Maier, "Propaganda & Masculinity," 26-8; Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis," 67-8, 87.

assert his will to fight for God against even the will of his mother or his wife that he remain at home.

Furthermore, going in spite of sadness over leaving home and family would increase the blessings crusaders would receive from God for their sacrifices.<sup>86</sup> In Louis IX's case, he literally had to ignore the opposition of his mother, Blanche of Castille and of the bishop of Paris and others to go on the seventh crusade, which William Chester Jordan argues was an important moment of coming into his own for Louis IX.<sup>87</sup> In short, this article contains several common motifs that crusade preachers used to encourage thirteenth-century Christian men in Western Europe to go on crusade. All these motifs are important for understanding the masculinity and piety of King Louis IX.

### Conclusion

In summary, in this literature review I am discussing, four books, and one article as part of my master's thesis about piety, kingship, and masculinity in the kingship of Louis IX in thirteenth century France. The Books are: *Constructing Kingship* by James Naus, *Men at the Center* by William Chester Jordan, *The Royal Touch* by Marc Bloch, and *Kingship and Masculinity in Medieval England* by Katherine Lewis. The article is: *Propaganda and Masculinity* by Christoph T. Maier, and is found in the book: *Crusading and Masculinities*, edited by Natasha Hodgson, Katherine Lewis, and Matthew Mesley.

All of these books show the ways that masculinity shaped the piety and kingship of Louis IX, including both the ways that he sought to achieve salvation for himself and his people and

---

<sup>86</sup> Christoph T. Maier, "Propaganda & Masculinity," 28-30.

<sup>87</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 7-13.

the ways that he sought to create new standards of kingship for himself and his successors. They all show the different kinds of piety and masculinity that the king could use to strengthen his kingship. Touching for the king's evil, living an abstemious lifestyle, promoting men who shared his attitudes, and going on crusade for God, despite opposition were all different ways for Louis IX to use standards of masculinity and piety to strengthen his kingship.

This theme of the use of one or another standard of masculinity is found throughout these books. For example, *Constructing kingship* shows the importance of balancing being a good king with being a good crusader, and doing so would have strengthened the king's image as both a man and a king. This is because being a valiant crusader, and being a good king were both parts of his duty, and so doing a good job in both of these areas would have given him greater masculine prestige. *Men at the Center* showed the importance of the king picking men who shared his vision for his court and government. Successfully doing this would have been important for the king to implement his vision of how the kingdom should be, and also would have been critical for him to maintain his control over his government. Both of these things would have been essential for his masculine and pious prestige.

*The Royal Touch* showed the importance of the king as a healer of his people, and of having not just temporal power but a divine grace that allowed him to be a miracle worker. Like the last two points but in a different way, the king's ability to be a healer and miracle worker would have been important for the king to claim legitimacy as a ruler, and to be able to claim the masculine prestige he would have needed to be seen as a worthy ruler. This is because, being a healer and miracle worker would have strengthened the king's claim to rule by the grace of God, which was a large part of his legitimacy as a king.

The book *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* showed the importance of skill in war, and also of character traits like self-control for a king's masculine image and prestige, and the king's ability to rule his kingdom. The article: *Propaganda and Masculinity*, showed that behaving like a vassal of the lord, and going on crusade despite opposition was another important way for him to increase his masculine prestige, because being able to make his own decisions and execute them despite opposition was an important part of being a king, and would therefore have been important for building and maintaining his masculine and pious image.

These works all show the various masculinities that in the France of Louis IX built the king's image as a masculine and pious ruler, which gave the king the legitimacy he needed to rule. These masculinities included hegemony over his subjects, and especially over the great men of the realm, masculine bravery and leadership in war, and especially in holy war, and what I would like to call pious masculinity. I would like to define Pious Masculinity as pious behavior that men such as Saint Louis engaged in, in order to help fulfil the roles expected of them as men. One example of pious masculinity was touching for the king's evil, in which the king demonstrated that he could fulfil his duty of caring for his subjects. Another example of Pious Masculinity was going on crusade, in which the king demonstrated that he could be a loyal vassal of God.

In conclusion the works: *Constructing Kingship* by James Naus, *Men at the Center* by William Chester Jordan, *The Royal Touch* by Marc Bloch, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* by Katherine Lewis, and *Propaganda and Masculinity* by Christoph T. Maier, all show the different forms of masculinity that shaped the kingship and piety of Louis IX. These include the Masculinities of hegemony, bravery and skill in war, and masculine piety. These

facets of masculinity were some of the most important ways that the kingship of Louis IX was shaped.

## Bibliography

Bloch, Marc. *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*.

Translated by J.E. Anderson, New York: Routledge, 2015.

Duby, Georges. *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460*, translated by Juliet Vale. Oxford:

Blackwell, 1991.

Jean de Joinville, “The Life of Saint Louis,” in Geoffroy de Villehardouin and Jean de Joinville,

*The Chronicles of the Crusades*, translated by Caroline Smith. New York: Penguin

Books, 2008.

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia and Sean Field (eds.). *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*. Translated by Sean Field. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Geoffrey of Beaulieu. “Life and Sainly Comportment of Louis, Former king of the Franks, of Pious Memory.” In Gaposchkin M. Cecilia and Sean Field (eds.) *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*. Translated by Sean Field. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2011.

Hallam, Elizabeth and Everard Judith. *Capetian France, 987-1328. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001.

Jordan, William Chester. *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX. The Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lecture Series at Central European University, Budapest*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012.

La Barge, Margaret Wade. *Saint Louis: Louis IX Most Christian King of France*. Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1968.

Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint Louis*. Translated by Gareth Evan Gollrad. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.

Lewis, Katherine, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Maier, Christoph T. "Propaganda and Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth-Century Sermons." In *Crusading and Masculinities*. Edited by Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis and Matthew M. Mesley. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2019.

Naus, James. *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Earl Crusades*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Petit-Dutaillis, Charles. *The Feudal Monarchy of France and England: From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries*, translated by E.D Hunt. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner LTD, 1936.

William of Chartres. "On the Life and Deeds of Louis, King of the Franks of Famous memory, and on the miracles that declare his sanctity." In M. Cecelia Gaposchkin and Sean Field (eds.) *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*. Translated by Sean Field. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2011.

## ESSAY 2

## MANLY, BUT IN A PIOUS WAY: THE PIOUS MASCULINE KINGSHIP OF SAINT LOUIS

**Introduction**

The king of France Louis IX was canonized as a saint, because of his following of standards of pious kingship that had long been championed by the clergy. These standards of pious masculinity were articulated by the writers of the saint's lives of Louis IX written by Jean De Joinville, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, and William of Chartres, who praised the king for his bravery, self-control, attempts to guide his subject's devotions, and his sacrifice of his life and those of his men on crusade. All these facets of what I call Pious Masculinity were a part of the usual guidance that clerical writers gave kings in writings such as the mirrors for princes, and that other rulers like Henry III, Henry V, and Henry VI in England were also judged by. In many ways these standards went back to at least Carolingian times, so they dated back to long before Louis IX, and they would continue to influence future kings of France. Indeed, the fact that Louis IX was canonized for meeting these standards so well, meant that future kings of France were judged still more by the example that Louis set in following them, and so the style of kingship exemplified by Louis IX continued to influence future kings of France and following them could be a way for them to strengthen their rule.

In this paper, I define pious masculinity as being pious behaviors that were perceived to help a man to accomplish the duties and expectations imposed by his social status and gender. For example, having prayers said for his dead relatives would have been a piously masculine act because it was a pious act that also helped him to fulfill his obligation as head of the family, to care for his dead relatives. I wish to argue then that Geoffrey De Beaulieu, William of Chartres,



and Jean de Joinville used these standards of pious masculinity to judge Louis's performance of his duties as a man and as a king. Because, in their view and in the view of the crown and the church, Louis met (and often exceeded) these standards, Louis IX was ultimately canonized.

Matthew Mesley argues in his article: "Performing Plantagenet Kingship" that the chronicler Matthew Paris used standards of masculinity to judge the effectiveness of kings on the crusades. According to Mesley, for a thirteenth-century king like Henry III of England or Louis IX of France, going on crusade was one of the primary ways of expressing commitment to values like chivalry and devotion to the Church. It was thus also one of the primary ways that a king could then reaffirm his commitment to the values he needed to have to be a good king. The values of a good king were also the values of a good crusader, and to judge the one, chroniclers like Matthew Paris often saw need to judge the other.<sup>1</sup> In her book *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, Katherine Lewis discusses how masculine expectations of kingship shaped the successes and failures of late medieval English kings like Henry V and Henry VI. I will argue here that the contemporaries of Louis IX who wrote about him—Jean De Joinville, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, and William of Chartres—used similar standards of masculinity to judge the deeds of King Louis IX.

### **Historiography**

This will be a historiography of kingship, piety, and masculinity in thirteenth-century France. In this historiography, I will focus on three books and two chapters found in an edited volume, all discussing piety, kingship, and masculinity in one way or another. The books I will examine are: (1) *Saint Louis* by Jacques Le Goff (translated into English by Gareth Evan

---

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Mesley, "Performing Plantagenet Kingship," In "*Masculinities and the Crusades*," ed. Katherine Lewis, Christoph T. Maier, and Natasha Hodgson (London: Routledge, 2019), 278.

Gollrad); (2) *The Making of Saint Louis* by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin; and (3) *Masculinity and Kingship in Late Medieval England* by Katherine Lewis. The book chapters I will examine are: (1) “Performing Plantagenet Kingship: Crusading and Masculinity in Matthew Paris’s *Chronica Majora*” by Matthew Mesley; and (2) “Propaganda and Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth century sermons” by Christoph T. Maier. These articles were published in the book *Crusading and Masculinities*, edited by Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis, and Matthew M. Mesley. All these works discuss piety, kingship, or masculinity in Western Europe during the Middle Ages and directly relate to my study of piety, kingship, and masculinity in thirteenth-century France.

The first book I will examine is *Saint Louis* by Jacques Le Goff. Le Goff’s book does not directly address masculinity, although he does address the piety of Louis IX and, also, kingship. Le Goff argues that a king was expected to not just have the powers of a monarch, but also the virtues necessary for ruling well.<sup>2</sup> Medieval kingship had a well-developed stock of kingly duties that could be found in clerical writings as well as the Bible. These clerical guides to duties of kingship, as well as biblical examples, would have provided most thirteenth-century kings in Western Europe, including Louis IX, with some of their models for masculine and pious kingly behavior.<sup>3</sup>

Another book, *The Making of Saint Louis* by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, analyzes the construction of Louis IX as Saint Louis. This book also does not directly discuss masculinity much, but it does talk about piety. This book, too, speaks of clerical models for royal behavior. These model virtues included “piety, humility, chastity, clemency, and wisdom.”<sup>4</sup> The

---

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 316.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 321-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

broadcasting of these kingly virtues that Louis IX possessed helped to build up a saintly masculinity that played a large role in the king's subsequent canonization.<sup>5</sup>

I chose these books because they both have excellent discussions of the models of behavior expected of a saintly monarch like Louis IX. I appreciate Le Goff's discussion of the importance of mirrors of princes and how they helped to guide expectations for the conduct of rulers. I also find to be useful for my own study Gaposchkin's discussion of how saints' lives, writings which I make use of, presented a model for canonization, and her discussion of how the lives of saints were in many ways modelled.

These themes relate to the next book, *Masculinity and Kingship in Late Medieval England* by Katherine Lewis, which is about late medieval England, not thirteenth century France, but does focus on masculinity and kingship. This book discusses the ways in which strong kings like Henry V were able to build their images of masculinity. These ways included exercising self-control, and brave leadership on the battlefield, and going to war for what he and his supporters considered to be a just cause.<sup>6</sup> The book also shows how a slackening of masculinity could weaken a king's leadership. Sickness or old age could do this, as could a perceived lack of self-control.<sup>7</sup> Some of these traits of masculinity showed by Henry V in the 15th century, such as justice and self-control, were often found in mirrors of the princes. Louis IX in the thirteenth century and Henry V in the fifteenth century used very similar mirrors to guide their leadership, and so were influenced by the same or similar standards of kingship.<sup>8</sup>

According to Matthew M. Mesley in his book chapter "Performing Plantagenet kingship: crusading and masculinity in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*," the thirteenth-century English

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 30-36.

<sup>6</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 84-115.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 67-80.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 315-40.

chronicler Matthew Paris used standards of masculinity to judge the crusading successes and failures of kings.<sup>9</sup> For example, Mesley shows King Henry III of England petulantly losing his temper with the bishops he was meeting with, while they remained calm when they refused to pay a tithe of church wealth the pope had granted the king to pay for a crusade.<sup>10</sup> Such an episode would have undermined the masculinity of the king by showing him as lacking self-control.<sup>11</sup> A more positive example is Matthew Paris's showing the king of France Louis IX to be a steadfast crusader, because he remained determined to fulfill his vow to go on crusade despite opposition in his family and among some clergymen.<sup>12</sup> This article applies masculinity to the politics of crusading, something that has not been done much, since the crusades and high politics are not usually subjected to a gendered analysis.<sup>13</sup>

“Propaganda and Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth-century Sermons” by Christoph T. Maier analyzes how the composers of thirteenth-century crusade sermon manuals sought to appeal to their listeners' masculinity. They brought up themes such as a crusader being a vassal to God who would be rewarded by God as a good lord rewarded his vassal,<sup>14</sup> or that the suffering a crusader experienced from leaving his home meant that God would reward him even more. Preachers also called upon would-be crusaders to imitate

---

<sup>9</sup> Matthew M. Mesley, “Performing Plantagenet Kingship: Crusading & Masculinity in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*,” In *Crusading and Masculinities*, ed. Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis, and Matthew M. Mesley,” (London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis group, 2019), 276-7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 286-9.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 275-7.

<sup>14</sup> Christoph T. Maier, “Propaganda and Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth century Sermons”, In *Crusading and Masculinity*, ed. Hodgson Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis, and Matthew M. Mesley, (London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 26-8.

examples from the Bible.<sup>15</sup> Finally, preachers also made a gendered appeal to the crusaders by comparing the Church to a grief-stricken woman.<sup>16</sup>

Lewis's *Masculinity and Kingship in Late Medieval England* has given me a clearer idea of traits of masculinity that other scholars have identified as being associated with kingship. Lewis talks about useful traits of masculine kingship and, also, the sources where they are found.

I included the two articles in the book: *Crusading Masculinities* because Louis IX, the subject whose piety, masculinity, and kingship I will be exploring was a crusader, and so the crusades would have been an important part of his masculine kingship. Maier's "Propaganda and Masculinity" talks about themes used by thirteenth-century preachers that would have appealed to thirteenth-century men and their masculinity. Those sermons are a useful source of information on crusader masculinity. "Performing Plantagenet Kingship" by Matthew Mesley examines how the effectiveness of a king's crusading efforts could affect the king's masculine image. It also addresses how a king's demeanor could affect his masculine image and reputation. An important part of the subsequent image of Louis IX was his career as a crusader, and so articles about appeals to masculinity by crusade preachers, and about how the crusading efforts of a king could affect his masculine image, are useful for my project.

In summary, all the books and articles discussed above examine the ways in which medieval kings used piety, self-control, skill at war, and devotion to the crusades to affirm and strengthen both their kingship and masculinity. They also agree that the lack of such traits could undermine kings, their masculinity, and their power. They do not, however, explore in depth the role that piety and pious actions played in the construction of the masculinity of Louis IX.

Historians who have studied Louis IX, such as Le Goff and Gaposchkin, talk about piety, but

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 23-6.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 30.

they do not directly examine how traits of masculinity influenced the king's piety. Mesley and Lewis talk about masculinity in their articles and they also talk about piety, but their discussions are mostly about England, not France. The contributions that I make in this paper are to spread the discussion of masculinity to the France of Louis IX and to focus on piety as a part of the masculinity of Louis IX.

For this project, the king's behaviors that I will discuss as being piously masculine are: 1. bravery, 2. self-control, 3. charitable giving, and good works, 4. guidance of the worship and lifestyle of his subjects, and 5. going on crusade. I am considering these to be essential attributes of his pious masculinity because historians of royal masculinity and of royal piety frequently discuss them, and they are frequently found in the primary source documents I am using for this paper. They were clearly piously masculine behaviors that were considered to be ideal for a king, at least by his clerical biographers.

### **Primary Sources**

I will analyze three primary sources in this paper. These are: (1) *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*; (2) *The Chronicles of the Crusades*; and (3) *The Seventh Crusade 1244-1254, Sources and Documents*. While all these primary sources provide data on the piety, kingship, and masculinity of King Louis IX, the most relevant is *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres* because it is about what made Louis IX a model king, which can be seen as an argument about what gave him pious masculinity.

*The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, translated by Larry Field, and edited by Sean Field and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin,

contains the two lives of Saint Louis written by his confessors Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres,<sup>17</sup> as well as the canonization sermon by Pope Boniface VIII,<sup>18</sup> and three letters.<sup>19</sup> These documents are all translated into English and are available in book form. The letters include one from King Phillip III to the clergy in France,<sup>20</sup> one from Pope Gregory X to Geoffrey of Beaulieu,<sup>21</sup> and one from the Dominican chapter in France to the College of Cardinals.<sup>22</sup> These sources are most useful for explaining what it was about Louis that merited him being made a saint. They also are useful for showing us the ways in which he was a model king and a model man in the view of the clergy<sup>23</sup>. Their chief limitation is probably that almost all these documents were written by the clergy, and so they portray a very clerical view of the king. This also, however, makes this source useful for writing about pious masculinity because it focuses on the pious traits that in the view of the clergy made a king, an ideal man, and an ideal king. These traits would have included exercising self-control, giving charity, humility, and undertaking worship and study.<sup>24</sup> Using this source to analyze the pious masculinity of Louis IX would help me to look at the masculinity of Louis IX from a clerical perspective, something which has not yet been done.<sup>25</sup>

*Chronicles of the Crusades*, translated by Caroline Smith, contains *The Life and Deeds of Saint Louis* by Jean de Joinville. This work is translated into English and is available in book form. Jean De Joinville was a nobleman from Champagne in what is now eastern France. He was

---

<sup>17</sup> *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu & William of Chartres*, eds. Sean Field and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, trans. Sean Field (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 66-137.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 138-48.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-65.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-61.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-63.

<sup>23</sup> Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 93-104.

<sup>24</sup> *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, 70-86.

<sup>25</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 2013), 45.

the hereditary steward of the Count of Champagne, and he went on the Seventh Crusade with Louis IX in 1248-1254. There, he became friends with Louis IX, entered his service, and, after their return home from Crusade, was an occasional visitor at court.<sup>26</sup>

Joinville is important because he provides an important layman's perspective of the king. He talks about him not just as a saint, but as a secular king and military leader.<sup>27</sup> Joinville may have started writing his book in the 1270s, although it was not completed until the early fourteenth century. He wrote it at the request of Jeanne De Navarre, the Queen of France. Joinville wrote about his own memories and also did research to even out his narrative, and have it fit the genre of a saint's life.<sup>28</sup> The book was dedicated in 1309 to Louis X, the son and heir of King Phillip the Fair.<sup>29</sup>

The chief strengths of this source are that it is a secular source to balance the saints' lives written by the clergy, and that it was written by a man who knew the king personally. Its chief weakness is that parts of it were influenced by the sanctification of the king and, also, by official chronicles. Furthermore, it was written after the king's death. Indeed, much of it was written after the king's canonization and, as a result, Joinville would have been remembering the king in a very favorable light. This would have especially been so since his patron was the Queen of France, a woman whose husband King Phillip the Fair had worked hard to get Louis IX canonized.<sup>30</sup> The greatest usefulness of Joinville's account is that it gives information on the more secular side of Louis's masculinity. In it, we see Louis as a king and as a warrior.

---

<sup>26</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 181.

<sup>27</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 377.

<sup>28</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 182-5.

<sup>29</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 376.

<sup>30</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 48.



Other more secular primary sources can be found in *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-1254: Sources and Documents*, translated by Peter Jackson. These documents are translated into English and are available in book form. This book contains ten chapters, each of which has an introduction to give some context and analysis of the documents, and then the primary source documents themselves translated into English.

These chapters cover the king vowing to go on crusade, his preparations, the stance of the Holy Roman Emperor, other crusade efforts, the first part of the crusade, what was happening on the Muslim side, criticisms and explanations for why the crusade was unsuccessful, the Pastoreaux Crusade of 1251, attempts by other Christian kings to aid Louis IX, and finally the four years stay in the Holy Land by Louis IX.<sup>31</sup> The documents in this book come from letters, chronicles, sermons, songs, and other sources.

The great strength of this collection is the wide variety of documents it presents on many topics related to the Seventh Crusade. Its sources are mostly clerical, but there are some popular culture sources, including poems by troubadours, and there are letters between heads of state.<sup>32</sup> Its greatest weakness is that being about the Seventh Crusade it is only useful for a limited part of the piety and masculinity of Louis IX. However, the crusades were one of the most important facets of the king's piety and masculinity. I am using these sources, both primary and secondary to discuss the piety and masculinity of Louis IX of France, the first aspect of this piety and masculinity that I will discuss is bravery.

### **Bravery**

---

<sup>31</sup> Peter Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-1254: Sources and Documents* (London: Routledge, 2009), 7-8.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-29.

This section discusses the Kings bravery and the role it played in the kings pious and masculine reputation. One of the most important qualities of masculinity that the king possessed was bravery. This was a more secular or neutral form of masculinity, although being brave while on crusade would have increased the masculine prestige he could demonstrate as a crusader. Whether on crusade or at home, being brave and skilled in war was at any case a necessity for a king's reputation as a leader in war.<sup>33</sup> Although Louis IX was defeated and captured in Egypt, he nevertheless was at least recognized by writers like Joinville as having been a brave and conscientious war leader,<sup>34</sup> which allowed his reputation as a great crusader to remain fairly intact.

Joinville speaks of Louis IX as having risked his life for his people four times while on the Seventh Crusade. The first time was when Louis went to shore with his troops when they landed at Damietta on the Egyptian coast at the start of the Seventh Crusade. The advisors of the king advised him to wait, so that he would not risk getting himself killed, but the king did not heed their advice, and instead went into the sea, with water up to his armpits, carrying a lance and a shield, and he had to be restrained from charging the Muslims once he reached the shore. Joinville saw this as being an example of Louis risking his life to save his people, although his advisors saw it as potentially dangerous recklessness.<sup>35</sup>

This story of Louis IX going ashore with his troops to fall upon the Muslim forces waiting on the shore at Damietta is also mentioned in a letter from Jean De Beaumont, a chamberlain of the king to Geoffrey of La Chapelle, one of the kings Senechals, although Jean

---

<sup>33</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 22.

<sup>34</sup> Jean de Joinville, "The Life of Saint Louis," in Geoffroy de Villehardouin and Jean de Joinville, *The Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 185, 199-207.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 142-4.

De Beaumont speaks of the king and his men as being brave, not reckless<sup>36</sup>. Also, the letter from Gui, a knight of the Viscount of Melun to a Master B. De Chartres speaks of the king ordering his men ashore to attack, and that after the Saracens were routed they were prevented from further pursuit by their leaders, likely including the king. According to Gui it was not until after the shore had been secured that the king landed<sup>37</sup>. These versions perhaps make the king still look brave but also more prudent.

At any case with these versions of the landing at Damietta, we see that all or most agreed that he was a brave and charismatic war leader, but that he also was seen by some as being reckless and imprudent. In their eyes, the masculine qualities of bravery and prudence were perhaps in some conflict in the king.

A second time that Joinville says Louis IX risked his life for his people was when after the French retreat from Mansourah, he was advised to get on a galley, and return back to Damietta because he was sick and his army was on the verge of destruction. Louis IX refused, because he did not want to abandon his men to die. In his deposition in the inquiry into the sainthood of Louis IX, the king's brother Charles of Anjou also speaks of this incident. Charles and several of the king's councilors urged him to escape on a galley to Damietta but the king refused so he could stay with his people.<sup>38</sup>

Incidentally, The King and his army were indeed captured by the Muslims. Like with the last example, this can be seen as an example of brave and charismatic leadership, and even of great nobility but, also, perhaps of a lack of prudence.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> "Jean De Beaumont Royal Chamberlain to Geoffrey De La Chapelle" (25 June 1249) in *The Seventh Crusade*, 98-101.

<sup>37</sup> "Gui, a household knight of the Viscount of Melun to Master B. De Chartres" (Late 1249) in *The Seventh Crusade*, 100-102.

<sup>38</sup> "Fragments of the Deposition made by Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily, (1282)," in *The Seventh Crusade*, 127-128.

<sup>39</sup>Jean de Joinville, "The Life of Saint Louis," 142-4; 222-3.

A third example was when Louis IX decided to remain in the Holy Land rather than return to France after he was ransomed and sailed back to the crusader port of Acre. He believed that if he left the Holy Land at that time, that the crusader strongholds there would probably soon fall, while his realm of France would be fine for the time being. He also believed that he needed to be close on hand if he wanted to get his men who were still captive in Egypt freed. In the letter he sent to his subjects, Louis IX also made these points when he explained to his subjects why he decided to remain in the holy land longer. Yet, once again most of his advisors wanted him to return to France and saw a further stay overseas as being a neglect of his kingdom.<sup>40</sup>

The fourth instance in which Louis IX risked his life for his people was when he was sailing home and his ship ran aground on a rock, and the keel was damaged. He was advised to leave the ship with his family, but decided to stay, so that the rest of the passengers would not also leave and get stranded on the island of Cyprus. These instances of bravery and a willingness to sacrifice his life and interests for his subjects or for the Holy Land were considered to be some of his most admirable actions by Joinville, yet many people also considered them to be imprudent.<sup>41</sup>

So, in spite of the fact that the actions of Louis IX were controversial and could be considered irresponsible or neglectful, they are also an example of his often talked of conscientious attitude towards his kingship, in that they show that brave and honorable behavior were according to Joinville some of the kings most admirable traits.

Another example of the king's bravery is that according to William of Chartres after Louis IX's capture by the Muslims in Egypt, he was considered to have been remarkably calm and unfazed. For example, he refused despite threats to make promises that would be harmful for

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 142-4, 250-3. & "Louis IX to his subjects in France, (August 1250)," in *The Seventh Crusade*, 125-7.

<sup>41</sup> Jean de Joinville. "Life of Saint Louis," 242-4.

the Crusaders cause. He was also unfazed when the Mamluks who had just assassinated their sultan came into the prison brandishing bloody swords. Also, William of Chartres remarked that even the ransom that Louis IX had to pay to be freed was miraculously small, as though his Muslim captors did not know what they were doing.<sup>42</sup> The down payment for the ransom was two hundred thousand livres of Paris at a time when the crown's yearly revenues are estimated to have been two hundred and fifty thousand livres of Paris. So, the ransom was a significant sum, although thanks to tithes from the clergy and loans from the Templars, the payment was possible for the crown to make without much hardship.<sup>43</sup> If there was a miracle, it would have been that the king was able to make a deal with the new rulers of Egypt to get the rest of the prisoners freed and the rest of the ransom cancelled, rather than that the ransom was remarkably small.<sup>44</sup>

Louis IX's bravery was considered to be a sign of the king's piety, as we see when William of Chartres quotes a verse from Proverbs, "The just bold as a lion, shall be without dread."<sup>45</sup> This would have probably been the reason that William of Chartres placed a discussion of Louis IX's courage in a book meant to help argue that the late king should be made a saint. It was also considered to be an important trait of masculine leadership, as we see when William of Chartres says: "All who were there, even the higher Christian nobility were amazed at how confident and unperturbed he was, while they were themselves quite afraid."<sup>46</sup> No doubt, for Louis IX's men imprisoned in Egypt, for those at home in France, and for those in the crusader principalities, the king's courage and firmness, or stories of it, would have helped boost morale during an uncertain and fearful time.

---

<sup>42</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 117-9.

<sup>43</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 103; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 145.

<sup>44</sup> Malcolm Billings, *The Crusades: The War Against Islam 1096-1798* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2010) 202.

<sup>45</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 118.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

Of course, this emphasis on his bravery in the face of peril can be seen also as an attempt to salvage Louis IX's reputation after his expedition to Egypt spectacularly failed. Emphasizing that, at least, the king of France had in some respects been a successful leader and brought some measure of glory to France and to Christendom likely would have been especially important given how shocking the failure of this crusade was after how well prepared it was and how earnest Louis IX was to go<sup>47</sup>.

### **Charity and Good Works**

This section discusses the king's charitable giving and his good works, and the role they played in the construction of the king's piety and masculinity. Another way in which Louis IX performed royal masculinity was through his extensive charitable donations and good works, including good works that were considered to be especially repulsive. For example, according to William of Chartres, Louis IX went to Sidon to bury the bones of some of his men who had been killed by the Turks while they were rebuilding the walls. These bodies had been rotting for some time and stank terribly, but Louis IX still personally gathered up the remains of the bodies and helped to bury them "...as though he were in a perfumed chamber."<sup>48</sup>

Also, after Louis IX returned home from crusade, he would every day feed a few poor beggars at his table and would personally serve them. Sometimes he would offer them food from his own plate.<sup>49</sup> It is recorded that, one day, Louis IX was eating a rich pudding and also gave some to a poor man seated at his table. The poor man ate his fill of it, and then the king finished

---

<sup>47</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 35-6; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 280-1.

<sup>48</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 119-20.

<sup>49</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 123; Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 79-80.

the rest for him, despite the fact that the poor man had been eating the pudding with his dirty fingers.<sup>50</sup> Kings and nobles giving charity to the poor was very common, although the scale of Louis IX's charity was unusual, although it was comparable to that of his contemporary, King Henry III of England.<sup>51</sup>

According to Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, in 1248, between one quarter and one third of the financial accounts presented to the court on the Feast of the Ascension went towards patronage of the clergy alone compared to one fifteenth in the Ascension account in 1202.<sup>52</sup> Also, according to William Chester Jordan, the amount the king spent on charity every year may have been between 2,000-7,000 livres of Paris.<sup>53</sup> The king would also wash the feet of poor people. While washing the feet of one of these poor, the king scrubbed out the dirt between the man's toes. It shocked observers to see the king doing this.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, at the Abbey of Royaumont, which had been founded by the king and his mother, and was one of his favorite places to stay, there was a leprous monk; Louis washed and kissed this man's feet.<sup>55</sup>

Louis IX caring for the sick and the poor would have been an important part of his pious masculinity because piety in thirteenth-century Europe was increasingly focused on the imitation of Christ and the Apostles. By imitating them by performing these kinds of acts, Louis IX was following in the footsteps of the recently created monastic orders of Dominican and Franciscan

---

<sup>50</sup> William of Chartres, "On the life and deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 123.

<sup>51</sup> David Carpenter, *Henry III 1207-1258: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 285-97.

<sup>52</sup> Judith Everard and Elizabeth Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328, Second Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 300. The Ascension was one of three times per year that the king's baillis and provosts presented their financial accounts to the court.

<sup>53</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 183.

<sup>54</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 124-5.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

friars and, especially, Saint Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order, and one of the most famous examples of this sort of imitation of Christ through tending to the less fortunate.<sup>56</sup>

### **Self-Control**

Another one of the most important standards of pious masculinity for Louis IX was self-control. If a king did not have self-control, then he would be ruled by his own appetites and passions rather than by a desire for the common good of his subjects and kingdom, and he would not be able to rule with the blessing of God, or bring the blessings of peace, justice, and salvation to his subjects.<sup>57</sup> According to Louis's biographers, Louis IX exhibited self-control in several ways.

One of these examples of Louis IX's self-control was his control of his physical appetites. According to Joinville, Louis IX had a temperate appetite and would not order special dishes but would just eat what his cook had prepared for him.<sup>58</sup> Also, according to Geoffrey of Beaulieu, Louis IX would sometimes give the large fishes or other delicacies at his table to the poor, and he would just eat bread and water on Wednesdays and Fridays. He would also do this during Lent, Advent, and on other important holy days.<sup>59</sup> He would water down his wine and even his sauces and gravy.<sup>60</sup>

According to Le Goff, this dietary moderation was a common trope for kings. Charlemagne had also been a moderate eater and drinker. It was apparently considered to be manly and kingly to have a moderate appetite. Although, to be sure, it was also considered to be

---

<sup>56</sup> Clifford Backman, *The Worlds of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 490-1.

<sup>57</sup> Le Goff Jacques, *Saint Louis*, 320-328 & Lewis Katherine, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* 24-28.

<sup>58</sup> Jean De Joinville, "Life of Saint Louis ", 216.

<sup>59</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life of Saint Louis ", 78-79.

<sup>60</sup> Jean de Joinville, " Life of Saint Louis, " 216; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 510-511.



kingly to put on a good feast for dignitaries and nobles, and Joinville and Matthew of Paris both describe the great feasts that Louis IX held.<sup>61</sup> Joinville said that when Louis IX held court, including a great feast at Saumur in 1241 to celebrate his brother being knighted and receiving his inheritance, it was the most well-ordered court he had ever seen.<sup>62</sup> Louis IX had to thread the line between being a generous king who could put on a good spread and a moderate king who could control his appetites.<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, Louis IX also practiced sexual self-control. During Lent and Advent, he would avoid having carnal relations with his wife. Also, when he was first married, he practiced the custom of the four nights of Tobias. That is, he did not have carnal relations with his wife for the first four nights of his marriage.<sup>64</sup> Sexual self-control was considered to be essential for a king because using reason to control himself would lead to using reason to control his kingdom. God would reward him for this self-control by preserving his kingdom and giving him heirs to his throne.<sup>65</sup> Heirs to the throne produced by moderate and legitimate sexual activity was seen as a reward from God for control of sexual passions.<sup>66</sup>

### **The King as Guide**

In this section, I will talk about the king's role as a guide of the Christian community of his realm. It was part of the king's role to serve as a guide in order to fulfill his responsibility to

---

<sup>61</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 513-18.

<sup>62</sup> Jean de Joinville, "Life of Saint Louis," 125.

<sup>63</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 514-7.

<sup>64</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis," 72; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 89.

<sup>65</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, 89.

<sup>66</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 324.

lead his subjects to salvation. It was also important for a king to be a leader in general and to guide his subject's faith and behavior.<sup>67</sup> So, this role was an important part of kingly masculinity.

According to William of Chartres, other pious people would realize after dealing with Louis IX that they were not as good, humble, or pious as they had thought they were. Furthermore, Louis IX was compared to a mountain that his subjects looked to guide them to salvation.<sup>68</sup> William of Chartres was trying to make an argument that Louis IX ought to be canonized, and one could say, that William of Chartres was trying to praise his memory. Louis IX, however, was probably also seen by William of Chartres as following a model that had developed in the time of Charlemagne and his advisor Alcuin, in which the king was supposed to know the faith, teach it to his subjects, and make sure they understood it. The king was a teacher and a guide for his subjects, and a leader of the Christian community.<sup>69</sup>

This can be seen in several other ways. For example, Joinville mentions a few times when Louis IX gave him advice on religious matters. Louis IX once asked Joinville which was worse, having leprosy or committing a mortal sin. Joinville replied that he would prefer committing thirty mortal sins to having leprosy. The next day, Louis IX told Joinville that he had spoken imprudently because there was no leprosy as bad as sin. Louis IX then asked Joinville if he washed the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday. Joinville replied that he did not because doing that would make him sick. Louis IX then told Joinville that he should not hesitate to do what God had done. Louis IX went on to ask Joinville to wash the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> J. M. Wallace-Hadrille, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 101-2.

<sup>68</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 115-6.

<sup>69</sup> J.M. Wallace-Hadrille, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*, 101-2.

<sup>70</sup> Jean de Joinville, "Life of Saint Louis," 149.

This anecdote was meant by Joinville to show the king's piety and wisdom. However, we may also interpret this story as being about Louis trying to guide a subject towards salvation by teaching him how horrified he should be by sin and the good works he should do as penance. Whether Joinville intended to or not, in talking of the king teaching him about piety and sin, he presented Louis IX as understanding the Catholic faith and teaching it to his subjects, just as the advisors of the Carolingian kings, such as Alcuin, had said that kings should do.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, Louis IX, in attempting to convince Joinville to wash the feet of the poor, can also be seen as trying to paternalistically guide Joinville towards a godlier lifestyle.<sup>72</sup>

Another example of Louis IX trying to teach his entourage proper Christian behavior is when he tells Joinville that the way to be honored by men in this life and win salvation in the next life is to not do anything that would bring one shame if everybody knew about it.<sup>73</sup> In this anecdote, Louis IX was guiding Joinville by teaching him how to live with honor, something that would have been especially important for the masculinity of Louis IX, because, according to Geoffrey of Beaulieu, Louis IX made it a point to fill his household and administration with men of virtue and honesty.<sup>74</sup> Making a point of teaching his friends and courtiers how to behave honorably was an important part of creating a household and administration that would reflect honorably on the king.

Also related to this was Louis IX's provocation of a debate between Robert de Sorbon and Joinville about which was better, a *prud'-homme* (a good man of action) or a *beguine* (a contemplative man). Louis IX intervened in the debate and argued for it being better to be a

---

<sup>71</sup> J.M. Wallace-Hadrille, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*, 101-2.

<sup>72</sup> Jean de Joinville, "Life of Saint Louis," 149.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>74</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis," 69-70.

*prud'-homme*.<sup>75</sup> This again shows Louis IX teaching his courtiers what kind of piety he believed was best. In this instance, he was teaching that a sort of piety that mixed action and prayer, the kind preferred by the Dominican and Franciscan friars and exemplified by Mary Magdalen, was the preferred sort of piety.<sup>76</sup>

Another important part of the king's role as a guide and leader of the Christian community in France was Saint Louis attempting to learn about the Catholic faith by studying it and by listening to sermons. According to Geoffrey of Beaulieu, while Louis IX was imprisoned in Egypt, he learned about a sultan that kept copies of the Muslim holy books in a cabinet that he would study and allow others to study. Louis IX was inspired by this and ordered new copies made of the Bible and the writings of various early Christian fathers. He studied them himself and permitted others to study them.<sup>77</sup> Louis IX also listened to sermons, and apparently remembered and retold them well, and he was sometimes known to join the monks in their lessons when he stayed at the Abbey of Royaumont.<sup>78</sup>

Furthermore, Louis IX has been associated with some of the great intellectuals of the thirteenth century. There is an exemplum, (or anecdote told in sermons to make a moral point) in which Louis IX asks the Franciscan friar Saint Bonaventura, who was a famous intellectual and also became head of the Franciscan Order, which was worse: to never have existed or to be in perpetual enmity against God? Saint Bonaventura responded that one could only be perpetually enemies with God if one had done something that was a perpetual offense against God, and to have never existed would be better than that. Louis IX said that he agreed with this opinion.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Jean De Joinville, "Life of Saint Louis," 150.

<sup>76</sup> Katherine Ludwig Janson, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and popular devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 49-50.

<sup>77</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis," 85.

<sup>78</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly comportment of Louis," 85; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 617-8.

<sup>79</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 289-90.

Also, at least once, Saint Thomas Aquinas, a famous thirteenth-century Dominican intellectual was said to have eaten with Louis IX at the same table. According to legend, Saint Thomas Aquinas was sitting there, distracted, and suddenly hit the table with his fist and exclaimed: “That finishes the Manichees!” Louis IX ordered that Aquinas’s new insight be written down.<sup>80</sup>

Despite this anecdote, there is no other evidence that Louis IX and Saint Thomas Aquinas actually met and associated together, the story was likely later told by the Dominican Order of preaching friars, to which Thomas Aquinas belonged, to strengthen its association with Louis IX.<sup>81</sup> In fact, the association of Louis IX with the Dominican and Franciscan friars was strong, and when some of the faculty of the University of Paris objected to the presence of Dominican and Franciscan friars in the university faculty, Louis IX sided with the friars.<sup>82</sup> Despite the king's reputed discussions with famous intellectuals according to Geoffrey of Beaulieu, Louis IX preferred studying official scriptures like the Bible or the Church fathers like Saint Augustine rather than the writings of the university academics.<sup>83</sup>

Although Saint Louis was apparently not very interested in the academic theology of his time, he did support the University of Paris, as had his predecessors. He supported it because having the finest university in Europe in his kingdom helped to cement its place as one of the foremost kingdoms in Europe and having theologians to discover and teach the ways to attain salvation would have been considered essential for enabling the king to lead himself and his people to salvation.<sup>84</sup> So important was learning considered to be for salvation that on the French royal symbol, the fleur de lis, the two lower petals symbolized knowledge and chivalry holding

---

<sup>80</sup> Margaret Wade La Barge, *Saint Louis: Louis IX Most Christian King of France* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), 163; Collette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 100.

<sup>81</sup> Collette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 100.

<sup>82</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 610-4.

<sup>83</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, “Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis,” 84-5.

<sup>84</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 69-73, 273-4.

up the top petal faith, meaning that knowledge was as integral as Christian knighthood for the upholding of the faith.<sup>85</sup> So, it would have been important for Louis IX's pious masculinity to demonstrate that he cultivated wisdom and encouraged others to cultivate it also. Wisdom and learning were considered by John of Salisbury, the twelfth century bishop of Chartres, to be essential virtues for a wise king to cultivate. So, studying himself and encouraging others to also study would have been an important part of the king's pious masculinity.<sup>86</sup>

Also, it was important for French prestige for Paris to be seen as the successor of Athens and Rome and as the new seat of learning in Western Europe, much as Germany was the seat of the Holy Roman Empire and Rome was the seat of the Pope.<sup>87</sup> Patronizing the university in Paris, protecting it, and confirming its privileges were important components of the king's masculinity because doing so allowed him to protect and encourage the sort of educational activity that could help him to accomplish his task of saving his subjects' souls as well as his own.

Aside from learning and teaching about the faith, another aspect of Louis IX as a guide for his people was his acquisition of holy relics and his organization of processions in their honor. Acquiring and preserving holy relics was an important part of the piety of Louis IX, as it was for most medieval Christians. According to Le Goff, medieval Christians' passion for relics was comparable to the passion that Ancient Romans had for observing the flights of birds or the entrails of animal sacrifices.<sup>88</sup> Relics, which were pieces of the bodies of the saints, Christ, or the Virgin Mary, or objects associated with them, were considered to be vital for the salvation of the

---

<sup>85</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 273-4.

<sup>86</sup> *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the fourth, fifth, and sixth books and selections from the seventh and eighth books of the Policraticus*, trans. John Dickinson (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963) 24-31.

<sup>87</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 69-73; 273-5.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

king and his people. Possessing and protecting them was a great honor and could bring both divine blessings and protection.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, losing a relic could sometimes lead to mass panic, as happened in France under Louis IX when a holy nail that had been used to crucify Christ went missing while on display. Louis IX stated that he would have preferred losing the greatest city in his kingdom to losing that relic.<sup>90</sup>

Aside from their spiritual importance, relics were also matters of state. Rulers like Louis IX and Frederick the Wise (Duke of Saxony) as well as churchmen sought out and collected relics. Relics also attracted pilgrims.<sup>91</sup> Louis IX's most famous relic acquisition was his purchase of Christ's crown of thorns from the Latin Emperor of Constantinople. He brought it to Paris, where he placed it in the royal chapel in Notre Dame until he could build a new chapel for it. This new chapel was the Saint Chapelle.<sup>92</sup> Louis IX not only built a new chapel for the crown, but also, according to William of Chartres, organized a yearly procession to honor it. The new procession in honor of the Crown of Thorns was held on the day after the feast of Saint Lawrence, or August 11<sup>th</sup>, while the new procession in honor of the piece of the holy cross that Louis acquired was held on the day after the feast of Saint Michael, or September 30<sup>th</sup>.

In these processions, the relics which were decorated with gold and precious stones were carried by chanting clergy and behind them came the king, the nobility, and the people. According to William of Chartres, this was a way to use the very things that had been used to put Christ ignominiously to death to bring honor to his name.<sup>93</sup> So, organizing and leading such processions to give honor to Christ was an important way for the king to show his people how to

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 94-95.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 80-82.

<sup>91</sup> Thomas A. Fudge, *Medieval Religion and its Anxieties: History and Mystery in the other Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 238-40.

<sup>92</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis," 85-6.

<sup>93</sup> William of Chartres, "On the Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 116.

honor and worship God properly. As William of Chartres said, “For his public proclamation of divine praise, not only more than honey to his tongue, but more than all the other delights about him flowed into the ears and hearts of people.”<sup>94</sup> By publicly acquiring these relics, organizing processions in their honor, and even standing behind the clergy, but still in front of his lay subjects, Saint Louis was guiding his subjects towards a humble attitude toward holy relics, toward the doctrines and institution of the Church, and toward devotion to the faith that would lead to their salvation.<sup>95</sup> As a king, paternalistically guiding his subjects towards their salvation would have been an important part of Louis IX’s pious masculinity, because, at least since the time of Charlemagne, clerical supporters of monarchy had been saying that kings needed to guide their subjects and mold their behavior.<sup>96</sup>

Louis IX also tried to guide his subjects through his participation in daily worship services. According to Geoffrey of Beaulieu, when some nobles criticized Louis IX for praying too much, Louis IX responded by remarking that if he spent twice as much time hunting and playing dice games, nobody would criticize him.<sup>97</sup> Louis IX practiced a very demanding worship regimen. He heard mass once every day, and sometimes two or three times. He also heard matins, prime, vespers and the other daily prayer services the monks also took part in. He heard the hours of the virgin and in the evening would recite fifty Ave Marias. His prayers served important functions for his kingship. As the head of his family, they allowed him to intercede with God for his ancestors, parents, children, siblings, and household. In this way, as head of the family, he could assist his living and dead relatives by interceding with God and the saints for them not only as the head of household, but as the head of the kingdom. His prayers, like the

---

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>96</sup> J.M. Wallace-Hadrille, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*, 101-2.

<sup>97</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, “Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis,” 82.



acquisition of relics, helped the king to fulfil his role of being a mediator between God and his subjects.<sup>98</sup> In this respect, his strict regimen of public and private prayers and masses were an important part the king's effort to save himself and his subjects, and were also an important part of his pious masculinity because Louis IX was through his prayers trying to protect his family and subjects for the next life.

### **Going on Crusade**

This next section is about how going on the seventh and eighth crusades helped to give Louis IX his reputation as a saintly monarch and also is about how the crusade was one of the ways that Louis IX was a model king in the eyes of his biographers. Going on these crusades was one of the primary reasons that the writers of the saints' lives of Louis IX argued that Louis IX should be made a saint. Geoffrey of Beaulieu, the king's confessor and the first person to write an account of the king's life, thought that Louis IX, by going on crusade, sacrificed himself, his family, and his men for the cause of Christ.<sup>99</sup>

Crusaders sacrificing themselves and their interests for the cause of Christ was often a prominent theme of sermons by preachers encouraging nobles to go on crusade. One theme that preachers often brought up was that leaving behind one's family and home to go on crusade was considered to be praiseworthy, especially when their family was in opposition to the vow as was Blanche of Castille, the mother of Louis IX.<sup>100</sup> Another prominent theme that preachers often used and that Louis IX seemed to embody was being a vassal of the Lord. The preachers spoke of the relationship between God and man as comparable to the relationship between a lord and

---

<sup>98</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 627-34.

<sup>99</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis," 67-8.

<sup>100</sup> Christoph T. Maier, "Propaganda & Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth-century Sermons," 23-30.

his vassal; as a feudal lord would reward his vassals for serving him well by giving him lands and wealth, so God would reward a vassal who served him well with indulgences to help them gain salvation.<sup>101</sup>

Louis IX went on crusade twice. The first time he went, he spent six years in Egypt and the Holy Land. The second time he went, he died<sup>102</sup>. Because of this, writers like Geoffrey of Beaulieu considered Louis IX to be a martyr. In the view of many, Louis IX embodied the ideal vassal faithfully serving his heavenly lord on crusade without regard for his own life.<sup>103</sup> So, by going on crusade despite the opposition of his mother and of some of the clergy, and by being an especially fervent crusader, Louis IX was embodying the masculine attributes that thirteenth-century preachers said a noble-born crusader ought to have.

Related to Louis IX's embodiment of crusading masculine virtues, is the fact that, after the failure of the crusade, many people felt that because of the king's virtues and efforts, the fault for the failure lay more with others than with him. Indeed, after Louis IX failed, some of his subjects and other contemporary observers wondered if God still favored crusading at all.<sup>104</sup>

Pope Innocent IV and the troubadour Austorc D'Aurillac, both gave Louis IX credit for doing everything he could to succeed. They laid blame for the crusade's failure at the feet of others. For example, Pope Innocent IV, in a letter to the Queen Mother and regent Blanche of Castille, said, "...no small means of comfort stems from the fact that the king does not appear to have been guilty of neglect or inadequacy in the business of the cross, to which he devoted himself and his possessions completely in preference to his own interests. Wherefore some transgression on the part of the people have offended in the light of the Almighty, on account of

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 26-28.

<sup>102</sup> Malcolm Billings, *The Crusades*, 103-6; 195-209.

<sup>103</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis," 67-8.

<sup>104</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades Volume III*, 280-1.

which he has allowed so heavy a loss to occur for the correction of his own.”<sup>105</sup> Another example is found in a poem by the troubadour Austorc D’Aurillac: “O God, why did you bring this great misfortune on our generous and courtly French king when you allowed him to suffer such humiliation, him who labored to serve you with all his power and by night and day devoted his heart and mind to your service, and strove to do and say what would please you?”<sup>106</sup> These quotes show that, for many people, Louis IX had been a very devoted crusader who had tried hard to succeed, but God had decided not to bless his expedition with success, perhaps to urge his co-religionists to repent.

This kind of devotion to the crusade would have been important for Louis IX’s pious masculinity because it would have made him look like a devoted vassal of God who helped to lead many of his subjects to salvation by allowing them to earn indulgences on a crusade. In this way being a devoted crusader would have been an important part of his mission of saving himself and his subjects, and it would have been important also for building up his pious masculinity.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion this paper discusses the construction of an image of pious and masculine kingship by the writers of the saint’s lives of Louis IX by Jean De Joinville, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, and William of Chartres. This paper argues that bravery and calmness, charitable giving and good works, exercising self-control, guidance of his subject’s worship, beliefs, and behavior, and going on crusade were all masculinely pious behaviors and attributes that the writers of the Saints lives of Louis IX emphasized that the king possessed. The king showed he

---

<sup>105</sup> “Pope Innocent IV to Queen Blanche (August 1250),” In *The Seventh Crusade*, 193-15.

<sup>106</sup> “Austorc D’Aurillac,” In *The Seventh Crusade*, 203.

possessed these attributes by behaving according to stock expectations that had been expected of kings at least since the time of Charlemagne, such as being a brave war leader or a guide. By emphasizing that the king possessed these attributes, they were arguing that he should be made a saint because they showed that he possessed the pious masculinity appropriate for an effective Christian monarch and a saint. I define pious masculinity as pious behaviors that help a man to fulfill his expected status and gender roles. In emphasizing that the king was following these standards of royal pious masculinity, the king's biographers were also emphasizing that he was a model king of France who, even more than his predecessors had followed the ideals of Christian kingship that the clergy taught kings should follow.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Geoffrey of Beaulieu. "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks of Pious Memory." In *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*. Edited by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean Field, and translated by Sean Field Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Jean de Joinville. "The Life of Saint Louis." In Geoffroy De Villehardouin and Jean de Joinville. *The Chronicles of the Crusades*. Translation by Caroline Smith New York: Penguin Books, 2008.

Jackson, Peter. *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-1254: Sources and Documents*. London: Routledge, 2009.

John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury: Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus*. Translation by John Dickinson New York: Russell & Russell, 1963.

William of Chartres. "On the Life and Deeds of Louis, King of the Franks of Famous Memory and on the Miracles That Declare his Sanctity." In *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*. Edited by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean Field, and translated by Sean Field. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

### Secondary Sources

Backman, Clifford. *The Worlds of Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

- Beaune, Colette. *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France*. Edited by Fredric L. Cheyette & Translated by Susan Ross Huston. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991.
- Billings, Malcolm. *The Crusades: The War Against Islam, 1096-1798*. Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2010.
- Carpenter, David. *Henry III 1207-1258: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule*. New Haven: Yale University Press 2020.
- Everard, Judith and Elizabeth Hallam. *Capetian France, 987-1328. Second Edition*, New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Fudge, Thomas A. *Medieval Religion and its Anxieties: History and Mystery in the Other Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and the Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Janson, Katherine Ludwig. *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Jordan, William Chester. *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- La Barge, Margaret Wade. *Saint Louis: Louis IX Most Christian King of France*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint Louis*. trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).
- Lewis, Katherine, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013).

Maier, Christoph T. "Propaganda & Masculinity: Gendering the Crusades in thirteenth century sermons." In *Crusading and Masculinities*. Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis and Matthew M. Mesley (London & New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2019).

Mesley, Matthew M. "Performing Plantagenet Kingship: Crusading & Masculinity in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*." In *Crusading and Masculinities*. Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis and Matthew M. Mesley (London & New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2019).

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades Volume III: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

Wallace-Hadrille, J. M. *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford University Press: London, 1971).

## ESSAY 3

### SALVATORY STATESMANSHIP:

#### THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN GOVERNANCE AND FAITH IN LOUIS IX'S COURT

##### **Introduction**

This paper is about how King Louis IX of France strove to rule his kingdom and save his soul and those of his subjects through acts of governance. Visions of salvation and pious masculinity shaped how Louis IX governed his kingdom. This, in turn, influenced the ways that his successors governed. In this paper, I will be writing about how Louis IX's desire for salvation (for both himself and his subjects) influenced his government reform, moral surveillance of his subjects, and peacekeeping in medieval France. Louis IX's governmental reforms helped to make him popular and reinforced his image of piety and good kingship. Because of this, governmental reform ordinances, the deployment of investigators, and the issuance of decrees banning or regulating blasphemy, usury, prostitution, and gambling remained ways by which future kings of France proved that they were governing well. Louis IX's peacemaking among his vassals, his relatives, and neighboring kings also played an important role in contributing to his reputation as a pious king. In this paper I will show how standards of good government, such as those articulated by writers Geoffrey of Beaulieu, William of Chartres, and Jean of Joinville, were integral to the way that Louis IX used statecraft to construct an image of himself as a pious monarch dedicated to the mission of saving his subjects' souls.

##### **Literature Review: Historiography**



Louis IX's approach to government and religion have been addressed in some detail by other academic studies. In this section, I will discuss how four of those studies address the subject. Then, I will lay out how I intend to approach it.

Justine Firnhaber-Baker's *Violence and the State in Languedoc: 1250-1400* discusses Louis IX's peacemaking efforts in southern France and how they were a continuation of the Peace of God movement, a movement initiated by Catholic clergymen in the tenth century to reduce armed violence against non-combatants and Church properties in western Christendom. Yet, as Firnhaber-Baker argues, Louis IX was also an important figure in the transition from the concept of the keeping of the "peace of God" to the keeping of the "peace of the king."<sup>194</sup> Louis IX expanded peacekeeping efforts in southern France by banning private wars and the destruction of peasant tools and crops as well as by defining with greater precision what "breaking the peace" meant and by compelling his subjects to make and keep truces while he was on crusade. These edicts were issued solely by the authority of the king, although at this point, they were still enforced in cooperation with the Church.<sup>195</sup>

According to Firnhaber-Baker, Louis's successor, Phillip the Fair, took Louis's precedents and expanded them by more explicitly arguing for the king's role as a divinely appointed judge and peacekeeper. Phillip also argued more explicitly for the importance of preserving the kingdom's resources for wars for the public good.<sup>196</sup> In short, *Violence and the State in Languedoc* presents Louis's peacekeeping in southern France as a continuation of the Church's earlier efforts to promote peace and order across western Christendom and Louis as a key figure in making peacekeeping a royal responsibility rather than a purely ecclesiastical one.

---

<sup>194</sup>Justine Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) 37-8, 42-3.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 37-47.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 71-4.

Rachel Stone's *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* examines a historical period well before the reign of Louis IX but is still useful for understanding the role of masculinity in matters such as governance and warfare in the lands that would eventually become the kingdom of France. Stone analyzes the standards of good government that were expected of counts and judges in the Carolingian empire. These standards included judging everyone equitably (including the poor and weak) and not taking bribes.<sup>197</sup> Stone also discusses the prerequisites for becoming an imperial official in the Carolingian empire: (1) being a male; (2) being a Christian; and (3) being a lay nobleman.<sup>198</sup> However, aside from these standards of conduct, few expectations for the personal morality of officials were articulated in Carolingian times.<sup>199</sup>

Stone also discusses the standards for peacekeeping in the Carolingian period. These standards included the belief that a war was justified so long as peacemaking efforts were first undertaken. War could not be justified if the parties involved were willing to accept a reasonable peace.<sup>200</sup> Wars could legitimately be fought only against the wicked and the rebellious. They could also be fought against pagans to bring them to Christianity.<sup>201</sup>

Stone's study of governance and warfare in the Carolingian period is relevant for understanding the reign of Louis IX because many of the practices and views that she describes remained in evidence in Louis IX's time. The reform ordinances issued by Louis IX put in place standards for judges and officials that were similar in many ways to those also articulated in Carolingian times, although the ordinances of Louis IX focused more on the personal morality

---

<sup>197</sup> Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 153.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 148-9.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-5.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 91-4.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-7.

expected of officials than Carolingian edicts or advisors did.<sup>202</sup> Carolingian views on war also were still influential during the time of Louis IX. He fought wars that he and his entourage could conventionally consider to be legitimate such as wars against rebellious nobles and the English during the first part of the reign, and then the seventh and eighth crusades during the second part.<sup>203</sup> Yet, he also worked to make peace with his neighbors and among his subjects during the second part of the reign.<sup>204</sup>

William Chester Jordan's *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* includes extensive discussions of government reform, including the *enqueteur* investigations. Jordan also addresses how the king's new standards impacted his selection of his new *baillis* and how they shaped the *baillis'* supervision of their subordinates. According to Jordan, Louis IX sent his *enqueteurs* (itinerant investigators) to prepare for his crusade by addressing his subjects' complaints. Jordan argues that this was both a good work in a pious sense and a matter of state.<sup>205</sup> Following the crusade, Louis IX sent them out again, both to repent of any misgovernment he may have done that might have brought divine disfavor to his previous crusade and to prepare for a new one.<sup>206</sup>

These investigations helped the king to figure out which *baillis* and *senechals* were performing their duties well and which were doing poorly. This knowledge allowed him to replace many of the incompetent ones before and after the Seventh Crusade. Furthermore, the king's supervision of the *baillis* caused the *baillis* themselves to improve their supervision of the provosts, sergeants, and other lower-level officials in the French bureaucracy.<sup>207</sup> In sum, *Louis*

---

<sup>202</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009) 157-61.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 527-8.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 523-6.

<sup>205</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979) 51-7.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 158-71.

*IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* argues that governmental reform in Louis IX's France was simultaneously a practical matter of finetuning administrative institutions and an act invested with moral and spiritual significance by which the king demonstrated his commitment to Christian principles.

Jacques Le Goff's *Saint Louis* focuses on Louis IX's ordinances, investigations, peacemaking efforts, and moral legislation. Le Goff argues that, following the king's return to France from the holy land when the Seventh Crusade had ended, Louis IX not only lived a more austere personal life than ever before, but he also governed in a more penitent way. This penitence and the interests of state combined to set the tone for how he ruled his kingdom.<sup>208</sup> For example, his edicts of 1254 and 1256, both of which sought to reform the practices of his *baillis* and *senechals* and suppress vices such as gambling and prostitution, were demonstrations of the crown's increasing power to issue decrees applicable to specific regions or even to the entire kingdom.

These declarations were an important part of Louis IX's efforts to assure his own salvation and that of his subjects.<sup>209</sup> Le Goff also argues that efforts to make peace and ensure justice were joined together in Louis IX's France. Justice was necessary for peace, and peace was necessary for justice. Both, in turn, were necessary for the salvation of the king and his subjects.<sup>210</sup> Furthermore, Louis IX did not understand peace as merely a lack of war, but, rather, as a state of moral order.<sup>211</sup> For this reason, moral reforms and the suppression of vice were especially important to Louis IX. Thus, like Jordan, Le Goff sees Louis IX's governmental reforms and legislative activities as inseparable from his spiritual concerns.

---

<sup>208</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 155-7.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-61.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 521-7.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 526.

A common observation across the four works discussed above is the importance of peace and reform in Louis IX's efforts to rule in a way that would bring salvation to himself and his subjects. The material presented by four authors also suggests that Louis IX chose to rule in a way that would give him a particular kind of masculinely pious prestige. This prestige would allow him to build up the power and effectiveness of his kingship and allow him to win the favor of his subjects. All four scholars suggest that, for Louis IX, mundane matters of government, the men who were given important government posts,<sup>212</sup> and peace treaties and arbitrations were viewed as essential matters for salvation for the king and his subjects.<sup>213</sup> Long before Louis IX's time, kings seem to have made some of these connections between salvation and good governance, but, for some of Louis IX's contemporaries, he performed rule for salvation so effectively that his very style of governance became an important element of the argument for his canonization.

In this paper, I will add to the current discussion of Louis IX's governing styles and strategies by focusing on the ways that Louis IX, by ruling to save his subjects' souls, was also ruling according to a certain kind of royal pious masculinity. Ruling justly and equitably was, in a sense, ruling piously. According to Katherine Lewis, to rule justly and pious was also seen as ruling masculinely in a royal way.<sup>214</sup> So, I would like to add to the current scholarship on Louis IX's rule for salvation by considering how, in doing so, he was constructing and deploying masculinely pious standards of kingship.

### Primary Sources

---

<sup>212</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 51, 61, 144, 158.

<sup>213</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 521-7.

<sup>214</sup> Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 34-5.

The primary sources I am using are *The Life of Saint Louis* by Jean de Joinville and *The Early Lives of Saint Louis* by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres. Jean de Joinville was a nobleman from the Champagne region of what is now eastern France. There, he was hereditary *seneschal* of the count of Champagne. Joinville was a friend of Louis IX and accompanied him on the Seventh Crusade. Following the crusade, Joinville remained one of Louis IX's courtiers.<sup>215</sup> Joinville's *The Life of Saint Louis* is regarded as one of the most important primary sources on Louis IX's reign because it gives an intimate perspective on the king from a layman, something that is rarely found for medieval kings.<sup>216</sup> For this paper, Joinville's work is useful because he discusses Louis IX's reform ordinance and peace efforts. Although some of Joinville's models and information may have been borrowed from other hagiographies or chronicles, he was still a witness to much of what he describes and/or collected accounts directly from eyewitnesses.<sup>217</sup>

Two more primary sources I will be using are the lives of Louis IX by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres, which have been published together in English translation in the book, *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Two Early Lives of Saint Louis*. Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres were both Dominican friars who personally served Louis IX. Geoffrey of Beaulieu was the king's confessor for almost twenty years. William of Chartres was the king's chaplain. William of Chartres accompanied the king on the Seventh and Eighth crusades, and Geoffrey of Beaulieu accompanied him on the Eighth crusade. Both men were present at Louis IX's death in Tunis in 1270.<sup>218</sup> Following Louis IX's death, Pope Gregory X asked Geoffrey of

---

<sup>215</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 377.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 377-81.

<sup>217</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 182-5.

<sup>218</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 256-9.

Beaulieu to write a biography of the king as a part of the Church's investigation into whether Louis IX should be canonized. Years later, William of Chartres, also, wrote a biography of Louis IX to touch on some topics that Geoffrey of Beaulieu neglected to include in his work.<sup>219</sup>

Both works are important primary sources on the reign of Louis IX, especially because they were written to highlight what it was about the king that in their view made him worthy of canonization. Thus, they are integral to how the king and those around him cultivated an image of pious, masculine leadership. For this paper, I will concentrate on what were their views on Louis IX's peacemaking activities and efforts at just rule.

### **Louis's Governance and Reform**

In this section, I will discuss the influence of Louis IX's pious masculinity on future kings and their efforts to reform the government of the realm and rule morally. For Joinville, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, and William of Chartres, one of the most important parts of Louis IX's kingship was his ability to discipline his officials and keep them accountable to him. He mainly did this in two ways: (1) he issued ordinances of reform that regulated the professional practices and personal conduct of his officials, and (2), he sent out *enqueteurs* to find and address his subjects' complaints of being oppressed by the king's officials. By these two means Louis IX endeavored to fulfill the expectations of the clergy and his people that he would oversee the behavior of his officials.

### **Louis's Governance and Reform: Ordinances for Government Reform**

---

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

By Louis IX's time, the kings of France were increasingly able to issue ordinances that were general for the entire kingdom.<sup>220</sup> An ordinance was an act issued by the king with the council of his barons and that could be applicable either to a certain part of the kingdom, or to the entire realm.<sup>221</sup> These ordinances were not unique to Louis's reign. For example, in 1209, Louis's grandfather, Phillip Augustus, issued an ordinance on the inheritance of fiefs.<sup>222</sup> However, Louis issued more of these ordinances than his predecessors had, and his ordinances were often further reaching.<sup>223</sup> One of the most famous of these ordinances was the Great Ordinance of 1254, later revised in 1256, which Joinville copied into *The Life of Saint Louis*.

This ordinance regulated the conduct of the king's *baillis*, *senechals*, and other officials. It also laid down many regulations on public morality. It forbade *baillis* and *senechals* from giving partial justice, confiscating property without full examination of the case, taking or giving bribes, imprisoning debtors (unless they were indebted to the king), and inflicting arbitrary fines or imprisonment. It also forbade the king's officials from gambling, visiting taverns, visiting prostitutes, or acquiring personal interests through buying land, making marriage alliances, cloistering their relatives, or selling their post. Furthermore, a Bailli was supposed to either remain in his district or keep a representative to answer charges against his conduct for forty days after leaving his post.<sup>224</sup>

*Baillis* and *senechals* were the primary representatives of the king of France in his demesne lands, so they were at the top of the French provincial administrative hierarchy. "*Bailli*" was the title used in northern France, and "*seneschal*" was the title used in southern France for

---

<sup>220</sup> Fawtier Robert, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation 987-1328*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (Macmillan Press: London, 1960), 191-3.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, 214-5.

<sup>223</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 554-6.

<sup>224</sup> Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Jean de Joinville, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 320-3.



the same office. These officials' duties including holding regular court sessions, gathering revenues, and issuing orders.<sup>225</sup>

According to Joinville, the Great Ordinance of 1254 was issued after Louis's return from crusade. Louis issued it because, at that time, he had devoted himself to Christ, loved justice and, therefore, wanted to reform his kingdom.<sup>226</sup> Also, according to Geoffrey of Beaulieu, following Louis's return from the Seventh Crusade, the king tried to be more pious and more just and, thereby, further increase his virtues.<sup>227</sup> These authors' analyses indicate that following his return home he was trying to live a more pious life and to be a more just king to his people.

Issuing the reform ordinances of 1254 and 1256 were part of Louis's efforts to rule as a Christian monarch, and, so, were also part of what made him an ideal Christian king in the eyes of his biographers.<sup>228</sup> Following Louis's example, future kings, such as Phillip the Fair and Charles the Wise, also projected images of themselves as righteous leaders by issuing ordinances of reform of the government of the realm. For example, Phillip the Fair (1285-1314) issued a famous reform ordinance in 1303 as part of his efforts to mollify his subjects, who were discontented by his taxes, and heavy-handed governance.<sup>229</sup> Likewise, Charles the Wise (1364-1380) issued ordinances regulating various aspects of his government as a part of his efforts to restore sound governance to France after the disasters of the early part of the Hundred Years War.<sup>230</sup>

---

<sup>225</sup> Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy of France and England*, 185-6, 247-8, 298.

<sup>226</sup> Jean de Joinville, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, 319-323.

<sup>227</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks, of Pious Memory," In *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, trans. Larry F. Field, ed. Sean Field and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 109.

<sup>228</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 157-61; Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, 320-3.

<sup>229</sup> John Bell Henneman, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing 1322-1356* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 29; Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians: Kings of France, 987-1328* (London: Humbledun Continuum, 2007), 249.

<sup>230</sup> James Collins, *From Tribes to Nations: The Making of France, 500-1799* (New York: Wadsworth Thomson learning, 2002), 144, 161-4.

Issuing ordinances was an important way for the king to assert his power over his kingdom. Likewise, issuing decrees to preserve good customs or change bad ones was an important way for the king to demonstrate his ability to lead himself and his people towards salvation and to rule in a way that emphasized his influence as a king and a man over his people.<sup>231</sup> So, issuing ordinances to reform the government was central to Louis's assertion of royal Christian masculinity.

### **Louis's Governance and Reform: Sending out Itinerant Commissioners**

Another way that Louis IX sought to ensure proper behavior in his government was by sending out *enqueteurs* into his lands to investigate his subjects' complaints against his men. *Enqueteurs*, also known as *reformateurs*, were commissioners from the royal court who were sent out into the kingdom by the king to hear and examine complaints made by the king's subjects against the activities of the royal government or of the king's officials.<sup>232</sup> These commissions from the royal court for the purpose of investigating various matters, asking for oaths of loyalty, or learning the king's rights were not invented by Louis IX. The *baillis* themselves had originated as itinerant commissioners sent by Phillip Augustus to keep the *provosts* in check and exercise the king's rights.<sup>233</sup>

However, Louis IX's deployment of *enqueteurs* was the first instance of a French king investigating his subjects' allegations of misconduct done to them by royal officials.<sup>234</sup> Louis IX first began deploying *enqueteurs* in 1247, before he left on the Seventh Crusade. He intended

---

<sup>231</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 557-9.

<sup>232</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 51.

<sup>233</sup> John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Phillip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 125-36.

<sup>234</sup> Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy of France and England*, 298.

this act as a form of restitution for his sins and those of his men before setting off on crusade. At this time, the *enqueteurs* were primarily Dominican and Franciscan friars, because the king's investigations were at least as much a pious work as a matter of state.<sup>235</sup> Following Louis IX's return from crusade in 1254, he sent out more *enqueteurs*, and he continued to do so for the remainder of his reign. Once again, many of the *enqueteurs* were friars, but this time Louis IX included more laymen, such as knights from the royal court, to make sure the friars were not duped by clever officials.<sup>236</sup>

As part of their mission of redressing the grievances of the king's subjects, these *enqueteurs* usually handed down judgements that were favorable to the appellants. For example, ninety percent of pleas made by poor widows were resolved in their favor.<sup>237</sup> These investigations both helped reveal the abuses that the king's men committed, which led to the above-mentioned ordinances of 1254 and 1256 and also helped to reveal which of the king's men were fulfilling their duties well and which were not. So, these investigations allowed the king to remove corrupt officials and replace them with men who met the king's standards. Both before and after the Seventh Crusade the king replaced many of his officials with new men whose behavior met the king's approval.<sup>238</sup> These investigations and the efforts to find men with the standards Louis IX demanded of his officers were fairly successful in reforming the government, later investigations show less accepting of bribes, and use of office for profit, and more royal officers punishing assaults and murders.<sup>239</sup>

---

<sup>235</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 51-8.

<sup>236</sup> Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy of France and England*, 298.

<sup>237</sup> Jordan William Chester, "Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade", 153.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-64, 152-68.

<sup>239</sup> Sivéry Gérard, *Saint Louis et son Siècle* (Paris: Tallandier 1983) 542, 548.

The use of the *enqueteurs* became an important component of Louis IX's reputation for good government. This is demonstrated by the fact that Geoffrey of Beaulieu mentions them explicitly in the section of his life of Louis IX that is entitled: "On the Direction of his Subordinates". Geoffrey of Beaulieu emphasizes that Louis took great care to supervise his officials and that sending out *enqueteurs* was one of the ways that Louis IX did this.<sup>240</sup> William of Chartres also discusses the *enqueteurs* in his life of Louis IX, where he calls them "...diligent and thoughtful..." This shows that, for William of Chartres, the *enqueteurs* had a reputation for being exemplary and thorough in their supervisory duties.<sup>241</sup>

So, for both Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres, holding officials accountable for their administration and protecting the most vulnerable members of society from them was an important part of the pious kingship that Louis IX modeled. Doing these things was also an important part of Louis IX's masculinity because he was protecting his subjects, who were his dependents, from harm and injustice. This would have been an essential part of a king's duty as a lord and as a divinely appointed king.

Louis IX's successors, such as Phillip the Bold and Phillip the Fair, also sent out *enqueteurs*, although they now deployed them not only to curb abuses by the king's officials, but to investigate wrongs committed by the king's subjects, such as breaking the coinage ordinances or, especially, acquiring fiefs without royal permission. In many instances, Louis IX's successors also authorized their *enqueteurs* to collect subsidies and negotiate royal taxes with assemblies or

---

<sup>240</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 75-6.

<sup>241</sup> William of Chartres, "The Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Famous Memory, and on the Miracles That Declare his Sanctity," 143.

town consuls.<sup>242</sup> Under Louis IX's successors, these *enqueteurs* were often accused of extorting money, committing torture, and taking bribes.<sup>243</sup>

As a result, they often became feared and detested, although, in some instances, they still did investigate official wrongs, as they had in Louis IX's time, and doing this was considered to be an important part of rooting out abuses from the royal government. So, in instances such as the noble leagues of 1314-1315, the nobility still demanded that *enqueteurs* be sent to investigate abuses of the king's officials.<sup>244</sup> However, the *enqueteurs* were often now focused on enforcing fines, or taking lump sums in lieu of the fines, because until the 1360s-1370s, the crown's tax system was incapable of providing for the kingdom's needs.<sup>245</sup> So, the tradition of sending out *enqueteurs* to address the grievances of the king's subjects remained long after the death of Louis IX, although these investigators also started adding new duties to raise more money for the crown and to enforce royal laws. As a result, their holy and just reputation was eventually weakened in the eyes of the king's subjects.

### **Moral Reform**

Apart from Louis IX's efforts to reform the government of his realm and ensure just rule, he also strove to use his royal power to ensure his subjects salvation (and his own) by suppressing their personal vices, such as gambling, prostitution, usury, and blasphemy.

### **Moral Reform: Prohibition of Gambling**

---

<sup>242</sup> John Bell Henneman, "Enqueteur-Reformateurs and Fiscal Officers in Fourteenth Century France," *Traditio* 24 (1968), 309-20.

<sup>243</sup> Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians*, 249-50.

<sup>244</sup> John Bell Henneman, "Enqueteur-Reformateurs and Fiscal Officers in Fourteenth Century France," 319-20.

<sup>245</sup> John Bell Henneman, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971) 16; Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2009) 124-5.

Louis IX's ordinances of 1254 and 1256, which regulated the professional conduct of his officials, also forbade his subjects from gambling. More specifically, the ordinances banned board games such as chess and backgammon, dice games, and the manufacture of dice. Louis IX believed that any kind of gambling was sinful. He also seems to have believed that his subjects' indulgence in gambling may have angered God, who, in turn, had allowed the Seventh Crusade to fail.<sup>246</sup> Louis IX made a point of publicly rejecting gambling even before he had returned home. On board a ship in Acre, Louis IX came upon his brother, Charles of Anjou, and one of his knights gambling shortly after their release from imprisonment in Egypt. In response, Louis IX grabbed the dice and gameboard from the men and threw these gambling implements overboard.<sup>247</sup>

Louis IX was not the first leader in France to attempt to suppress dice and board games. In the Middle Ages in Western Europe many churchmen feared that popular amusements including games of chance distracted people from using their leisure to honor god, and also provoked sinful emotions like greed, envy, and anger, which could lead to violence or blasphemy.<sup>248</sup>

For these reasons the Council of Paris in 1212 forbade both dice and board games. Nor was Louis IX the last to attempt to ban gambling. Following his death, edicts continued to be issued banning dice games. (Edicts issued in 1291 and 1396 are some examples of this.) In the fourteenth century, Charles V forbid his subjects from gambling and told them to practice archery instead.<sup>249</sup> The suppression of gambling, whether it was well enforced or not, was a

---

<sup>246</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 159-60.

<sup>247</sup> Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, 245.

<sup>248</sup> Robert Fossier, *The Axe and the Oath: Ordinary Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 266-7.

<sup>249</sup> Paul LaCroix, *France in the Middle Ages: Customs, Classes, and Conditions* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1963), 234-7.

means by which Louis IX and other French kings sought create a moral kingdom by reforming the moral character of their individual subjects.

### **Moral Reform: Prohibition of Prostitution**

Another aspect of Louis IX's reform efforts was his decree (part of the Ordinance of 1254) on the expulsion of prostitutes from the towns that were under the authority of the French crown. Prostitutes now had to set up shop outside these towns.<sup>250</sup> When the edict was renewed in 1256, it was revised to allow prostitutes to return to the towns, but it still required that they stay away from churches, cemeteries, and the town center. This revision may have come about as a result of Louis IX's advisors convincing him that some prostitution was necessary, but that it should be regulated.<sup>251</sup> At this time, Louis IX adopted other measures for combatting prostitution, most notably by creating the Filles Dieu, a home for prostitutes who wished to leave their profession.<sup>252</sup> He also gave dowries to poor girls who might otherwise be forced into prostitution because of their inability to afford marriage.<sup>253</sup>

Louis was not the first to experiment with such programs. His efforts were continuations of policies that had been begun by churchmen of the early thirteenth century, such as Foulques de Neuilly. Neuilly had recognized that many women chose prostitution out of poverty rather than lust, and he encouraged dowries to be given to poor unmarried girls and to prostitutes who wished to reform themselves. Neuilly had also encouraged the creation of houses for women who wished to escape prostitution. Another cleric, Robert of Courson, had advocated for

---

<sup>250</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 159.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>252</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 189.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

expelling prostitutes from the center of Paris in the early thirteenth century.<sup>254</sup> Prostitution in the Middle Ages was considered to be a sin by the Church, and so had to be condemned, yet it was also believed that to an extent prostitution had a necessary function in society, so it had to be tolerated.

This was why it was allowed a limited existence, and protection yet was discouraged by professional and legal restrictions.<sup>255</sup> This was also why by the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many cities in France had a protected red-light district where there was often a single house owned by the city or by the wealthy townsmen where prostitutes could legally work, often under the protection of the king or of a great nobleman. Prostitution outside this house or district was suppressed and was banned from city centers.<sup>256</sup> So, Louis, in trying to suppress or regulate prostitution, was following the general trend of the late twelfth through fourteenth centuries. Nonetheless, Louis IX's anti-prostitution activities would have contributed to the king's larger drive to ensure individual and national salvation by suppressing or limiting vice in his kingdom.

### **Moral Reform: Prohibition of Usury**

Another case of Louis IX's efforts to reform the morals of his subjects can be found in the usury laws of his reign. Usury or the lending of money at interest was considered by the Catholic Church to be a sin. At least since the time of the Church Fathers like Saint Augustine, and Saint Jerome, interest payments were considered to be something that brought inequality and injustice to otherwise equal business relationships, and they were even considered to be unnatural and presumptuous because they seemed to sell time which only belongs to God, and to

---

<sup>254</sup> John W. Baldwin, *Paris. 1200* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 33-5.

<sup>255</sup> James A. Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law," in *Signs* 1-4 (Summer 1976), 830, 836-38.

<sup>256</sup> Leah L. Otis-Cour, "Prostitution," In *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler & Grover A. Zinn (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 764.



make money, which is not alive, unnaturally reproduce.<sup>257</sup> Usury was also considered to be a cause of hardship for many of the king's subjects.

Despite these beliefs, there was a growing recognition in thirteenth-century Europe that loans with interest were necessary for the economy and that someone had to lend money at interest.<sup>258</sup> Because many small-scale money lenders were Jewish, anti-usury measures were often closely tied with anti-Jewish measures. Moreover, tales of usurious lending were woven into popular medieval anti-Semitic tropes together with Jewish blood rituals, sacrilege, and blasphemy. The association of usury with Jewishness was a huge contributing factor to European Christians' hostility toward Jews.<sup>259</sup> Thus, anti-usury legislation was sometimes used to persecute Jews.

Louis IX used royal ordinances to forbid usury in 1230, 1243, and 1254, and he had Jewish usurers banished and their wealth seized in 1249, 1257, and 1268. Louis IX's campaign against usury reached beyond the France's Jewish community.<sup>260</sup> He also banished Christian money lenders from Lombardy and seized their wealth in 1268.<sup>261</sup> However, William of Chartres's account of Louis IX's anti-usury campaign suggests a specific anti-Jewish character of this campaign. When he forbade France's Jews from practicing usury, he answered his advisors' objections by saying the Jews were his concern because they were his dependents, while the Christian usurers could be dealt with by the Church. So, he claimed, he would specifically suppress Jewish usury to prevent it from further harming his realm.<sup>262</sup> Here we see

---

<sup>257</sup> Joel Kaye, *A History of Balance 1250-1375: The Emergence of a New Model of Equilibrium*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) 20-6; Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum (New York: Zone Books, 1990), 28-31.

<sup>258</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 181-2, 539-40, 653.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, 539-40; 650-3.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 181-2; 539-40.

<sup>261</sup> Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987-1328*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 313.

<sup>262</sup> William of Chartres, "The Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Famous Memory, and on the Miracles that Declare his Sanctity," 143.

Louis imaging himself as taking on an aspect of moral reform that was beyond the jurisdiction of the Church (as the Church was primarily concerned with the souls of Christian believers). In this case, Louis IX also took it upon himself to use anti-usury laws to create a more “righteous,” “Christian,” and “French” kingdom through the suppression or expulsion of non-Christians and foreigners.

Louis IX followed in the footsteps of a long tradition of banning or restricting usury. Charlemagne and various Church councils had earlier forbidden usury, although, by the end of the twelfth century, it had been legalized in France at a rate of 43%. Furthermore, the crown sometimes would give exemptions from the ban to certain towns or fairs. After Louis IX’s death, Phillip the Fair legalized usury so long as it was at a rate of less than 20%. Starting in the time of Charles V, a money lender could lend at 16%. Meanwhile, Louis IX’s successors continued to expel usurers and confiscate their goods occasionally. Such expulsions happened in 1277, 1291, 1311, and 1331. After Jewish moneylenders were again stripped of their privileges in 1394, Italian moneylenders came to monopolize moneylending in France.<sup>263</sup> So, Louis IX’s anti-usury policies can be seen as the beginning of a longer trend of the crown controlling who could lend money and at what interest rates while simultaneously forcing non-Christians (Jews) out of the moneylending business. Through both these measures, Louis IX sought to create a financial sphere that was, in his view, more moral and Christian.

### **Moral Reform: Prohibition of Blasphemy**

Louis IX endeavored to suppress blasphemy in his kingdom. His predecessors, such as Phillip Augustus, had previously endeavored to suppress blasphemy among their subjects. Phillip

---

<sup>263</sup> Lawrin D. Armstrong, “Usury,” in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 942.

Augustus had threatened fines or a dunk in a river as punishments for blasphemy.<sup>264</sup> However, Louis IX greatly increased the crown's efforts to root out blasphemy. He once infamously branded the lips of a bourgeoisie in Paris who had blasphemed. When he was in Syria on the Seventh Crusade, he once had a blasphemous goldsmith put in a pillory with pig entrails placed around his neck.

Many of Louis IX's subjects thought his branding of the lips of the blasphemous townsman was too harsh a punishment. However, Jean de Joinville and Geoffrey of Beaulieu both went out of their way to praise Louis IX for imposing this harsh punishment. Both writers quoted Louis IX as saying that he would himself suffer branding on the lips if it would destroy blasphemy in his kingdom.<sup>265</sup> Their use of this quote to defend Louis IX suggests that the punishments he prescribed for blasphemy may have been questioned or criticized by many of the king's subjects. However, Louis IX, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, and Jean de Joinville all believed that such harshness was justified because, in their eyes, profaning God or the Virgin Mary and condemning baptized souls to go to the devil were serious offenses.<sup>266</sup>

Laws against blasphemy had a long history in Western Europe. This was because in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, it was considered by many to be an offense against the norms and values of the community, against God, and against public authority. Blasphemy in their view could lead to some sort of divine punishment like a plague. For these reasons Blasphemy required a public punishment to rid the community of this offense and threat.<sup>267</sup> So, for example Charlemagne and Louis the Pious had ordered capital punishment for blaspheming

---

<sup>264</sup> Jim Bradbury, *Phillip Augustus: King of France 1180-1223* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998), 167.

<sup>265</sup> Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, 318; Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks of Pious Memory," 109-10.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> David Nash, "Analyzing the History of Religious Crime: Models of Active and Passive Blasphemy since the Medieval Period," *The Journal of Social History*, 41-1 (Fall 2007), Vol. 41, No.1, 6-9.

inside a Church, while in 1236, Pope Gregory IX issued a decree punishing blasphemers by banning them from Church during high mass and making them go about with no shoes or cloak and with a cord around their neck. In the late 1260s, Pope Clement IV prohibited mutilation or capital punishment for blasphemy. So, after Louis IX's death, blasphemy in France was punished by fines, imprisonment, or time in the stocks. This lasted until 1347, when Phillip VI restored execution as a punishment for blasphemy.<sup>268</sup>

These laws against blasphemy were an important part of the efforts Louis IX made to save himself and his people through the construction of a moral kingdom. They set him up as a sort of stern paternal figure who checked and corrected the behavior of his dependent subjects and saved their souls in the next life through strict punishment in this life.

In conclusion, Louis IX used laws against gambling, prostitution, usury, and blasphemy to correct and control the morality and behavior of his subjects. Through such regulations, he sought to re-construct France as a more righteous, moral, and Christian space for his subjects to live in. By suppressing sin among his subjects and suppressing non-Christians (who he saw as contributing to the creation of an immoral French society) he would aid both himself and his subjects in achieving heaven and, perhaps, even make himself and his people worthy of success on a future crusade. Louis IX's morality policies rested on a vision of royal masculinity that positioned him as the ultimate father of his people, charged with controlling his dependents and keep them away from corrupting influences.

### **Making and Keeping Peace: Ordinances to Keep the Peace**

---

<sup>268</sup> Giles Berceville, "Blasphemy," In *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. Andre Vauchez (James Clark & Co., 2005), <https://www-oxfordreference-com.dist.lib.usu.edu/view/10.1093/>.

Louis IX gained a reputation for being a peace-loving king who issued ordinances to guarantee that peace was kept. Later French kings, such as Phillip the Fair, claimed that their peacekeeping policies emulated those of Louis IX, and according to Justine Firmhaber Baker, Louis IX's policies laid a foundation for the peacekeeping efforts of later kings, but those later kings also carried their peacekeeping efforts further than Louis IX had.<sup>269</sup> Indeed, the reign of Louis IX was a transition point between the Peace of God movement, (in which councils of churchmen worked with kings and nobles to make sure the peace was kept), and the concept of the Peace of the Realm, (in which the keeping of the peace was the responsibility of the king). The involvement of the Capetian kings in peacekeeping was longstanding by the time Louis IX came to the throne.<sup>270</sup> In the early twelfth century, Louis VI had led expeditions against the lesser nobility of the royal demesne because they were both breaking the peace and defying the authority of the king.<sup>271</sup> In the mid-twelfth century, Louis VII met with councils of nobles and churchmen to issue decrees about peacekeeping.<sup>272</sup>

When Louis IX issued ordinances for peacekeeping in the thirteenth century, he was following this tradition. One of his most famous ordinances banned trial by combat and replaced it with trials by proofs and witnesses. This ordinance was praised by William of Chartres as a good example of Louis's efforts to suppress bad customs. Many churchmen believed that trial by combat was blasphemous and ineffective, and many in the clergy, including William of Chartres, opposed it.<sup>273</sup> By contrast, many nobles believed that Louis IX's ending of trial by combat was a

---

<sup>269</sup> Justine Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400*, 39.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-4.

<sup>271</sup> Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987-1328*, 150-2.

<sup>272</sup> Justine Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400*, 43-4.

<sup>273</sup> William of Chartres, "The Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Famous Memory, and on the Miracles that declare his sanctity," 143; Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians: Kings of France 987-1328*, 218.

violation of their rights. At least one nobleman complained that being judged by inquest meant that the nobles were being deprived of their liberties.<sup>274</sup>

Louis IX also issued other ordinances to keep the peace. One of the most famous of these was issued in 1258 and forbade private wars, arson, the disruption of carts, and the disturbance of farmers.<sup>275</sup> Another of Louis's ordinances banned the carrying of arms.<sup>276</sup> In 1245, Louis IX also ordered his *baillis* to make all his subjects swear an oath to keep the peace before he went on the Seventh Crusade.<sup>277</sup> These peacekeeping measures originated with him, but there were others that were attributed to him that actually were enacted by his predecessors.<sup>278</sup> For example, the Quarantine Le Roi, which required one who wanted to start hostilities to wait forty days before attacking, has been associated with Louis IX and he included it in peacekeeping edicts in 1245, 1247, and 1260. However, in the kingdom of France, the Quarantine Le Roi actually dated back to the reign of Phillip Augustus in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>279</sup>

Despite these legal measures, Louis IX's legacy as a peacekeeper is significantly more complicated. According to Justine Firmhaber Baker, the Capetian presence in Languedoc likely increased rather than decreased conflict, regardless of Louis IX's ban on private wars and destruction of property.<sup>280</sup> Laws banning private war targeted wars that were considered to be unjust wars, or wars that according to good customs, participants had no right to wage, rather than all wars.<sup>281</sup> Furthermore, even when the crown did prosecute the parties making war, the

---

<sup>274</sup> Margaret Wade LaBarge, *Saint Louis: Louis IX most Christian King of France* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1968).

<sup>275</sup> Justine Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400*, 39.

<sup>276</sup> Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy of France and England*, 313-4.

<sup>277</sup> Justine Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400*, 42.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>279</sup> Justine Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400*, 40-42; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 556.

<sup>280</sup> Justine Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400*, 37.

<sup>281</sup> Andrew Willard Jones, *Before Church and State: Social Order in the Sacramental Kingdom of Saint Louis IX of France* (Steubenville, OH: Emmaus Academic, 2017), 218-23.

punishment was usually fines, rather than anything more serious, such as loss of life and limb, and the fines were often later reduced. Commoners and townsmen tended to be more harshly punished for violent acts than the nobility.<sup>282</sup>

So, despite the king's subsequent reputation, Louis IX's efforts to reduce war and bloodshed had only limited effectiveness. Nevertheless, by trying to reduce wars and bloodshed, Louis continued longstanding efforts by the clergy to limit these acts through the Peace of God, and Louis also followed in the footsteps of his royal predecessors, Louis VI, Louis VII, and Phillip Augustus, who began the process of transforming the Peace of God into the Peace of the Realm.<sup>283</sup> Louis IX's own efforts (through his ordinances) helped move this transformation forward by giving his successors new tools with which to curtail the war-making activities of the French aristocracy.<sup>284</sup>

In particular, Phillip the Fair is considered to have expanded on Louis's peacekeeping activities by emphasizing the king's right to prohibit wars both to preserve the realm's resources, especially during times of war when he was in most need of the resources and manpower of the nobility, and because the king was a divinely appointed judge and instrument.<sup>285</sup> Such were Phillip the Fair's efforts to curtail the war making of the nobility, that, in 1314-1315, the Provincial Aristocratic Leagues emerged in opposition to Phillip and demanded that the crown respect their noble privileges, including the carrying of weapons and the right to wage private wars.<sup>286</sup>

---

<sup>282</sup> Richard W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 165-6.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 148-150.

<sup>284</sup> Justine Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400*, 38.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-71.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-9.

Despite this backlash, later French kings continued to find ways to enforce the king's peace.<sup>287</sup> Their attribution of their peacekeeping policies to Louis IX allowed these policies to share in the glow of the sanctity of Louis IX. This gave them greater legitimacy and made them harder to criticize.<sup>288</sup> The issuing and enforcement of ordinances on keeping the peace was important for the king's piety and masculinity because peacekeeping was essential for ensuring justice and salvation to the people of France. Peacekeeping also gave the king a means to control his subjects and their resources for the common good of the realm.

### **Making and Keeping Peace: Punishment of the Nobility**

Louis IX and some of the men in his government, such as Simon de Nesle and Etienne de Boileau, believed that true justice would punish the rich and powerful and the king's own officials as well as commoners.<sup>289</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres found this to be a praiseworthy stance, although others among Louis IX's contemporaries were horrified by it.<sup>290</sup> Two conflicting views on justice existed in Louis IX's France. On the one hand, there was the belief that the king needed to mete out impartial justice to all. On the other hand, there was an attitude that the aristocracy held a privileged place in society and, therefore, should not be publicly punished for their crimes and should not be subject to the death penalty at all.<sup>291</sup>

These conflicting views could be a difficult line for a king and his men to navigate. For example, when Enguerrand III, the Lord of Coucy, was tried by the king's court for the execution of three young Flemish noblemen who were caught hunting on his land, Louis seemed

---

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 95-7.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>289</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 61-3, 81-6.

<sup>290</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks, of Pious Memory," 109, 70-1; William of Chartres, "The Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Famous Memory, and on the Miracles that declare his sanctity," 122-3.

<sup>291</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 523.



to seriously consider putting the Lord of Coucy to death. But the nobility objected so fiercely to this decision that Louis spared Enguerrand's life and ended up punishing him with a fine, confiscating the wood where the boys were hunting, taking away his right of high justice over woods and fishponds, having him fund chapels where masses would be said for the boys' souls, and making him go to the holy land for two years.<sup>292</sup>

Many nobles still thought that Louis's punishment of Enguerrand was too harsh, and one nobleman said that Louis might as well hang the entire nobility.<sup>293</sup> However, when the lady of Pierrelaye and her lover killed her husband, the objections of many nobles and even the queen were not enough to stop Louis from ordering her execution.<sup>294</sup>

Louis IX and his councilors tried to enforce harsh punishments for nobles' transgressions because although clemency was considered to be an important royal virtue (and even one of the preservers of the throne according to William of Chartres), it was still the king's duty to punish wrongdoing and show harshness when serious crimes were committed.<sup>295</sup> Apart from this royal duty, allowing known criminals to remain unpunished in the kingdom or the royal household brought dishonor to the crown.<sup>296</sup> So, by showing himself willing to publicly punish the nobility for their crimes and by making the nobles subject to capital punishment, Louis IX was able to assert his role as a just judge who brought impartial justice to his subjects. He also showed that he was in charge of the nobility and could assert his power as lord by inflicting punishments on them. Being a just judge who punished impartially was then an important part of Louis IX's royal piety and masculinity.

---

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 177-0.

<sup>293</sup> Margaret Wade LaBarge, *Saint Louis: Louis IX Most Christian king of France*, 175-7.

<sup>294</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 81-4.

<sup>295</sup> William of Chartres, "The Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Famous Memory, and on the Miracles That Declare his Sanctity," 122.

<sup>296</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center*, 85-6.

### **Making and Keeping Peace: Peace Treaties with England and Aragon**

Apart from the peacekeeping ordinances, Louis IX also tried to keep the peace by making peace treaties. Some of the most famous examples included his peace treaties with England and the Spanish kingdom of Aragon. The Treaty of Paris (1259) was made with King Henry III of England to restore the relationship of the crown of France with that of England. This relationship had been broken since 1202, when Phillip Augustus declared the fiefs of his that King John held in France, to be confiscated.<sup>297</sup> By the late 1250s, however both Louis IX and Henry III were willing to make peace.

For Louis IX, it was his duty as a king to make peace both among his subjects and with neighboring states. He saw himself as gaining both religious and political benefits from this. Making peace was an important part of his endeavor to rule in a more Christian way, so as to win divine favor for his future crusade.<sup>298</sup> Also, restoring the link of vassalage between France and England and having Gascony recognized as a fief of France increased the power of the king of France within his kingdom and brought the regions controlled by the king of England under French influence. By concluding this peace, Louis IX could expand his influence to the Pyrenees Mountains.<sup>299</sup>

So, in 1258-1259, after negotiations, Louis IX concluded a peace treaty with Henry III.<sup>300</sup> In this treaty, Henry III of England gave up his claims to the principal conquests of Phillip Augustus and Louis VIII (Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou), while Louis yielded to Henry the territories of Limoges, Cahors, and Perigueux, and also offered half of the

---

<sup>297</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 192-3.

<sup>298</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 195-203.

<sup>299</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 195-7.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 193-195.

Saintonge, Agenais, and Quercy if Alphonse of Poitiers and his wife Jeanne of Toulouse, the brother and the sister-in-law of Louis IX, died without heirs. Louis also offered money to pay for five hundred knights for two years, because Henry was short of money and needed to be able to raise an army so that his son Edmund could conquer Sicily from the Hohenstaufens on behalf of the Papacy. Finally, and most importantly, Henry III swore homage to Louis IX for all these lands and for Gascony, which no king of England had ever before sworn homage to the king of France for.<sup>301</sup>

The treaty between Louis IX and Henry III was controversial. According to Joinville, some of the king's advisors argued that this peace treaty was a bad idea, because if Louis IX believed that his successors had unjustly conquered lands from the king of England, then he was not giving up enough, while if the conquests were just, then he was unjustly giving up his own lands. Louis IX responded that he believed the conquests had been just, but that it was a good idea to give up these lands so that there would be peace between his children and the children of the king of England, who were their cousins. Louis IX also said that surrendering these lands was worthwhile because Henry had not previously been his vassal, but now he was.<sup>302</sup> Louis IX's justification for concluding the treaty show that his priorities were recognition of his supremacy over all parts of his kingdom and maintaining peace and unity within the extended royal family.<sup>303</sup>

However, this treaty with England did not keep peace between France and England for more than a few decades. Because homage was sworn by the kings of England to the king of

---

<sup>301</sup> William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 197-9; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 194-7, & Carpenter David, *Henry III 1207-1258: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule*, (New Haven: Yale University Press 2020) 682.

<sup>302</sup> Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, 317.

<sup>303</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 196-7.

France, the Hundred Years War was now probably more likely in the long run<sup>304</sup>. However, kings of France such as Phillip the Fair and Charles V continued the policy of Louis IX of being willing to offer territorial concessions for homage and recognition of sovereignty when they were in a strong position but needed to make peace.<sup>305</sup>

Louis IX also concluded a peace treaty with King James I of Aragon. The Capetians had longstanding claims to Catalonia while Aragon had claims to lands in southern France (Toulouse, Carcassonne, Montpellier, and Provence).<sup>306</sup> To consolidate his gains in southern France following the Cathar Wars, Louis needed a peace treaty to resolve his claims and those of his brothers, Alphonse and Charles, to lands that the king of Aragon also claimed.<sup>307</sup> In 1258, Louis IX and King James of Aragon concluded the Treaty of Melun. In this treaty, Louis IX renounced his claim to Catalonia. In return, King James renounced his claims to Provence, Toulouse, and Carcassonne. This treaty resolved most of France and Aragon's boundary disputes, although Roussillon, the last Spanish possession in southern France was not relinquished to the king of France until 1659.<sup>308</sup>

Louis made these treaties with England and Aragon, the neighbors of France, both because he believed that peacemaking was one of the most important duties of a king and because he believed that if he did not make peace, all his neighbors would blame him for their wars and attack him.<sup>309</sup> Louis IX's treaties with England and Aragon were achievements of statecraft which consolidated the territorial gains the monarchy had made over the past half century or so. His treaty with England was also a way for him to gain a powerful new vassal,

---

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 197-9.

<sup>305</sup> Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians*, 243; Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, trans. David C. Douglas, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951), 167-8.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 190-1.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 191-2.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., 192.

<sup>309</sup> Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*.

which was something that Louis IX apparently considered to be worth surrendering territory for.<sup>310</sup>

But for Louis, these treaties represented more than political negotiations. They guaranteed protection for him and his subjects against foreign invasions and so enabled his people to live peaceful moral lives. These treaties also show him acting as a royal paternal figure ensuring peace among his family and his vassals.<sup>311</sup> In all these ways, Louis IX's treaty-making and peacekeeping were an essential part of his pious masculinity and added to his reputation as an ideal Christian monarch.

### **Conclusion**

This paper has examined how a model of piously masculine kingship influenced the way that Louis IX ruled his kingdom and, also, how Louis IX's re-shaping of that model influenced the ways that his successors ruled. I have focused on three main themes: (1) governmental/legislative reform; (2) reform and monitoring of individuals' morality; and (3) peacemaking and peacekeeping. I have argued that Jean de Joinville, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, and William of Chartres included some material about governance, morality-policing, and peacekeeping because, as modern historians such as Le Goff and Jordan have pointed out, such matters were not merely mundane administrative matters, but were seen by medieval politicians and commentators to hold the key to individual and national salvation.

Louis IX's pursuit of individual and national salvation through reform, enforcement of morality, and peacekeeping were the foundations of a royal pious masculinity that high medieval kings like Louis IX were expected to display to win the approval of the Church, the nobility, and

---

<sup>310</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 194-7.

<sup>311</sup> Jordan William Chester, "*Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* ", 198-199 & 202-204, & 524.

their people. But Louis IX's pursuit of a pious royal masculine ideal went beyond the question of impressing his contemporaries. By monitoring the activities of his officials, outlawing immoral activities, and promoting peace at home and abroad, Louis IX meant to achieve salvation for himself and his subjects by using his royal power to ensure that all his subjects adhered to Christian values.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Geoffrey of Beaulieu. "The Life and Saintly Comportment of Louis, Former King of the Franks, of Pious Memory." In *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*. trans. Larry F. Field. ed. Sean Field and Cecilia Gaposchkin. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, translation by Caroline Smith, New York: Penguin Books 2008.

William of Chartres. "The Life and Deeds of Louis King of the Franks of Famous Memory, and on the Miracles that Declare his Sanctity." In *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*. trans. Larry F. Field. ed. Sean Field and Cecilia Gaposchkin. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

### Secondary Sources

Armstrong, Lawrin D. "Usury." In *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*. ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.

Baldwin, John W. *The Government of Phillip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Baldwin, John W. *Paris 1200*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.

Berceville, Giles. "Blasphemy." In *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. ed. Andre Vauchez. James Clark & Co., 2005 (online).

Bradbury, Jim. *Phillip Augustus: King of France. 1180-1223*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998.

Bradbury, Jim. *The Capetians: Kings of France. 987-1328*. London: Humbledun Continuum, 2007.

Brundage James A. "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law", *Signs* 1, No.4 (Summer 1976) 825-845. <https://www-jstor-org.dist.lib.usu.edu/stable/3173236>.

Carpenter David, *Henry III 1207-1258: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2020.

Collins, James. *From Tribes to Nations: The Making of France. 500-1799*. New York: Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 2002.

Duby, Georges. *France in the Middle Ages. 987-1460*. trans. Juliet Vale. Oxford and Cambridge: Wiley Blackwell, 1993.

Fawtier, Robert. *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation. 987-1328*. trans. Lionel Butler and R. J Adam. Macmillan Press: London, 1960.

Fossier Robert, *The Axe and the Oath: Ordinary Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press 2010.

Firnhaber-Baker, Justine. *Violence and the State in Languedoc. 1250-1400*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Hallam, Elizabeth and Judith Everard, *Capetian France. 987-1328. 2nd Edition*. Oxford: Routledge, 2013.

Henneman, John Bell. *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth-Century France: The Development of War Financing*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971.



- Henneman, John Bell. "Enqueteur-Reformateurs and Fiscal Officers in Fourteenth-Century France." *Traditio* 24 (1968): 309-349. <https://www-jstor-org.dist.lib.usu.edu/stable/27830851>.
- Jones, Andrew Willard, *Before Church and State: A study of Social Order in the Sacramental Kingdom of St. Louis IX*, Steubenville Ohio: Emmaus Academic 2017.
- Jordan, William Chester. *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Jordan, William Chester. *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012.
- Kaeuper, Richard W. *War, Justice, and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Kaye Joel, *A History of Balance 1250-1375: The Emergence of a new model of equilibrium*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.
- LaBarge, Margaret Wade. *Saint Louis: Louis IX, Most Christian King of France*. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1968.
- LaCroix, Paul. *France in the Middle Ages: Customs, Classes, and Conditions*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1963.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint Louis*. trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.
- Le Goff Jacques, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum, (New York: Zone Books 1990).
- Lewis, Katherine. *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*. Oxford: Routledge, 2013.

- Nash David, "Analyzing the History of religious crime: Models of Active and Passive Blasphemy since the Medieval Period" *The Journal of Social History* 41, No.1 (Fall 2007): 5-29. <https://www-jstor-org.dist.lib.usu.edu/stable/25096438>.
- Otis-Cour, Leah L. "Prostitution." In *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*. ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.
- Perroy Edouard, *The Hundred Years War*. trans. David C. Douglas, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode 1951.
- Petit-Dutaillis, Charles. *The Feudal Monarchy of France and England*. trans. E. D Hunt. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
- Stone, Rachel. *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.