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► To cite this version:

Murielle Gaudé-Ferragu. 'The Body of the Prince': Royal and Princely Funerals in Fifteenth-Century France. Princely Funerals in Europe 1400-1700, dans European Festival Studies, 1400-1700, 2021. hal-03883024

HAL Id: hal-03883024

<https://sorbonne-paris-nord.hal.science/hal-03883024>

Submitted on 2 Dec 2022

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Chapter 2

‘The Body of the Prince’:

Royal and Princely Funerals in Fifteenth-Century France

Murielle Gaudé-Ferragu

In the fifteenth century, royal and princely funerals underwent spectacular metamorphoses which were especially marked by the appearance of the effigy, the famous mannequin with a wooden body and a wax face and hands that represented the deceased in all his or her majesty, wearing the royal costume and supplied with the regalia. In this respect, Charles VI's 1422 funeral rites constituted a turning point; the innovations were introduced in a precise context, tied as they were to the king's madness and to the succession crises which followed, yet these rites were to enjoy a brilliant future which persisted until the beginning of the seventeenth-century.

In a ceremonial that mirrored their spouses, fifteenth-century queens, like their husbands, embodied royal dignity and received the same funerary honours, marked by the participation of the *présidents* of the Parlement of Paris, among others, or the presence of the dais and the effigy (Isabeau of Bavaria, Charlotte of Savoy). In the same way, the spectacle of their deaths the kingdom's princes, often the king's relatives and owners of vast territories, cast a final earthly light. Between

royal imitation and chivalrous innovations, their funerals demonstrated the ceremonial effervescence of the late Middle Ages through a complex game that mixed art and power.

The Funeral of Charles VI (1422), or the Metamorphosis of the Royal Rite

The ‘invention’ of the effigy

Since the beginning of the thirteenth century, royal funerals were characterized by the public exposure of the corpse, with its face and hands presented ‘à la découverte’ [‘uncovered’], adorned with the royal costume and surrounded by the regalia. In 1314, Philip IV the Fair was carried in this way through the streets of Paris on a litter, dressed in an ermine-lined coat, his head encircled with a crown, and holding the sceptre and the *main de justice*.¹ Such a display was not specific to France: it was a ritual of sovereignty that was also practiced at the pontifical court and in England.²

However, upon Charles VI’s death (21 October 1422, in his hôtel Saint-Pol in Paris), it was not possible to respect tradition due to the lengthy interval between

¹BAUDON DE MONY 1897, p. 7.

²See Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani’s article on the papal body and Joël Burden’s contribution on English sovereigns in the present volume, pp. 00.

the king's passing and his interment.³ The succession was complex: Charles VI was the mad king who had reigned over France intermittently since 1380. The political void created by his illness had plunged the kingdom into civil war, which was followed by the English conquest. This was the disaster of **Azincourt** (1415), followed by the signing of the Treaty of Troyes (May 1420), which established a double monarchy: Charles VI and his wife, Isabeau of Bavaria, deprived the dauphin (the future Charles VII) of his rights by excluding him from the succession to the crown. Charles VI gave his daughter, Catherine, to the English king, Henry V. At Charles VI's death, the two kingdoms were to remain independent, but under the tutelage of a single monarch: Henry V and his successors.

The English king died at Vincennes on 31 August 1422, leaving his young son, Henry VI (**then ten months old**) as his heir, represented in France by John, the Duke of Bedford. Yet, when Charles VI died in October of the same year, the regent was settling the Norman affairs in Rouen.⁴ Charles VI's interment had to wait until the duke's return, and **the body was about to present the first signs of decomposition**. Charles VI's physicians and surgeons embalmed the body ('and it

³He died of quartan fever, FAUQUEMBERGUE 1903, t. II, p. 59.

⁴Jean of Bedford was in Rouen, where he had accompanied the body of his brother, Henry V. He stayed there to attend to administrative and military affairs.

was found that that his heart and liver were healthy’)⁵ and filled it with herbs and spices,⁶ however such procedures could not preserve the corpse more than a few days (John of Bedford did not return until 5 November, more than fifteen days after the royal death).

The organizers of the funeral ceremony, the chancellor of France, Jean Le Clerc, and several royal counsellors – acting on their own or on the orders of the Duke of Bedford – decided to place the body on a funeral bier following its brief exposition in the mortuary chamber.⁷ The presentation at the hôtel Saint-Pol was public and lasted three days, ‘and there anyone who wished, could see (the body), and could pray for him’.⁸ This allowed various constituencies (royal counsellors,

⁵“et fut trouvé qu’il avoit le cuer et le foye net,” *Chronique de Charles VI*, p. 324.

⁶Cf. the accounts of the funeral published in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 181 (a publication which was made from a seventeenth-century copy of the register conserved at Paris’s *Chambre des Comptes*, Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen, collection Leber 5870, manuscript Menant, t. VIII, fol. 134-172. The body had been covered with a waxen canvas and linen shroud before being placed in lead [“mis en plomb”].

⁷The measurements taken were then ratified by the regent, Accounts in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 159-161.

⁸*Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* 1990, p. 192: “et là le voyait chacun qui voulait, pour prier pour lui”

members of the Parlement and of the *Chambre des comptes*, the University of Paris and the *collèges*), the Parisian magistrates (*prévôts* of Paris and of the merchants, *échevins* and bourgeois) to gather before the corpse one last time and, most importantly, to certify the reality of the king's death.⁹ The body was presented on a *lit de parement*, covered with a cloth-of-gold pall, and surrounded by eight continuously burning candles.

Then, Charles VI's body was deposited in a lead casket and brought down to the hôtel Saint-Pol's lower chapel.¹⁰ The funeral vigil continued until 9 November, the date on which the defunct was transported to his final resting place. The wake was accompanied by numerous liturgical celebrations (high and low masses and vigils), which the king's chaplains celebrated first, followed by members of Paris's four mendicant orders, who took turns in performing a veritable shield of prayers around the deceased. Four large candles made of forty pounds of wax were placed at the coffin's corners, in addition to the twelve twenty-four pound-candles blazing on the altar.¹¹

⁹MONSTRELET 1857-1862, t. IV, p. 120 and *Chronique de Charles VI*, p. 324.

¹⁰Account in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 180.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 180.

But with the body on a funerary bier, a representation was needed to respect the royal display ritual. The idea of a funerary mannequin, of English origin (the first effigy was used in 1327 for English king Edward II), was, perhaps, suggested to the chancellor and the counsellors by John of Bedford. Or perhaps they took the initiative themselves, since this solution would seem obvious to them: Henry V's Norman convoy had used an effigy less than two months earlier.¹² Charles VI's painter, François d'Orléans, immediately fashioned the king's mortuary mask, creating a replica of the king's face and hands:

Le chief et visage d'iceluy moslé et fait sur son **propre** visage et après la vie le plus proprement que on a peu, et ledit chief garny de poil au plus près de la chevelure que portoit ledit seigneur et aussy les mains moslees et faictes après la vie, et vestues de gans blancs brodez.

[its head and face cast from [the king's] own face and from life as truly as possible, and the aforementioned head [was] embellished with hair as close to that which the aforesaid *seigneur* had, and the hands [were] also moulded and made from life, and dressed with white embroidered gloves].¹³

¹²MONSTRELET 1857-1862, t. IV, p. 112-113. On English funerals, see Joël Burden's article in the present volume, pp. 00.

¹³Accounts in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 177.

During this time, haberdashers, embroiderers, and smiths tackled the making of the costume *de parement* and of the regalia. Before departing for Notre Dame, the effigy was dressed in a gown and coat of red cloth-of-gold, both of which were lined with ermine. The slippers were azure velvet with *fleurs-de-lis*.¹⁴ The Parisian goldsmith, Christophe de Harlint, fashioned the regalia: a gold-plated silver crown chiseled only ‘on the side and in front’ since the back was not visible, a sceptre decorated with *fleurs-de-lis*, a gold-plated silver *main de justice*, and a gold ring. The adoption of the effigy thus permitted the defunct to be represented in all his majesty, substituting a putrefying corpse which could no longer be openly exposed. In this way, the king appeared in the funerary train and at the liturgical celebrations at Notre Dame and Saint Denis.

The convoy and the liturgical ceremonies: between tradition and innovation

The funeral train transported Charles VI’s corpse from the hôtel Saint-Pol to the cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris for the first liturgical celebration (November 9-10th), then from Notre Dame to the Abbey of Saint Denis, the burial place of the kings of France, for the internment itself.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 171. On the description of the effigy, cf. the “Cérémonial de l’inhumation de Charles VI,” published in GIESEY 1987, p. 299 (after a manuscript conserved at the BnF, Fr. 18764, fol. 119) and MONSTRELET 1857-1862, t. IV, p. 122.

As was traditional, the Parisian clergy lead the procession: religious communities on one side (mendicant orders, the *collèges*; Saint-Catherine-du-Val-des-Ecoliers, the Mathurins, the Billettes, Sainte-Croix, Saint-Merri, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, the parishes, the canons of Notre Dame and of the Palace's Sainte-Chapelle) and the rector and doctors of the university of Paris on the other.¹⁵ The prelates (the bishops of Paris, Chartres, and Thérouanne, the abbots of Saint-Magloire, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and Sainte-Geneviève) walked closer to the body.¹⁶

A large part of the procession was composed of members of the deceased's household: 310 officers received gowns and black hoods (costing a total of 1,352 *livres tournois*).¹⁷ Two-hundred *échansons*, *panetiers*, and *valets of the chambre* carried torches weighting six pounds of wax decorated with royal *fleurs-de-lis*.¹⁸ The accounts prove that funeral trains' famous '*pleurant*' were present, not poor

¹⁵Ceremony published in GIESEY 1987, p. 298.

¹⁶MONSTRELET 1857-1862, t. IV, p. 120.

¹⁷Accounts in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 172. Present were the *maîtres d'hôtel*, *échansons*, *panetiers*, *fruitiers*, *valets de chambre*, *fourriers*, 'Cérémonial,' published in GIESEY 1987, p. 300.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 300.

individuals remunerated for the occasion, but, rather, servants from the king's household.¹⁹

The effigy was at the procession's centre, and the highest-ranking members of the king's household, as well as from the royal administration, surrounded it; some walking in front of it and others following behind. With the *prévôt* of Paris, the household's *grands officiers* walked ahead of the effigy: the first chamberlain, the stable's squires and the deceased's *maîtres d'hôtel*. Following the effigy were the great officers of the crown, the chancellor of France, counsellors, *maîtres des requêtes*, officers of the *Chambre des comptes*, and the king's notaries and secretaries.

The effigy itself rested on a litter, carried by the king's *valets de porte* to Notre Dame, then, on the long route to Saint Denis, by the '*hanouars*' ('salt porters'), who were accustomed to transporting heavy loads (here, the heavy lead coffin with the effigy on top). The litter was covered with an immense pall of red cloth-of-gold, bordered by azure velvet covered in *fleurs-de-lis*.²⁰ The four presidents of the Parlement of Paris, who were dressed in red (with ermine-lined cloaks, the clothing of their profession) supported the **pall's corners**. They did not

¹⁹On the presence of the poor at the funeral services, ALADJIDI 2008, p. 355-386.

²⁰Accounts in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 175. The effigy's head rested on pillows of vermillion velvet which were supplied with four pearl buttons.

wear mourning clothes, demonstrating that royal justice never died.²¹ Additionally, the effigy was covered with a dais of the same red cloth-of-gold bordered with embroidered *fleurs-de-lis* and carried on eight lances by the *prévôt* of the merchants and the *échevins* of Paris.²² Finally, as regent and representative of the deceased's successor (Henri VI), the Duke of Bedford walked alone directly behind the defunct. According to the account of Saint Denis's clergy, Bedford wore a black mourning coat and a hood with a short cornet.²³

A well-known illumination by Philippe de Mazerolles illustrates Jean Chartier's text (*Chroniques du règne de Charles VII*) and represents the funeral train, offering one of the loveliest representations of an effigy

²¹In describing the funeral of Charles VII (1461), Martial d'Auvergne explains the meaning of the costume: '*En exemple et signification / Que Justice jamais ne bouge / Pour trespas du Roy, ne muance*', MARTIAL D'Auvergne 1724, t. II, p. 170.

²²*Chronique de Saint-Denis*, p. 491. On the literary description of the dais, *Chronique de Charles VI*, p. 325. According to the author, the dais was carried from the exit of the hôtel Saint-Pol by the *prévôt* of the merchants and the *échevins* of the city of Paris. 'Et ensuite fut porté par les plus notables bourgeois chacun à son tour' ["And was then carried by the most notable bourgeois, each taking a turn."] Upon arrival at Saint Denis, the abbey's monks replaced them.

²³*Chronique de Saint-Denis*, p. 491. To the people's outrage, the princes of the blood, and notably Philip, Duke of Burgundy, did not make the journey.

(Fig. 1).

Crowned, the effigy holds the sceptre and the *main de justice*, and wears a ceremonial costume entirely covered in *fleurs-de-lis*, allowing the viewer to identify the monarch clearly, who is further distinguished by the face: the eyes are shown open, as they would be in the king's eternal glory. The litter is covered with a pall of red cloth-of-gold and supported by the presidents of the Parlement of Paris, also dressed in red. On the other hand, the painter does not represent the dais, which would have disturbed the visibility of the effigy and the three knights who, in the background, hold the royal sword, the helm, and the shield with *fleurs-de-lis*. In reality, these elements were absent from the convoy, but here the painter represents the funerary etiquette of the court to which he belonged; that of the Dukes of Burgundy, who exhibited the '*pièces d'honneur*' of the defunct.²⁴

The liturgical ceremonies also mixed tradition and innovation. The first funerary service took place in front of the body in the cathedral of Notre Dame, with vigils on 9 November and a celebration of requiem mass, sung by Jean de La Rochetaillée, bishop of Paris and patriarch of Constantinople, the following day.²⁵

²⁴Philippe de Mazerolles was Charles Le Téméraire's *valet de chambre*; the manuscript which he illuminated (BnF, Ms. Fr. 2691) was intended for Louis of Bruges, Bruges, between 1470 and 1479.

²⁵The abbot of Saint Germain (Jean Bourron) read the gospel and the abbot of Saint Magloire (Pierre Louvel) read the epistle, *Chronique de Charles VI*, p. 326.

Then, after the long procession to Saint Denis, the same celebrations were performed in the royal burial church. Vigils were followed by a requiem mass the next morning, once again performed by the bishop of Paris (with the abbot of Saint Denis's permission), along with 'the bishop of Chartres, who served the office of deacon, and the abbot of Saint Denis (Jean de Bourbon de la Boulaye), who served the office of subdeacon'.²⁶

In both churches, the décor, though ephemeral, was resplendent. There, the body shined, lit by multiple lights, an image which anticipated the Paradise promised to the chosen: candles were placed atop the mourning cloth decorated with *fleurs-de-lis*, and ornamenting the nave and choir (with 1,227 one-pound candles).²⁷ Candles also illuminated the principal altars and the *chapelle ardente* [mortuary chapel], the décor's principal element. The mortuary chapel was a wooden structure,²⁸ covered with fine black cloth embroidered with royal coats of

26 'l'évêque de Chartres fit l'office de diacre, et l'abbé de Saint-Denys (Jean de Bourbon de la Boulaye) celui de sous-diacre,' *Chronique de Saint-Denys*, p. 495-497.

27 Accounts in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 180.

28 Of 14 *pieds* long by 8 *pieds* wide, *ibid.*, p. 178.

arms, and with an azure satin band with *fleurs-de-lis*.²⁹ The four gables (which intersected, each topped with a cross) were also covered in satin, and together supported a large *fleur-de-lis*.³⁰ The chapel scintillated with hundreds of candles,³¹ while four large torches (of 30 pounds of wax) were placed in the corners of the coffin-effigy ensemble.³²

The royal arms covered the space entirely. In addition to the mortuary chapel's décor, at Notre Dame as at Saint Denis, the nave, choir, and pillars of the church were hung with an azure *fleurs-de-lis* cloth (at Saint Denis, the chapel of Saint John the Baptist, where Charles VI was buried, was likewise decorated with such a band). Banners, pennants, and blazons also ornamented the two edifices. Attached at the cathedral's entrance there were two banners and two pennants of

²⁹'Lorsqu'on entra dans l'église (l'abbaye de Saint Denis), on y trouva aussi un nouveau luminaire non seulement au-dessus d'une espèce de chapelle en bois construite au milieu du chœur et couverte de draperies noires fleurdelisées, sous laquelle reposait le corps..., mais encore tout autour du chœur et de l'église, ' *Chronique de Saint-Denys*, p. 493.

³⁰Accounts in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 176.

³¹825 candles were placed in the mortuary chapel at Notre Dame of Paris, Ibid., p. 180

³²In total, 4,753 pounds of wax were used at Notre Dame and 5, 679 at Saint Denis. For all of the rituals together, the lighting cost 2,232 *livres tournois*.

vast dimensions, while large escutcheons with the royal arms topped the pillars of Notre Dame's principal portal.³³ This décor, full of *fleurs-de-lis*, was one of the characteristics of royal funerals: the princes of the blood (the dukes of Burgundy, of Berry, of Anjou), on the other hand, transformed their burial place into a space of mourning, covered in a vast emblazoned black cloth. In the illuminations of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Jean Fouquet had, of course, systematized the utilization of azure *fleurdelisé*, but his décor corresponded well with the reality of royal funerals of the fifteenth century.

In addition to the effigy's appearance, Charles VI's funeral introduced a new ritual around the tomb: the cry of succession. It is true that in the troubled political context of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, royal funerals played an exceptional role as a 'ritual of inauguration'. On the one hand, it was necessary to affirm the handover of royal powers to the English (against the potential rights of the dauphin, Charles), and, on the other hand, to uphold Bedford's role as regent of France, since some people preferred the Duke of Burgundy.³⁴ It should be

³³*Chronique de Saint-Denys*, p. 493.

³⁴Le *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* is a witness to this: on the return from Saint Denis, Jean of Bedford had carried 'l'épée du roi de France devant lui, comme régent, dont le peuple murmurait fort,' *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* 1990, p. 196. The carrying of the *épée joyeuse* is here a symbol of the new regent's entrance into service, an aspect absent from all other inauguration ceremonies.

remembered that, at the heart of the convoy, the Duke of Bedford had directly followed the coffin, presenting himself as the representative of the young Henry VI in France—the king’s successor was not yet to be voluntarily absent from his predecessor’s funeral, quite to the contrary.³⁵ The chief herald’s cry at the Saint Denis grave insisted upon the English transmission. First, the *huissiers d’armes* broke their rods, throwing them into the grave, then the sergeants lowered their maces, a sign of the king’s death. The chief herald then launched the following cry: ‘God willing, have pity and mercy on the soul of the most excellent, most high, and most powerful Charles, king of France, sixth of this name, natural and sovereign *seigneur*’; ‘God give a good life to Henry, by the grace of God king of France and of England, our sovereign *seigneur*’.³⁶ The sergeants lifted their maces, crying, ‘Long live the king, long live the king, long live the king’.³⁷ Nevertheless,

³⁵Similarly, during the requiem mass, Bedford alone had gone to the offering, ‘Cérémonial,’ published in GIESEY 1987, p. 302.

³⁶‘Dieu veuille avoir pitié et mercy de l’âme de très excellent, très hault et puissant Charles, roy de France, VI^e de ce nom, naturel et souverain seigneur’ ; ‘Dieu doint bonne vie à Henri, par la grâce de Dieu roy de France et d’Angleterre, nostre souverain seigneur.’

³⁷‘Vive le roy, vive le roy, vive le roy.’ *Chronique de Charles VI*, p. 326. There are several versions of the cry that was delivered: ‘Priez pour l’ame de tres excellent prince Charles VI, roy de France’etc, as it was usually made. And shortly after, a herald cried loudly ‘Vive Henry par

the ritual had no performative power, since it did little more than express—in word and in action – the succession agreement which had been negotiated two years earlier in the Treaty of Troyes.³⁸

The ceremony's organizers took great care to stage the king's final entry, and the funeral cost a total of approximately 9,000 *livres tournois*.³⁹ In the context of this complicated succession, the organizers nevertheless attempted to reduce expenditure by reusing precious textiles. To this end, cloth-of-gold, ermine, and *fleurs-de-lis* were removed from other décors, recut, and re sewn. The king's ceremonial gown and coat, for example, were fashioned using cloth-of-gold which

la grace de Dieu roy de France et d'Angleterre,' 'Cérémonial', published in GIESEY 1987, p. 303.

³⁸Later accounts gave a revised version of the funerary cry, in favour of a transmission of power to the dauphin: 'Priez pour l'âme de très excellent prince Charles VI de ce nom très glorieux et victorieux et bien servy lequel debouta et expulsa à l'aide de Dieu omnipotent les Anglois', Arsenal, Ms. 4226, fol. 150 ('Ordre et cérémonie observée à l'enterrement du roy Charles VI en l'an 1422').

³⁹In comparison, nearly 13,000 *livres tournois* were spent for Philip the Good in Bruges in 1467, Archives départementales du Nord, B 2064, fol. 232 v°.

had already served for the **king's blanket** at the hôtel Saint-Pol, and the dais originated from one of the king's chambers.⁴⁰

Epilogue: The Legacy of Charles VI's Funeral

The innovations introduced at Charles VI's death permanently marked the royal funeral ceremony. Charles VII, who died in 1461 in his *château* of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, received the same honours, marked by the presentation of the effigy in majesty, the exposition of décors and precious *parements* (cloth-of-gold pall, dais, coats of arms, a blue mourning ribbon with *fleurs-de-lis*...) and with specific rituals like the cry of succession.⁴¹ The principal change concerned the ceremonial costume, which was no longer made of red cloth-of-gold, but, rather, of blue *fleurs-de-lis*-covered velvet lined with ermine (as used in coronations).⁴² Poor individuals were also remunerated for their participation in the procession, where they replaced servants as the candle-bearers.⁴³ Louis XI did not travel to attend his

⁴⁰Account in GRANDEAU 1970, p. 173-175.

⁴¹ESCOUCHY 1863-1864, p. 443.

⁴²*Ibid.*, t. II, p. 433. On the royal habit, see CHATENET, LECOQ, 2011, p. 21-31.

⁴³ESCOUCHY 1863-1864, p. 429. The account indicates that there was also a *huissier d'armes* on horseback in the convoy, 'portant les armes du roy' and marching before the body was a second, 'portant la masse', *Ibid.*, p. 426. By 'armes du roy', should we understand his helm, his coat of

father's funeral, and Louis II of Orléans led the mourning train. His mother, Marie of Clèves, Duchess of Orléans, was present at Saint Denis, which was exceptional given that women generally did not attend mens' funerals.⁴⁴ In 1498, upon Charles VIII's death, the funeral ceremony was largely similar.⁴⁵ The wax mannequin represented the monarch in majesty, a substitute for the corpse which could no longer be displayed, but also as a portrayal of the glorious body destined in the Resurrection.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, among medieval funerals, one monarch was an exception: practicing the art of differentiation, Louis XI (†1483) wanted to be buried like a

 arms, or his sword. The author undoubtedly refers to a piece of clothing, the tabard, with the king's arms.

⁴⁴GAUDE-FERRAGU 2005, p. 157-164.

⁴⁵BOUREAU 1988, p. 95-114 (publication of Pierre d'Urfé's ordinance organizing Charles VIII's funeral in 1498). Cf. Monique Chatenet's article in the present volume, pp.00.

⁴⁶Recent historiography has effectively shown that the French king had but one body; the effigy never incarnated the monarchical permanence, the political and immortal body of the sovereign. On the debates about the effigy, GIESEY 1987. Theory contested by Alain Boureau, (BOUREAU 1988, p. 28-34), and by Elisabeth A.R. Brown, (BROWN 1999, p. 502 et BROWN 2002, p. 113-130).

simple person of faith, with neither effigy nor funerary pomp, not at Saint Denis but, rather, at Notre Dame of Cléry, a collegiate church which conserved a miraculous statue of the Virgin, to whom the king dedicated much devotion. The king died at Plessis-Lès-Tours and his body was embalmed before being transported to Saint Martin of Tours, where the canons displayed the body for several days before transporting it, without pomp, to Cléry.⁴⁷

‘A woman in majesty’: The Queen’s Funeral in Fifteenth-Century France

Along with their husbands, queens incarnated royal dignity, a dignity which their funerals displayed. From this perspective, the services that Charles V organized for his wife, Jeanne of Bourbon (†1378), constitute a turning point in the communication of royal politics; a ceremonial transformation, but also a literary and iconographic one, as the king’s chancellor, Pierre d’Orgemont, related the funeral at considerable length alongside a lovely illumination in his *Chroniques*.

(Fig. 2).⁴⁸

The body was exposed in the convoy, equipped with regalia (crown, sceptre, rose verge). The presidents of the Parlement of Paris held the cords of the cloth-of-gold pall and the *prévôt* of the merchants and *échevins* held a red and gold dais above

⁴⁷ROYE 1894-1896, p. 137 et 398. GEORGES 2006, p. 92.

⁴⁸*Grandes Chroniques de France (exemplaire possédé par Charles V)*, BnF Fr. 2813, fol. 480 v°.

the litter.⁴⁹ Numerous people rendered a final homage to the queen; men (prelates, princes including her brother, Louis II of Bourbon, and the king's officers) as well as women (the dowager queen Blanche of Navarre, **the** Duchess Blanche of Orléans **and the ladies-in-waiting**).⁵⁰

As discussed above, the fifteenth century's principal innovation was the effigy's introduction into the royal funerary rite in 1422. Beginning with Isabeau of Bavaria's death in 1435, the queen also received such a representation. Like her husband, Isabeau died in the hôtel Saint-Pol, in Paris (29 September). Her body was displayed uncovered for three days, before being lowered into a lead coffin. The convoy set off for Notre Dame fifteen days later, on 13 October. The queen was accompanied by fourteen *crieurs de corps*, one-hundred torch-bearers, the Parisian clergy, prelates (the abbot of Sainte-Geneviève, who officiated, the bishop of Paris, the bishop of Thérouanne), English lords (Lords Scales and Willoughby),

⁴⁹*Chronique de Jean II et de Charles V*, p. 279-282. On queens' funerals more generally, GAUDE-FERRAGU 2014, p. 187-192 and GAUDE-FERRAGU 2016, p. 141-149.

⁵⁰Previously, in 1371 Jeanne of Evreux, widow of Charles IV the Fair, the last Capetian sovereign, enjoyed a sumptuous funeral, with a pall of cloth-of-gold, carried by the presidents of the Parlement of Paris, and a dais. Charles V accompanied the corpse, yet he was absent from the burial of his wife, Jeanne of Bourbon, *Chronique de Jean II et de Charles V*, p. 152.

her sister-in-law, Catherine of Alençon, and several **ladies-in-waiting**.⁵¹ An effigy represented the queen:

Le corps...était en haut levé sur les épaules de seize **hommes** vêtus de noir, et était sa repr**és**entation [effigie] moult bien faite, car elle était couchée si proprement qu'il semblait qu'elle dormît, et tenait un sceptre royal en sa main dextre.

[The body (...) was raised up on the shoulders of sixteen men dressed in black, and its representation [the effigy] was very well-made, as it was laid out so properly that it looked as if she were sleeping, and held a royal sceptre in her right hand].⁵² For reasons of potential insecurity (linked to the presence of the Armagnacs), the trajectory from Notre Dame to the abbey of Saint Denis was made via the Seine. **(Fig. 3)**.

Isabeau was buried in the chapel of Saint John the Baptist, alongside Charles VI.

It appears that an effigy did not figure in the convoy of Marie of Anjou, Charles VII's widow, whose funeral was celebrated in Paris on 26 January 1464

⁵¹*Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, Colette Beaune (éd.), p. 343. The bourgeois of Paris allows the reader to believe that the queen was buried poorly, abandoned by all, which is far from the truth.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 343.

(the queen had died in December 1463 at the abbey of the Châtelliers, while returning from a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostela).⁵³ A wax mannequin represented Charlotte of Savoy, however, in the funerary train which transported her **body to Notre Dame of Cléry** in December 1483. An exceptional account conserved at the French National Archives mentions a payment to Jean Bourdichon, the king's painter,⁵⁴ for having devised a wooden body 'appropriate to the grandeur of the aforementioned lady' and having painted the wax face "according to her likeness".⁵⁵ To fashion the effigy, Bourdichon had taken the advice of dowager duchess Marie of Clèves, who recalled aulic ceremonial, as she had attended numerous such rites (like those celebrated upon the death of Charles VII).

Having died on 1 December 1483 in the Château of Amboise, Charlotte of Savoy's body was embalmed before being presented publicly on a *lit de parement* in the royal chamber for three days. Four candles surrounded her body, which clerics exposed day and night. After being placed on the funerary bier, the wake

⁵³CHEVALIER 1999, p. 81-98.

⁵⁴Bourdichon succeeded Jean Fouquet as the king's official painter in 1481. AVRIL, REYNAUD 1995, p. 293.

⁵⁵GAUDE-FERRAGU 2010, p. 779-804: 'de la grandeur de ladite dame', 'selon sa semblance'.

continued for ten days inside the château's chapel – the chapel of Saint Florentin – transformed for the occasion into a place of mourning: the main altar was dressed with black velvet and taffeta, the fourteen secondary altars with black buckram, and a mourning ribbon enveloped the choir and nave. A *chapelle ardente* illuminated the casket.

It was at Cléry, for her final entry, that the queen was presented in majesty, surrounded by numerous mourners: religious, the poor (carrying torches), members of her household and her relatives (her brother, Philip of Bresse; her daughter, Jeanne of France; her niece, Anne of Savoy). Her effigy was transported across the town on a litter covered with a cloth-of-gold pall. The queen was dressed in the royal costume, composed of a bi-colored *surcot* of red and blue velvet ('on her arms, the bi-colors of Savoy and of France'), and of a 'coat *de parement*' made of blue satin covered with *fleurs-de-lis* and lined with ermine (an exact replica of the coat the monarch wore during the great ceremonies **of his reign**). The regalia were displayed: the mannequin, crowned, was designed to hold the sceptre and the *main de justice*.⁵⁶ A dais covered the litter, its canopy made of red cloth-of-gold and decorated with the queen's coat of arms.⁵⁷ Charlotte of Savoy was then buried in the collegiate church of Notre Dame of Cléry, where a mourning ribbon of heraldic

56AN, KK 69, fol. 116 v-120. The head reposed on a *carreau d'honneur*, covered in *drap d'or*.

57AN, KK 69, fol. 121. Four lances supported it, AN, KK 69, fol. 122.

décor hung, made of black buckram in the nave, and of velvet in the choir. The lighting was impressive: on 14 December, nearly 700 candles illuminated the mortuary chapel, the choir, and the altars. Six large, 25-pound candles encircled the body.⁵⁸

On the orders of Charles VIII – her son – and his counsellors, in particular Pierre and Anne of Beaujeu – Charlotte of Savoy enjoyed all of the elements of the royal funerary ritual. The only difference between the customary funerals of kings and queens was that distance prevented the participation of the presidents of the Parlement of Paris and the capital's magistrates. These groups were, however, present during the celebration of Anne of Brittany's funeral in 1514, where considerable innovations were added to the traditional funerary elements; the introduction of the funerary meal rediscovered from Antiquity, for example.⁵⁹

Between Royal Imitation and Ceremonial Affirmation: The Kingdom's Princes

During the fifteenth century, the kingdom's princes affirmed their identity and their power through the celebration of sumptuous funerals which, among other

⁵⁸Two of these weighed as much as 30 pounds of wax.

⁵⁹Cf. Monique Chatenet's article in the present volume, pp. 00 and Girault, 2014.

ceremonies, distinguished them from “common mortals.”⁶⁰ Several codes characterized their funerals: the corpse was embalmed, permitting its conservation for several days longer in its entirety; a lead coffin; a funerary pall, systematically made of cloth-of-gold and emblazoned with the deceased’s arms;⁶¹

(Fig. 4)

the presence of *pleurants*, usually poor people remunerated for the occasion who were dressed in black gowns and hoods, these ferrymen of eternity sought out for the efficacy of their prayers but whose **number** also signalled the deceased’s eminence; **the participation of the prelates, the nobles, the urban elite, and the group of household officers (who can served the personal or public person of the defunct)** in the celebration; and a profusion of light, characterized, among other things, by the presence of a *chapelle ardente* during the liturgical celebrations.

To these customary codes, certain princes added the exposition of their insignia, allowing them to affirm their sovereignty and distinctive power. The funeral celebrated in honor of Francis II of Brittany, who died in 1488, provides an eloquent example of this. The duke was buried in the Carmelite church of Nantes, not in a lead coffin like most princes, but with his body uncovered and dressed in ceremonial costume, like the king. Furthermore, in the funeral train the ceremony’s organizer, the chancellor of Brittany, Philip of Montauban, displayed two insignia

⁶⁰On this section, permit me to refer the reader to my work, GAUDE-FERRAGU 2005.

of power; the duke's sword – given to him during his coronation – and the duchy's seals; an equestrian seal and a seal of majesty. The placement of these objects can be explained by the difficult context of the Breton succession. It was necessary to demonstrate to everyone in the duchy the deceased's 'almost sovereign' power, so as to affirm his political power and, above all, that of his daughter and heir, Anne of Brittany.

The same issue arose in 1503 during the celebration of the funeral of Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon, a funeral which his wife, Anne of Beaujeu, organized. Anne chose to adopt the principal elements of the royal rite; the dais, effigy, and cry of succession. The use of a wax mannequin, however, was reserved solely for the monarchs, their spouses, and princes endowed with a royal title, even if this title was fictive, as with René of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily (†1480). This ceremonial appropriation was justified by Pierre II's regency during the minority of Charles VIII (1483–1488) and during the king's departure for Italy (1494–1495). This appropriation further allowed the symbolic affirmation of the Bourbon princes' power and that of the duchess, Anne, and the deceased's daughter, Suzanne, in the context of a delicate succession; a succession which was proclaimed in the funerary cry that transformed the ducal funeral into an inaugural ceremony:

Vive mes dame et damoyse duchesses de Bourbonnois et
d'Auvergne, contesses de Clermont, de Fourestz, de Gien, de la Marche,

vicontesses de Carlat et de Murat, dames de Beaujeulois, de Nonnay et de Bourbon Lanceys

[Long live my lady and damsel the duchesses of Bourbonnois and of Auvergne, countesses of Clermont, of Fourestz, of Gien, of La Marche, viscountesses of Carlat and of Murat, ladies of Beaujeulois, of Nonnay, and of Bourbon Lanceys].⁶¹

But princes' funerals were not simple imitations of royal rites. In ritual, interactions were continual. The presence of the poor as torch-bears is first attested amongst the princely courts.⁶² In the same manner, for a long time the chivalric offering was specific to the noble realm (it was not introduced into the royal rite until 1498, with the death of Charles VIII).⁶³ Appearing in the mid-thirteenth century in Flanders and England, the display of the deceased's arms, banners, and horses characterized numerous princely convoys throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the cortege which led Louis of Male, Count of Flanders, to the collegiate church of Saint Pierre of Lille in 1384, sixteen knights preceded the

⁶¹GAUDE-FERRAGU 2005, p. 262-263.

⁶²It is only under Charles VII that the torch-bearers, dressed in mourning, were poor people remunerated for the occasion.

⁶³The standards (*guidon*, emblem, pennant, banner), the arms (coat of arms and sword) and the king's ceremonial horses were then exhibited in the convoy, Alain BOUREAU 1988, p. 100-1.

defunct prince. Some held his banners and others – the knights – his complete armour (both his tournament and war **shield, lance, sword and helmets**).⁶⁴ These honorific objects were then left on the altar inside the burial place, doubling the normal liturgical offering.⁶⁵ The chivalric offering organized for the burial of Louis of Male was impressive for the number of ‘arms’ offered: Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and Louis’s successor, presented the **prince’s war** shield, followed by numerous gentlemen who, successively, delivered all of his pieces of armour (forty in total, eight shields, eight swords, eight chargers, eight helms, and eight banners, either of war or of tournament). One must imagine that this vast military parade traversed the entire church up to the altar. The horses’ entrance, with all of the difficulties and inconveniences it could cause, is one of the most surprising elements.

This military armament, and in particular the deceased’s sword or shield, was occasionally used to symbolically affirm the transmission of power. This was notably the case in the principality of Foix-Béarn, as demonstrated in a commemorative ceremony organized in 1414, two years after the death of the count, Archambaud of Grailly, which took place in the Dominican church of

⁶⁴FROISSART 1872, t. XXI, p. 262-3.

⁶⁵For further details on the offering, GAUDE-FERRAGU 2005, p. 208-213. Cf. also in this volume, Alain Marchandisse’s article on the funerals of Philip the Good in 1467 and in 1473, pp. 00.

Orthez.⁶⁶ During the offering, the officiant was handed the count's sword 'completely bare' (a sign of death); then the count's son and successor, Jean I, received his shield which he immediately straightened, presenting it to the assembly of prelates, nobles, and urban communities, and, in doing so, demonstrating that the noble house's arms were henceforth in his hands.⁶⁷

Above all, royal and princely funerals were a Christian rite which, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, became a vast public ceremony which participated in the communication of power. The 'invention' of the effigy, linked to the 1422 crisis of succession and the English presence, remains one of this transformation's most remarkable elements, even if recent historiography has demonstrated that the effigy never incarnated the king's political and immortal body.⁶⁸

⁶⁶TUCOO-CHALA 1977, p. 18.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 19.

⁶⁸In addition to the bibliographic references provided above in note [XX], see Monique Chatenet's article in the present volume.

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