

**THE MISSING SISTER :
SÉBASTIEN LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT'S
LIFE OF ISABELLE OF FRANCE ***

by

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Scholars in every age have been known to puff up with self importance. Few would have had more justification than the great seventeenth-century church historian Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont. This well-known *érudit*, however, enjoyed a reputation for humility in his day. He was described by his contemporary, Père Léonard de Sainte-Catherine, as “un homme fort retiré, qui a beaucoup de piété, et d’une vie exemplaire [...] Il communique volontiers tout ce qu’il a et donne sans vouloir qu’on en fasse mention”¹. His one-time secretary, Michel Tronchay, treated him as a veritable saint in his memoirs, portraying him as “Amassant dans une humble et sainte obscurité / Les trésors de savoir qu’avec tant de largesse / il offre à la postérité”². But even such a generous and self-effacing author did desire to see his works in print, and must have had his patience tested by the plodding rate at which his books were published. For example, the first volume of his *Histoire des empereurs* appeared in 1690, but the sixth and final tome did not come out until 1738. And although volume one of his *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* saw the light of day in 1693, volume sixteen was printed only in 1712. Since Tillemont died in 1698, this sluggish pace could hardly have afforded him a full measure of satisfaction. But if his monumental studies of the early Christian era emerged from the press only belatedly, Tillemont’s foray into medieval history was even slower to be brought out. His massive study of Louis IX lingered for over a century and a half before its

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1. Cited by Bruno NEVEU, “Esquisse biographique de Le Nain de Tillemont”, in *Le Nain de Tillemont et l’historiographie de l’Antiquité romaine. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre Le Nain de Tillemont et tenu à la Fondation Singer-Polignac... les 19 et 20 novembre 1998 et à l’Institut de France le 21 novembre 1998*, Stan-Michel PELLISTRANDI ed., with Gesche LANDAIS and Christine PELLISTRANDI, Paris, 2002, pp. 23-29, at 28.

2. Michel TRONCHAY, *Vie de M. Lenain de Tillemont, avec des Réflexions sur divers sujets de morale, et quelques lettres de piété*, Cologne, 1711. The verse appears below the portrait of Tillemont that precedes the title page.

publication³. Even then, however, the wait was not quite over. As part of his *Vie de saint Louis*, Tillemont composed a compact biography of Louis's sister Isabelle of France (1225-1270) that has up until now remained unedited⁴. Even the humble Tillemont might agree that this rather unreasonable delay in publication has stretched on long enough.

Like Tillemont's "History of William of Saint-Amour" and "Conquest of Sicily by Charles of Anjou", the life of Isabelle was a discrete mini-treatise within the *Vie de saint Louis*. But whereas the first two appear as part of the edition of the *Vie de saint Louis* that Jules de Gaulle produced for the Société de l'Histoire de France between 1847 and 1851⁵, the life of Isabelle does not. J. de Gaulle unquestionably performed a great service for medieval scholars by editing Tillemont's life of Louis, which was the best available study of Louis IX until the 1970s and is still useful today. But he also deprived them of an important piece of historical writing by suppressing Tillemont's life of Isabelle. An editor must, of course, make choices – particularly when, as in this case, he is working with a mélange of drafts, notes, and different versions of the work in manuscript. But this was an unfortunate omission. Brief though it may be, Tillemont's treatment of Isabelle remains worthy of scholarly attention.

This article edits Tillemont's portrait of Isabelle for the first time, situates it within his larger œuvre, and discusses its interest. Following the trail of this text back to Tillemont's papers also leads to new insights into the larger *Vie de saint Louis* itself. The study of Isabelle was an integral part of Tillemont's work on Louis IX. It slipped through the cracks of de Gaulle's edition because of the nature of the manuscripts Tillemont left behind and the approach taken by his editor. "The missing sister" is indicative of the distance, generally unremarked by scholars, between de Gaulle's streamlined compilation and Tillemont's multiple manuscripts.

Le Nain de Tillemont and Saint Louis

One of the great scholars of his age, Le Nain de Tillemont was born in 1637 into a Parisian family well-connected in both parliamentary and jansenist circles. Jean IV Le Nain placed his son at Port-Royal to be educated when he

3. On Tillemont's writings and their publication dates see Bruno NEVEU, *Un historien à l'école de Port-Royal, Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont 1637-1698*, The Hague, 1966 (Archives internationales d'histoire des idées), pp. 145-165.

4. In his fundamental work of 1966, B. Neveu said only that the life of Isabelle was not edited by de Gaulle (*ibid.*, p. 150, n. 2). In a paper given in 1970 and printed in 1976, however, he indicated that the work "n'est pas retrouvée" (B. NEVEU, "Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint Louis*", in *Septième centenaire de la mort de saint Louis. Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21-27 mai 1970)*, Paris, 1976, pp. 315-329, at p. 323, n. 3).

5. J. DE GAULLE éd., *Vie de saint Louis, roi de France, par Le Nain de Tillemont, publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale et accompagnée de notes et d'éclaircissements*, 6 vols., Paris, 1847-1851. The treatises on William of Saint-Amour and the Conquest of Sicily are edited in vol. 6. The editor's first name is frequently given in bibliographic listings as Julien-Philippe or Julien. On the first, unnumbered, page of each volume of the *Vie de saint Louis*, however, a statement of approval from the Société de l'Histoire de France, signed by Natalis de Wailly, refers to "M. Jules de Gaulle".

was about nine. There the young Sébastien enjoyed the tutelage of, among others, the brothers Antoine Le Maistre and Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy. After leaving the *Petites Écoles*, Tillemont devoted himself to ecclesiastical history, working variously at Paris, Beauvais, and Saint-Lambert (near Chevreuse and Port-Royal-des-Champs) between 1655 and 1676, when he was ordained a priest and became a resident chaplain at Port-Royal-des-Champs. In 1679, when relations between Port-Royal and the crown soured, he retired to his family's estates, where he died in 1698 ⁶.

Tillemont's life-long intention was to bring to light the history of the early Christian Church. It was only the force of circumstance that caused him to interrupt this project to work on a *Vie de saint Louis* between approximately 1679 and 1684 ⁷. In so doing, he was participating in a collaborative effort at Port-Royal that spanned four decades. His mentor Antoine Le Maistre had been dedicated since the 1640s to composing a new series of lives of the saints, focusing from about 1653 on a new life of Saint Louis ⁸. Though Le Maistre died in 1658 without completing this work, some of the documentation he prepared eventually came into Tillemont's possession. By 1673, perhaps aware of the start made by Le Maistre, the *précepteur* and *gouverneur* of the Grand Dauphin (Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet and the duc de Montausier, Charles de Sainte-Maure) commissioned a *Vie de saint Louis* from Le Maistre de Sacy ⁹. De Sacy in turn entrusted the task of researching the work to Le Nain de Tillemont, who began meticulously gathering sources around 1679.

It was as part of this project that Tillemont composed his short biography of Louis IX's sister, Isabelle of France ¹⁰. Isabelle must have attracted his

6. B. NEVEU, *Un historien à l'école de Port-Royal*, *op. cit.*, biographical details pp. 3-110. See also Id., "Esquisse biographique de Le Nain de Tillemont" and "Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint Louis*" (both cited above); Id., "Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, 1637-1698, et l'érudition ecclésiastique de son temps", in *Religion, érudition et critique à la fin du XVII^e siècle et au début du XVIII^e*, Vendôme, 1967, pp. 21-32; Jean LESAULNIER, "La première formation religieuse de Lenain de Tillemont", in *Le Nain de Tillemont et l'historiographie*, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-50 (this article also appears in Id., *Images de Port-Royal*, Paris, 2002, pp. 413-435); and Frédéric DELFORGE and Bruno NEVEU, "Le Nain de Tillemont, Sébastien", in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Jean LESAULNIER and Antony McKENNA eds., Paris, 2004, pp. 646-648.

7. B. NEVEU, "Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint Louis*", art. cit., p. 315; Id., *Un historien à l'école de Port-Royal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-152. On the genesis of Tillemont's Life of Saint Louis see especially Jean MESNARD, "Port Royal et Saint Louis", *Chroniques de Port-Royal*, n° 46, 1997, pp. 53-74. For analysis of the work see Stan-Michel PELLISTRANDI, "Tillemont historien ou hagiographe d'après sa *Vie de Saint Louis roi de France*", in *Le Nain de Tillemont et l'historiographie*, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-500.

8. See J. MESNARD, "Port Royal et Saint Louis", art. cit., pp. 54-55. On Antoine Le Maistre see J. LESAULNIER, "Le Maistre, Antoine", in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 626-632; Id., "Jean Chapelain et Antoine le Maistre : histoire d'une amitié contrariée", *XVII^e siècle*, n° 205, 1999, pp. 609-632; and references found throughout Id., *Images de Port Royal*, *op. cit.*, esp. "Les Arnauld à l'hôtel de Rambouillet", pp. 45-62, and "Deux siècles d'historiographie port-royaliste", pp. 225-245.

9. J. MESNARD, "Port Royal et Saint Louis", art. cit., p. 57. On Le Maistre de Sacy, see J. LESAULNIER, "Le Maistre de Sacy, Louis-Isaac", in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 635-640.

10. On Isabelle see Sean L. FIELD, *Isabelle of France : Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century*, Notre Dame, Ind., 2006; Anne-Hélène ALLIROT, "Isabelle de

interest for several reasons. She had been a saintly woman herself, having rejected several illustrious proposals of marriage in favor of a life of holy virginity. She was best known as the founder of the royal abbey of Longchamp, situated just west of Paris and still thriving in the seventeenth century. She composed a rule for this abbey in collaboration with saint Bonaventure and other notable Franciscan masters at the University of Paris. She enjoyed a reputation for sanctity during her life, and an active cult devoted to her memory sprung up in the decades after her death. Her fame was substantially eclipsed by her brother's during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but beginning in the sixteenth century she once again began to draw significant attention as a French royal saint. Indeed, the seventeenth century was a golden era for Isabelle's cult, with two biographies and a treatise on the miracles performed at her tomb being published, and a new translation of her remains attracting a host of dignitaries¹¹. Antoine Le Maistre had already traveled to Longchamp to copy documents concerning Isabelle, which were now available to Tillemont¹². Including a study of this royal "saint" in his larger project on Louis was thus a logical step for Tillemont.

After de Sacy's death in 1684, however, Tillemont put aside his research on Louis IX¹³. He turned over his drafts and notes to another author associated with Port-Royal, Jean (Nicolas) Filleau de La Chaise, who used them as the

France, *sœur de saint Louis : la vierge savante. Étude de la Vie d'Isabelle de France écrite par Agnès d'Harcourt*", *Médiévales*, n° 48, 2005, pp. 55-98 ; S. L. FIELD, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt : The Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp*, Notre Dame, Ind., 2003 ; William Chester JORDAN, "Isabelle of France and Religious Devotion at the Court of Louis IX", in *Capetian Women*, Kathleen NOLAN ed., New York, 2003, pp. 209-223 ; S. L. FIELD, "Gilbert of Tournai's Letter to Isabelle of France : An Edition of the Complete Text", *Mediaeval Studies*, t. 65, 2003, pp. 57-97 ; Id., "New Evidence for the Life of Isabelle of France", *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., t. 13 (t. 74), 2002, pp. 117-131 ; Beth LYNN, "Clare of Assisi and Isabelle of Longchamp : Further Light on the Early Development of the Franciscan Charism", *Magistra. A Journal of women's spirituality in history*, t. 3, 1997, pp. 71-98 ; and Albert GARREAU, *Bienheureuse Isabelle de France, sœur de saint Louis*, Paris, 1955. Works which have appeared after this article was completed include Christian-Frederik FALSKAU, "*Hoc est quod cupio* : Approaching the Religious Goals of Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Bohemia, and Isabelle of France", *Magistra*, t. 12, 2006, pp. 3-29 ; Anne-Hélène ALLIROT, *'Filiae regis Francorum' : princesses royales, mémoire de saint Louis et conscience dynastique (de 1270 à la fin du XIV^e siècle)*, thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'université Paris X-Nanterre, 2007, ch. 9 ; and Sean L. FIELD, "Imagining Isabelle : Isabelle of France's Fifteenth-Century Epitaph at Longchamp", *Franciscan Studies*, t. 66, 2007, pp. 371-403.

11. Sébastien ROULLIARD, *La sainte mère, ou vie de M. sainte Isabel de France, sœur unique du roy S. Louys, fondatrice de l'abbaye de Long-champ*, Paris, 1619 ; Nicolas CAUSSIN, *La vie de S^{te} Isabelle sœur du roy saint Louis et fondatrice du monastère royal de Long-champ, qui a donné un parfait exemple de la vie neutre des personnes non mariées ny religieuses*, Paris, 1644 ; *L'abrégé de la vie et miracle fait à l'Abbaye de Long-champ sur le tombeau de la bienheureuse Isabel de France, fille du roy Louys VIII et sœur du bon roy s. Louys*, Longchamp, 1637. On Isabelle's reputation in the seventeenth century see Thomas WORCESTER s.j., "Neither Married nor Cloistered : Blessed Isabelle in Catholic Reformation France", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, t. 30, 1999, pp. 457-472.

12. Documents 60-71 in Tillemont's cahier B, now ms. BnF, fr. 13747, concerned Longchamp. Several had been copied by Le Maistre in 1653. See S. L. FIELD, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt, op. cit.*, pp. 27-28 ; Id., "New Evidence for the Life of Isabelle of France", art. cit., pp. 119-120, and the list of Tillemont's sources in Appendix B below.

13. B. NEVEU, "Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint Louis*", art. cit., pp. 317-318, 321.

basis for the *Histoire de saint Louis* that appeared in 1688¹⁴. Whether or not his papers were ever returned is unclear ; in any case they were dispersed after his death. Some were lost and others were in private hands by the nineteenth century, but most entered the collection of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and then made their way to the Bibliothèque royale, where they eventually served as the basis for Jules de Gaulle's edition¹⁵.

J. de Gaulle had access to two different manuscript copies of Tillemont's life of Isabelle, as we shall see. Why, then, did he choose not to edit it ? Answering this question requires investigation into the history of the *Vie de saint Louis*, and produces some rather unexpected insights into the nature of the surviving manuscripts and their relationship to the nineteenth-century edition.

The Method and Manuscripts of Le Nain de Tillemont

Tillemont's working method can be reconstructed from his surviving papers. He began with a vast collection of transcriptions, original documents, and notes. Some of these were gathered into *cahiers* labeled A-G (of which only B survives today, as BnF, ms. fr. 13747), but he also possessed other miscellaneous compilations. This documentary base resulted from a corporate effort, reflecting work done by Tillemont, his mentors at Port-Royal, and other scholars such as Vyon de Hérouval. Ms. BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 1722, for example, is identified as Tillemont's notes¹⁶. This diverse collection, however, was in fact compiled by Antoine Le Maistre, presumably during his early work on a life of Saint Louis¹⁷. Tillemont apparently also had "research assistants". For instance, at the back of ms. BnF, fr. 13750¹⁸ is a list of "pièces à copier dans les preuves de l'histoire de Chatill[on]" – André Du Chesne's *Histoire de la maison de Châtillon*. The desired copies were indeed made, and are now appended to ms. fr. 13749, in a hand that is not

14. Jean FILLEAU DE LA CHAISE, *Histoire de saint Louis, divisée en XV livres*, 2 vols., Paris, 1688. On this work see J. MESNARD, "Port Royal and Saint Louis", art. cit., pp. 64-71, and Jean LESAULNIER, "Filleau de La Chaise, Nicolas", in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, op. cit., p. 409.

15. B. NEVEU, "Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint Louis*", art. cit., p. 323, says Tillemont's manuscripts passed "en presque totalité à Saint-Germain-des-Prés".

16. The manuscript originally numbered 768 pages, but many are now missing and its modern foliation goes only up to 176. It alternates topical and chronological notes : fol. 1, topical headings such as "Naissance", "Education", "Sacre" ; fol. 30 (modern foliation), alphabetized notes from "Agréable" to "Ze" ; fol. 41, chronological notes beginning with the year 1229 ; fol. 107, more topical entries, including (fol. 116, original p. 571) one on Isabelle of France. This page, however, contains only references to general teachings on virginity, and original pages 572-578 are then missing.

17. The hand is certainly Le Maistre's rather than Tillemont's. Ms. BnF, fr. 13752 also contains notes, rough drafts, and copies of documents in other hands. Of particular interest, fols. 210-214 contain a partial "Inventaire des pièces qui peuvent servir à la vie de S. Louis", noting in the left margin the location of these "pièces" in Tillemont's notebooks B, C, D and F. A partial reconstitution of these notebooks, of which only B is extant, could be compiled from this source. Similar notes in a hand other than Tillemont's are found appended to ms. BnF, fr. 13749 (fols. 1-120 of second foliation).

18. Recto of the folio which follows 1112, first left unnumbered but then labeled 1113 by a later hand.

Tillemont's ¹⁹. Several thousand pages of documents and notes such as these provided Tillemont's building blocks ²⁰.

Out of this mass of information, Tillemont began to assemble his material in chronological order ²¹. A "first draft" of the *Vie* survives in its entirety, though not in a simple form. Tillemont's approach was to create a small piece of text, ranging from a few words to a short paragraph, and to place references in the left margin to the manuscript or printed work that documented it. He would draw a line underneath and then repeat the process. Tillemont wrote this first draft on regular eight-folio quires of a uniform size, using only the recto sides, thus producing a manuscript of 1476 folios covering 580 chapters. He made numerous corrections, deletions, and additions (often on the facing verso of the preceding folio) as he proceeded. This draft was later bound into four volumes, with additional material appended at the end of each. Today, ms. BnF, fr. 13748, fol. 1-213, contain the *Preliminaires* to the work. Folios 214-336 of the same manuscript begin the *Vie* proper, going up to the year 1232. The narrative picks up in ms. BnF, fr. 13749, whose first folio is numbered 337, and then advances through fol. 680 and the year 1250. Ms. BnF, fr. 1350, fol. 681-1112, cover the years 1250-1268.

To this point, reconstructing this "first draft" is a fairly straightforward matter. But as Tillemont neared the end of his work, the draft became more confused. Even in the early sections one finds occasional notes indicating that a portion of text should be moved to an earlier or later page. But this sort of alteration becomes more frequent and confusing the farther one goes in the draft. The coherence of the draft diminishes notably in ms. BnF, fr. 1351, where fol. 1113-1476 contain the rest of the *Vie*. These folios cover the years 1269-1270 and the concluding thematic chapters of the work. They also hold the first draft of Tillemont's "History of William of Saint-Amour", the "Conquest of the Kingdom of Sicily by Charles of Anjou" and the life of "the blessed Isabelle of France".

The arrangement of this manuscript, however, becomes increasingly chaotic. Briefly, the chronological portion dealing with 1269 and 1270 occupies fol. 1113-1135. Then the "Histoire de Guillaume de Saint-Amour" begins on fol. 1135-1137, but quickly breaks off (continuing later on fol. 1346-1392). On fol. 1138, the "Conquête du royaume de Sicile par Charle comte d'Anjou et de Provence" commences, but gives way to an insertion that refers back to earlier chapters (242 and 243) concerning Emperor Frederick II. Fol. 1143-

19. Second foliation, fols. 66-120.

20. His secretary, Michel Tronchay, described his work on the life of Louis thus : "Mr. Tillemont employa plus de deux ans à y travailler. Quoi qu'il lût avec une rapidité étonnante, il fut au moins un an à ne faire que lire, et à déchiffrer une infinité de mémoires et de manuscrits" (*Vie de M. Le Nain de Tillemont, op. cit.*, p. 13).

21. Some of Tillemont's first note-taking was chronological, perhaps revealing an even earlier stage of organization. Ms. BnF, fr. 13748 and 13749 both have sections of preliminary, chronological notes appended ; ms. fr. 13748, fols. 337-348, twelfth century to 1232 ; ms. fr. 13749, second foliation, fols. 17-24, years 1233-1248. Ms. fr. 13752 contains two sets of chronological notes ; fols. 18-177 (1223-1270), and fols. 246-284 (1202-1297). These were probably transcriptions from printed collections, but I have not traced their sources. Ms. fr. 13752 also has thematic notes on fols. 1-17, 145-207, and 312-321 ; in the middle section can be seen the germ of some of the last chapters of the Life of Louis.

1207 contain the main text of the "Conqueste" (although fol. 1161-1168 are now missing). After several more insertions, fol. 1210-1218 contain the life of "La bienheureuse Isabelle de France, sœur de S. Louis, et fondatrice de l'Abbaye de Long-champ", with a note indicating that the work relates to fol. 452, which discusses the year 1243 (the date of Isabelle's refusal of marriage to Conrad). Fol. 1218-1401 alternate between new chapters and material to be inserted elsewhere. Finally, on fol. 1401-1476, Tillemont returns to a fairly straightforward presentation of chapters 541-580.

To add to the confusion, Tillemont appended a set of endnotes to his first draft. These notes are similar in appearance to the main body of the text, and have their own marginal documentation. Although they are now broken up, their original arrangement is still evident. After fol. 680 of ms. BnF, fr. 13749, new foliation 1-16 contains the endnotes for years 1244 to 1248. Then ms. fr. 13752, fol. 423-478, which bear the original foliation 17-72, cover the years 1249-1270, as well as the conquest of Sicily and the life of Isabelle²². In ms. fr. 13751, after four blank folios following fol. 1476, additional endnotes pertain to the years 1256-1257 and 1261-1262, to the thematic chapter 540 (on Louis's piety), and to the "Histoire de Guillaume de Saint-Amour". These folios were originally numbered 73-81²³. In the same manuscript, eight blank folios ensue, and then a section with an original foliation 2-18 contains unnumbered notes to the pre-1244 section of the work²⁴.

In this state, the "first draft" of the *Vie de saint Louis* was unreadable for practical purposes. A more coherent version was obviously necessary²⁵. Accordingly, Tillemont set out to streamline the text. It is not clear whether a distinct and complete "second draft" ever existed, but scattered through Tillemont's papers are rewritings that are clearly more polished than the first draft, yet not entirely finished. For example, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 10407 contains a second draft of Tillemont's chapters dealing with the crusades²⁶,

22. Like the rest of the first draft, Tillemont generally wrote these notes on regular eight-folio quires. In ms. fr. 13749, fols. 1-16 are made up of two eight-folio quires; in ms. fr. 13752 (original), fols. 17-72 are made up of seven eight-folio quires.

23. The appended folios in ms. fr. 13751 have been refoiliated 1-34 (10-17 blank) plus blank fols. 35-36, and additional notes fols. 37 and 37bis. The appended material is made up of four eight-folio quires (fols. 1-32), plus one four-folio quire (fols. 33-36) and two additional folios pasted in (37 and 37bis). I thank Elizabeth A. R. Brown for kindly verifying the information in this and the previous note.

24. J. de Gaulle edited Tillemont's endnotes in vol. 6, interspersing them with his own editorial remarks. I have not determined exactly how he treated the more disorganized portions of the notes, but here he crossed out some of them in pencil.

25. A chart inserted after fol. 1416 in ms. BnF, fr. 13751 attempts to show how all the later additions should be integrated into earlier chapters, and especially how the histories of Guillaume and Charles should be assembled. A similar chart is found on fol. 339 of ms. BnF, fr. 13752.

26. Pages 1-112 of ms. BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 10407 are a collation made by Lévesque de La Ravalière in 1743 between the printed editions of Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis* and the manuscript that is now BnF, fr. 10148. Bound after these pages are 140 folios that contain the partial draft of Tillemont's *Vie de saint Louis* (fols. 141-142, interestingly enough, contain a separate transcription of part of Pope Leo X's 1521 "beatification" bull of Isabelle of France). This manuscript, however, was not yet owned by the Bibliothèque nationale when de Gaulle was preparing his edition, and there is no evidence that he was aware of its existence (Neveu's assumption to the contrary notwithstanding; cf. Id., "Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint*

and as we shall see, ms. BnF, fr. 13746 preserves part of another intermediate draft. At this stage Tillemont produced ms. BnF, fr. 13753, which contains second drafts of the three short treatises on William of Saint-Amour, the Conquest of Sicily, and Isabelle of France²⁷. Tillemont incorporated little new material here and made few changes in content; he was chiefly concerned with turning a disordered draft into something more readable. To take the example of the text that most concerns us here, changes and marginal additions made in the first draft of the life of Isabelle were smoothly incorporated into the second, but otherwise the content is virtually identical.

Finally, an effort was made to compile a “final” version. Ms. BnF, fr. 13746 contains part of a neat, clear, legible text that represents the final stage of preparation. We shall return to the problems raised by this manuscript, and to the question of how it was compiled and by whom.

Jules de Gaulle’s Edition

This, then, was the mass of material facing Jules de Gaulle. As his “Avertissement” makes clear, he used mss. BnF, fr. 13746-13752 to assemble his edition²⁸. But he rather misleadingly conveyed the impression that a single, coherent, version of the *Vie de saint Louis* was available to him. His subtitle, “d’après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale,” particularly implies a reassuring sense of a single manuscript waiting to be published. The manuscript that he referred to, and quite sensibly used as his starting point, was fr. 13746. He termed this the “mise au net de l’ouvrage”, again implying that he had a finished product at hand. De Gaulle did indicate that ms. fr. 13746 contained two lacunae that he had to fill “à l’aide de la rédaction première de l’auteur, qui s’est retrouvée tout entière, quoique très confusément disposée, dans les autres volumes”²⁹.

But this seemingly straightforward account conceals several difficulties, largely because ms. BnF, fr. 13746 is a more complicated manuscript than the term “mise au net” implies³⁰. It begins with a section paginated 1-268 which

Louis”, art. cit., p. 323, n. 3. B. Neveu refers to vol. 4, p. 416 and vol. 5, p. 224 in his note, but nothing on those pages substantiates his claim that the manuscript “a été utilisé par J. de Gaulle”). Not only does de Gaulle make no reference to this manuscript or show any evidence of having consulted it, but it does not bear any of his tell-tale pencil markings.

27. Ms. BnF, fr. 13749, fols. 43-64 (second foliation) may also have been produced at this stage, and ms. fr. 13752 has similar material scattered throughout fols. 322-422.

28. Henri OMONT, *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits français, ancien supplément français*, vol. 3, Paris, 1896, pp. 94-95. In de Gaulle’s era they were catalogued as 2013 (cotés 1, 2) and 2013bis (cotés 3-7) supplément français.

29. J. DE GAULLE, *Vie de saint Louis*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. vii.

30. Some of these complications were evident as early as 1839. A note on a smaller piece of paper inserted before fol. 1 of the manuscript describes its state in that year. The first hand, in pen, may be that of Monmerqué (on whom see below). The second hand, in pencil, is probably that of de Gaulle: “Vie de St. Louis par Tillemont. Le Ms. se composait de 940 [crossed out in pencil, replaced with ‘979’] pages, outre les Préliminaires, composés de 268 pages. Dans son état actuel, les Préliminaires sont tout complets. Il y a deux lacunes dans la vie de St. Louis; la première de la page 272 à la page 497 (225 pages en déficit); la seconde de la page 608 à la page 625 (17 pages en déficit) [the last clause crossed out in pencil, replaced with ‘n’est qu’une

presents the *Préliminaires* for the life of Louis in 115 chapters. After two blank folios, a new page numbering begins the *Vie de saint Louis* proper. Pages 1-272 comprise chapters 1-124 (years 1226-1237) ; but pages 273-496, which contained the end of chapter 124 to the middle of chapter 244 (years 1237 to 1248), are now missing from the manuscript, as de Gaulle noted. The text then recommences at pages 497-574, covering the second half of chapter 244 through chapter 291 (from late 1248 through 1250). To this point, the text is in a single, neat hand, with virtually no corrections or additions. Primary differences from the first and intermediary drafts are the use of lower case letters to link to the notes, which are found with the corresponding letter in the margins, and writing on both recto and verso. The presentation is polished and precise.

On page 574, however, a sudden change occurs. Chapter 292 begins half-way down the page. The heading and the first three words of the chapter ("S. Louis avoit...") are in the same hand and ink as the previous pages. At this point another hand takes over, using different nib and ink. Moreover, although the marginal notes continue, the use of lower case letters to link them to the text ceases³¹. The appearance of the text becomes less polished and formal. The references are not as clearly indicated, and several "notes to self" begin to appear in the margins. At one point a chapter heading is omitted (supplied in the margin by de Gaulle in pencil : "ccxciv S. Louis refuse un serment")³².

What has happened ? One might first assume that Tillemont grew tired or ill and turned the task of a final compilation over to someone else. But, in fact, it seems extremely unlikely that the first hand (up through p. 574) is actually Tillemont's³³. Even allowing for differences between the same person's casual and formal writing styles, this hand bears no resemblance to that of Tillemont. Nor am I convinced that the second hand is his³⁴. Tillemont may or may not have been supervising the work, but he was not personally compiling the "mise au net." Moreover, the change of hand took place at exactly the spot in the text where the first draft in ms. BnF, fr. 13749 ends (fol. 680). It is as if the copyist put down his pen when he reached the end of one volume of his exemplar. This may be a coincidence ; if not, it would imply that the final version was being prepared from the first, not an intermediate, draft.

transposition. Voir p. 608]. Nota : La mise au net va jusqu'à la page 882 ; mais la minute en a été conservée depuis la page 849, et va jusqu'à la page 940 et dernière. Le total des pages en déficit est de 242. 24 octobre 1839." Then in pencil : "Ces lacunes remontent à l'année 1824, le MSS ayant été prêté au dehors." The verso of this page is blank. I thank Elizabeth A. R. Brown for completing and verifying my transcription.

31. In a few instances lower case letters are used to link to marginal notes in this section, but these are rare and seemingly random.

32. Ms. BnF, fr. 13746, p. 577. De Gaulle supplied the title from ms. fr. 13750, fol. 683.

33. De Gaulle seems to admit as much, referring at one point to "le copiste du manuscrit de Tillemont" (vol. 6, p. 229). Otherwise this fact, which must have been apparent to him, is not mentioned.

34. It is smaller, more slanted, and more regular than examples of his writing in the first or any of the intermediate drafts known to me.

The text then continues in this second hand until p. 882³⁵, in the middle of chapter 457³⁶. After two blank pages that end a quire, what follows is quite different. The new section is in fact an intermediate draft, probably in Tillemont's hand, that has been appended to the unfinished "mise au net". Writing is now on recto sides only, as was customary in Tillemont's early drafts. The first page of the new section is numbered 849, and it doubles back to the text of chapter 437³⁷. This text must have been taken from an intermediate draft, the first 848 pages of which are now lost. In this numbering the text continues to p. 940, chapter 473 (year 1269), breaking off in media res five lines down the page, where the manuscript ends³⁸.

Thus several conclusions about Tillemont's intentions and de Gaulle's method suggest themselves. First, it seems unlikely that there ever was a single complete "mise au net" of Le Nain de Tillemont's *Vie de saint Louis*. The most formal and complete extant copy can only be said to include the *Préliminaires* and chapters 1-124 and 244-291. A finished copy of chapters 125-244 must have been prepared, but it was lost before de Gaulle's day. Chapters 292 to 457 represent a slightly different redaction, one that is less finished and formal. It was taken up by a second copyist in a conscious attempt to finish the "mise au net", but probably was never completed. For this reason, someone appended what appeared to be the best surviving draft of at least part of the final section. Chapters 458-473 of the modern edition therefore stem from an intermediate, not a final, draft, a fact nowhere noted by de Gaulle. This may be the only part of ms. fr. 13746 that is in Tillemont's hand. It is impossible to say exactly how closely he was involved with the production of the unfinished final version, or who its actual copyists were.

Why did the process come to a halt so near to its apparent goal? It is generally said that Tillemont had no interest in producing a finished literary product himself; he was merely compiling research for de Sacy, after whose death he lost interest and gave his notes to Filleau de La Chaise³⁹. The truth is evidently somewhat more complex. Tillemont's first draft was far more than a set of notes. It was, as we have seen, the product of several preliminary stages and formed a coherent study of Louis IX. It was only unfinished in the

35. The text at the bottom of p. 882 ends with the syllable "con" and a catch word indicating that the next page should begin with "servent". At the bottom of p. 608, a note in pen (and hence probably not by de Gaulle) correctly indicates that "les pages 609-624 ont été transposées. Elles se trouvent après la page 672". This error must have been made during binding.

36. At the bottom of the page is a note in brown ink that reads "N. B. Voyez la suite de cette histoire pag. 903 ligne 25 de la minute, placée à la suite de la copie au net, de même main que celle de la minute". On line 25 of p. 903, markers in the same brown ink in both the left and right margins indicate the exact spot at which the narrative can be picked back up. I do not believe this indication was added by de Gaulle. It may have been the work of whoever pieced the original manuscript together.

37. The text picks up in media res, reading "il l'excommunie, et que s'il vient à apprendre d'un autre ce qu'il luy aura caché..." Cf. J. DE GAULLE, *Vie de saint Louis*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 409.

38. The concluding text reads "Philippe III. Voulant, dit il, suivre les traces de son père, renouvela cette ordonnance presque en mesmes termes l'an 1274, au Parlement de l'Assomption." Cf. J. DE GAULLE, ed. cit., vol. 5, p. 73, where a starred note reads "Ici se termine la copie au net du Manuscrit de Tillemont".

39. For example, B. NEVEU, "Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint Louis*", art. cit., p. 322; J. MESNARD, "Port Royal et Saint Louis", art. cit., pp. 63-64.

sense that it required integrating the corrections and additions that Tillemont had made as he progressed. Hence when he himself worked on "second drafts", he added little. It was only the very last stage – producing one neat and coherent copy of the work that could be presented for study, reference, or perhaps eventual publication – that seems to have been abandoned by Tillemont. Yet even here someone, or perhaps two or three people, put a great deal of effort into compiling the complete, if uneven, version found in ms. fr. 13746. This must have been done before Tillemont's notebooks and first draft were given to Filleau de La Chaise. It is impossible to say exactly why this task was abandoned, but we are left with the paradox of a work that can be described as mere "notes" while being treated in both the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries as a finished product, worthy of careful preservation and then publication.

Second, de Gaulle faced more of a challenge filling in the two lacunae in ms. fr. 13746 than he acknowledged. The first, covering chapters 125-244, would not have presented too many difficulties. De Gaulle used ms. BnF, fr. 13749, fol. 389-563⁴⁰, where Tillemont's first draft was still fairly coherent. The second, from chapter 474 to 580, however, must have presented greater difficulty, since as we have seen many of the later chapters in the first draft are a hodgepodge of additions and alterations. De Gaulle certainly used ms. fr. 13751 (beginning on fol. 1115)⁴¹, where he would have had to make many arbitrary editorial judgments about what to keep, what to discard, and how to arrange his material. Thus this section of the modern edition bears the heaviest imprint of de Gaulle's decision making⁴².

Third, the "traités particuliers" on William of Saint-Amour, the Conquest of Sicily, and Isabelle of France must have posed the biggest dilemmas for de Gaulle. Where did they actually belong? They seem to be interjections; the first two possess their own internal chapter numbers, and none is given a chapter number within the larger *Vie de saint Louis*. Tillemont's own first draft had struggled with this issue, beginning these sections, breaking off, then starting again later. Were they to be integrated into the *Vie*, or appended to it? And, for William of Saint-Amour and the Conquest of Sicily, how were they to be assembled from the confused pieces Tillemont left behind?

Here de Gaulle had some guidance, since he was able to compare the first draft in ms. fr. 13751 against the manuscript that is now BnF, fr. 13753. The latter was actually not yet owned by the Bibliothèque royale. Since 1833 it had

40. De Gaulle's note in pencil on the recto of the first folio reads "lacunae 389-563", and his pencil markings on fols. 389 and 563 indicate the exact limits of the section missing in the "mise au net". In his edition his use of the first draft is clearly indicated to the reader. In vol. 2, p. 303, in the middle of the page at the exact point where the text breaks off, he inserts the note "[Ici commence dans la mise au net du manuscrit de Tillemont une lacune de deux cent-vingt-cinq pages qui s'étend jusque vers le milieu du chapitre CCXLIV, année 1248.]", and vol. 3, p. 200, reads "[Ici finit, dans la mise au net du manuscrit de Tillemont, la lacune que nous avons signalée tome II, p. 303]".

41. On the blank unnumbered folio before 1113 de Gaulle's note in pencil reads "p. 1115. fin de la copie au net, au mot : *assomption*". De Gaulle's pencil mark is again visible on fol. 1115.

42. As B. Neveu noted ("Le Nain de Tillemont et la *Vie de saint Louis*", art. cit., p. 323, n. 4), perhaps access to de Gaulle's personal correspondence would clarify "l'éventuelle existence de fragments de recueils ou d'appendices qui n'auraient pas été retenus pour l'impression".

been in the hands of the well-known magistrate and scholar Louis-Jean-Nicolas Monmerqué (1780-1860), who lent it to de Gaulle in April 1847⁴³. In a note, de Gaulle indicates that he used this manuscript to fill two more lacunae that existed in fr. 13751 for the sections on Charles's conquest⁴⁴. But the version in the Monmerqué manuscript was actually far more coherent than the one in fr. 13751, and revealed how Tillemont had intended to reassemble the various pieces of these short treatises. It seems odd, therefore, that de Gaulle would not have employed Monmerqué's manuscript as his base. Perhaps he wanted to work from the same version throughout for the sake of consistency; very likely he actually used the Monmerqué manuscript more often than he admitted. In any case, consulting this manuscript, where the histories of William and Charles were copied separately from the rest of the *Vie de saint Louis*, probably encouraged de Gaulle to treat them in a similar manner in his final volume⁴⁵.

Once he had determined to edit the "History of William of Saint-Amour" and the "Conquest of Sicily" as discrete appendices to the main narrative, he still had to decide what to do with the life of Isabelle. Like the other two treatises, it fell outside the chapter outline of the Life of Louis, yet, as the shortest of the three, it may not have seemed substantial enough to warrant inclusion as a separate appendix. He elected to omit it altogether. Rather than acknowledge this awkward suppression, however, de Gaulle avoided mentioning even the existence of the treatise on Isabelle⁴⁶. In his defense, the last parts of his editorial project must have been the most tedious; assembling Tillemont's later, more confused chapters from his rough draft and editing his notes would have been time-consuming. The publication dates of the individual volumes hint as much: Volumes 1-2 in 1847, vol. 3-4 in 1848, vol. 5 in 1849, but then a two year wait before vol. 6 in 1851 (though certainly these were tumultuous years in France). Indeed, there are indications that de Gaulle never quite finished his intended task. For instance, his "Avertissement" had promised that a table of sources and editions used by Tillemont would follow the text, but it never materialized. Perhaps the little life of Isabelle was just one more final detail that he could not manage.

This editorial decision, if understandable, was decidedly unfortunate. As the analysis above has shown, the life of Isabelle of France was an integral

43. On Monmerqué see J. DESNOYERS, "Notice biographique sur M. de Monmerqué", *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, t. 2, 1859-1860, mai 1860, pp. 301-320, 339-345. Monmerqué himself recorded his acquisition of the manuscript and its loan to de Gaulle in notes in ms. BnF, fr. 13753, fol. 1. See the description of the manuscript in Appendix A below.

44. J. DE GAULLE, *Vie de saint Louis*, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 36, starred note: "Ce qui est placé ici entre crochets manque dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale. Cette lacune et une autre plus considérable, que nous signalerons plus loin, ont pu être comblées à l'aide d'un manuscrit appartenant à M. Monmerqué, et contenant une copie des deux ouvrages de Tillemont sur la conquête de Sicile et sur Guillaume de Saint-Amour." The second lacuna he refers to is on pp. 39-52.

45. J. DE GAULLE, *ed. cit.*, vol. 6: *Conquête du royaume de Sicile par Charles, comte d'Anjou et de Provence*, pp. 1-134, and the *Histoire de Guillaume de Saint-Amour*, pp. 135-228.

46. See the quotation in note 44 above, where de Gaulle describes ms. fr. 13753 as containing "deux ouvrages". His *Avertissement*, moreover, says that the whole Life of Saint Louis was made up of 580 chapters, "non compris deux traités particuliers, l'un sur la conquête de la Sicile par Charles d'Anjou, l'autre sur la vie de Guillaume de Saint-Amour..." (*ed. cit.*, vol. 1, p. vii).

part of Tillemont's master plan for his work, just like the other two mini-treatises in ms. fr. 13753, and indeed like many of his self-contained later chapters, such as those on Queen Marguerite and Philip III (ch. 515 and 519). In ms. fr. 13751, Tillemont indicated that the material on Isabelle accompanied the section dealing with the year 1243. Perhaps it was actually copied into that part of the final version – but since that is exactly where the first lacunae in fr. 13746 occurs, we will never know.

All in all, de Gaulle performed a Herculean task by bringing Tillemont's work into print. Yet his omission of the study of Isabelle of France demonstrates that the many copies of Tillemont's *Vie de saint Louis* found on the shelves of research libraries around the world are merely the last in a long line of incomplete versions of the work.

The Interest of the Text

By arbitrarily omitting Tillemont's study of Isabelle, de Gaulle created the false impression that this was an expendable, trifling treatise. Quite to the contrary, it was a rather remarkable piece of early modern erudition. Tillemont's writings have long been valued for their painstaking recourse to original sources and scrupulous weighing of evidence. Tillemont used a wide range of manuscript and printed evidence to answer a series of discrete questions. As Jean Mesnard has aptly put it, "Son texte se décompose en une multitude de petites unités dont chacune donne lieu à référence précise et unique"⁴⁷. For exactly that reason, Tillemont's works are still useful in establishing the existence of documentary evidence and gleaning information about now-lost documents. The life of Isabelle of France reads like a series of precise questions posed, mulled over, and compared with the evidence. Its conclusions are perceptive, its references illuminating.

This biography is therefore of interest for several reasons. First, Tillemont's treatment of Isabelle encapsulates the themes that animated his larger study of Louis, offering a compact point of entry into his approach and interests. Tillemont thought in terms of human agents acting in relationship to larger structures such as crown and church. In studying Isabelle, Tillemont sought first to establish the nature of her interactions with her mother and brother. In turn, his attention to Isabelle was driven by a desire to place Louis in the context of his family, complementing the extended treatment that he gave elsewhere to such figures as Louis VIII, Blanche of Castille, Charles of Anjou, and Louis's daughter Blanche. He was also interested in Isabelle's relationship to ecclesiastical institutions, such as the papacy and the Cistercian and Franciscan orders. Just as with Louis, Tillemont wanted to show how Isabelle made a practical impact on the world around her. He also, of course, was interested in the nature of her sanctity. But, as in his portrait of Louis, he created a pious but practical saint, someone who was moved by deeply-felt Christian ideals to embrace a life of holy virginity, but who nevertheless remained immersed in institutional and political questions.

47. J. MESNARD, "Port Royal et Saint Louis", art. cit., p. 60.

Second, Tillemont's life of Isabelle demonstrates the interest she held for seventeenth-century *érudits*, and more precisely for scholars associated with Port-Royal. Interest in the sanctity of Isabelle of France steadily increased from around the time Leo X approved the local celebration of her office in 1521 through the end of the seventeenth century. Port-Royal played a previously unappreciated role in the last phases of this early modern crescendo. Jean Mesnard has shown the attraction of Saint Louis for Port-Royal, demonstrated by three decades of research by Le Maistre de Sacy, Tillemont, and Filleau de La Chaise. But these same scholars were also compiling evidence on Isabelle of France. It was Antoine Le Maistre who first went to Longchamp to make copies of crucial texts concerning her life, Le Nain de Tillemont who collected the documents and composed her biography, and Filleau de La Chaise who then used them as part of his *Life of Louis*. Indeed, these men preserved the only known copies of some of the most important documents associated with Isabelle.

Finally, Tillemont's treatment of Isabelle was the first "scientific" biography of the princess in the tradition of the great seventeenth-century *érudits*. It sometimes anticipates modern scholarship by centuries. Tillemont was the only author before the twenty-first century to make use of most of the papal bulls that shed light on Isabelle's life. He examined at least part of Isabelle's Rule of 1259 and compared it with her Rule of 1263. He also noted the important incident in 1266 in which a group of Franciscan nuns came to the papal curia and clamored to be allowed to follow Isabelle's rule. His discussion of the date of Isabelle's death is wonderfully clear – a number of illustrious scholars in the intervening centuries have gotten their facts wrong here. Tillemont also made some of the first critical observations on life at Longchamp in the thirteenth century, for instance noting that none of the women of royal or very high noble birth that entered Longchamp were ever its abbesses, and that the office of abbess was not for life. Where he expressed doubts, they were to the point: Was Isabelle ever a nun? Why were bulls addressed to the abbess and sisters in 1259 when no one entered the abbey until 1260? These were important questions suggested by the evidence that have only recently been addressed. Tillemont deserves credit for showing the way to modern critical study of Isabelle – I have certainly profited from following his leads myself⁴⁸. This life will still be of interest to any scholar interested in the career of Isabelle of France, as well as to those interested primarily in the working methods of early modern historians.

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48. For instance, when I first began work on an edition of Agnes of Harcourt's *Life of Isabelle of France*, I was quite proud of myself for having shown that it had to have been written around the year 1283, since no one had ever made this point in print. Upon subsequently reading Tillemont's unpublished work, I realized that he had beaten me to this conclusion by three hundred years.

APPENDIX A

SÉBASTIEN LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT'S
LA BIENHEUREUSE ISABELLE DE FRANCE,
SŒUR DE S. LOUIS ET FONDATRICE DE L'ABBAYE DE LONGCHAMP

Two drafts of this life survive. The earlier is ms. Paris, BnF, fr. 13751, fols. 1210-1218, which is Tillemont's autograph first draft. It contains many corrections and marginal additions. My edition is based on ms. BnF, fr. 13753, fols. 89-102, which is Tillemont's autograph second draft of the work. In both cases the text is written only on the recto of each folio, with occasional notes added on the facing verso of the previous folio. The main difference between the drafts is that the many corrections in the first are smoothly incorporated into the second. It is therefore unnecessary to give variant readings between the two.

Description of ms. BnF, fr. 13753

Ms. fr. 13753 is a late seventeenth-century paper manuscript of 253 folios. It is made up of four distinct sections, which I have labeled for convenience A-D. Sections A-C measure 255 × 190 mm, section D is made up of smaller paper not of completely uniform size. Each section originally had its own foliation and was separate. The four were bound together at an unknown date, sometime before 1833. The spine of the current binding reads "Histoire de Guillaume de S. Amour. Tillemont". Fol. 1 reads (top right) "suppl. fr. 5597", and (bottom left) "R. C. 5631". In middle of this folio, presumably in the hand of Louis-Jean-Nicolas Monmerqué, is the statement "J'ai acheté ce mss à la vente Boulard, en 1833. Je crois qu'il venait du P. Adry. M[onmerqué]." Then a note to the side in the same hand: "Remis à M. de Gaulle le 11. avril 1847. Monmerqué"; and "M. de Gaulle m'a remis ce manuscrit le 6. xbre 1851. M[onmerqué]". Fol. 1v blank. After Monmerqué's death (March 1860), his library was put up for sale in Paris on 11 March 1861. This manuscript (auction catalogue number 3922) was purchased by Benjamin Duprat for the Bibliothèque nationale on 9 May 1861, and given the acquisition number C 5631¹.

A) Writing on recto only. Fols. 2-80, autograph draft of Le Nain de Tillemont's *Histoire de Guillaume de S. Amour*. Fols. 81-88, Tillemont's *Notes* for the *Histoire de Guillaume de S. Amour*, ed. de Gaulle, *Vie de saint Louis, roi de France, par Le Nain de Tillemont, publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale et accompagnée de notes et d'éclaircissements*, vol. 6, Paris, 1851, pp. 135-228, notes edited *ibid.*, pp. 307-312. De Gaulle indicated that he used this manuscript only to fill two lacunae in ms. BnF, fr. 13751 (vol. 6, p. 36, starred note).

B) Writing on recto only. Fols. 89-102, autograph draft of Tillemont's *La bienheureuse Isabelle de France sœur de S. Louis, et fondatrice de l'abbaye de Longchamp*.

1. I thank the first anonymous reader for *Revue Mabillon* for providing the information concerning the Bibliothèque nationale's acquisition of the manuscript.

Fols. 103-104 blank. Also has an older foliation with 1 equaling new fol. 89. This section is made up of two eight-folio quires (fols. 89-96, 97-104); watermarks for the two quires are different (I thank Elizabeth A. R. Brown for verifying quiring and watermarks).

C) Writing on recto only. New foliation begins. Fol. 1 blank. Fols. 2-123, autograph draft of Tillemont's *Conquête du royaume de Sicile par Charle Comte d'Anjou et de Provence*. Fols. 124-125, Tillemont's *Notes sur la conquête de Sicile*. Éd. de Gaulle, *Vie de saint Louis*, vol. 6, pp. 1-134, notes edited *ibid.*, pp. 304-306. De Gaulle again indicated that this was not his base manuscript.

D) Writing on recto and verso. Fols. 126-149, seventeenth-century copy of Thierry of Vaucouleur's thirteenth-century Latin verse *Vita papae Urbani quarti* (on fol. 126 reads "Vita Vrbani Papæ 4^{ta}"). Also has an older pagination 1-[46] (45 is the last page actually numbered). This section is on different, smaller paper. Text transcribed 21 April 1671 by Edmund Chantecler, papal notary, from a copy held by the church of Saint-Urbain in Troyes, originally made in April 1279 by Hugh de Hibernia at the command of Master Felicius, treasurer of the church and canon of Laon and Troyes². This text is edited in J.-P. Masson, *Libri sex de episcopis Urbis qui romanam Ecclesiam rexerunt, rebusque gestis eorum* (Paris, 1586), fols. 227-246; reprinted in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, vol. 3/2 (Milan, 1734), cols. 405-420, and Alexandre Assier, *Vita Urbani papae quarti, a Gregorio decano ecclesiae Bajocassium et a Theodorico Vallicolore scripta, Ancheri cardinalis studio* (Troyes, 1854), pp. 15-47. Masson's edition was based on the same manuscript later copied by Chantecler. This manuscript does not seem to be extant, and no others have been identified, so Tillemont's copy may be of some interest³. These folios also bears older foliation with 1 equaling fol. 126.

Editorial Method

The life of Isabelle of France is written in a series of short "paragraphs", some no more than a sentence or phrase in length. Below each of these units, Tillemont drew a line to separate it from the next, and then placed a reference to his source for that "paragraph" in the right margin. The first six entries would look like this:

2. Fol. 127r, Incipit [*in longhand script*]: "Incipiunt gesta felicis recordationis domini Urbani papæ quarti, quæ prosaice facta a magistro Gregorio de Neapoli Bajocensi, consiliario secretario ejusdem, quæ versificatus est Thierrius de Vallicolore ad mandatum venerabilis patris domini Ancheri, tituli sanctae Praxedis presbiteri cardinalis, nepotis prædicti domini"; fol. 149r, Explicit: "Hunc librum scripsit Hugo de Hybernica, ad mandatum magistri Felicij hujus ecclesie Sancti Urbani thesaurarii, canonici Laudunensis et Trecensis, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, mense aprili"; [*then below, in a formal book hand*]: "Vita gestaque domini Urbani quarti summi pontificis a magistro Gregorio de Neapoli, decano Bajocensi, prosaice facta, et a Thierrico de Vallicolore versificata, ut supra carminibus contenta; est eadem quæ in libro quodam papalis et collegiatae Sancti Urbani Trecensis ecclesie operimentum ligneum pergamenasque membranas habente, scripta gothica lingua reperitur atque adeo fideliter est descripta, ut, ne quidem // [fol. 149v] unico verbo augeatur nec minuatur, talem per diligentem collationem factam ego Edmundus Chantecler presbyter, ac notarius apostolicus in utroque foro Trecensi immatriculatus, inveni. In cujus fidem signum meum apposui, die vigesima prima mensis aprilis, anno millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo primo." [*Signed* :] "E. Chantecler, notarius apostolicus."

3. See Agostino PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, "Gregorio da Napoli, biografo di Urbano IV", *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 11, 1969, pp. 59-74; and Amaury DUVAL's article in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 19, Paris, 1838, pp. 355-359.

Elizabet	Du. cha. 289b
Isabeau	Joinv. p. 169
ou Isabelle fille de Louis VIII et sœur de S. Louis, naquit l'an 1225 au mois de mars	Spicil. t. 2. p. 813
Elle estoit fort belle et fort gentille, et extremement aimée de son pere et de sa mere	Joinv. p. 169. Mousk. p. 184
Louis VIII luy laissa 20000# par son testament	Du ch. 325b
qui est le double de ce que S Louis donnoit a ses filles. //	

Rather than reproducing this rather cumbersome format, I have edited the text in more traditional form, placing Tillemont's source references into footnotes, but inserting them at the point where each one was intended to be placed in the right margin. The sign // employed by Tillemont indicated that the preceding "paragraph" was still documented by the last source reference. Therefore, each footnote or // sign indicates a paragraph break in the manuscript.

Tillemont sometimes also included the notation "v. p." for "voir page", followed by page number. This indication directed the reader (or perhaps himself) to the relevant page of his "first draft" of the *Vie de saint Louis*, now distributed across mss. BnF, fr. 13748-13751. In the manuscript, this notation is always placed directly at the end of a paragraph, not in the right margin. I have nevertheless placed these references in the notes to the appropriate "paragraph". Tillemont also occasionally ended his paragraphs with the simple word "Voir". This was apparently a reminder to himself to look more closely at his documentation, perhaps for further development. I have also placed these indications in the notes. Finally, Tillemont refers to two of his own endnotes. Because these notes were not copied in ms. fr. 13753, they are edited here from fr. 13752, fols. 469-70 (original foliation 63-64).

In the notes, I have reproduced Tillemont's abbreviated titles and page references. For identification of the works and manuscripts referred to, see the separate list of sources below. I have verified many, but not all, page references. Tillemont's references are precise and reliable where I have been able to check them.

Accents, capitalization, punctuation, and word separation have been treated in accordance with modern French conventions, following the guidelines for editing seventeenth-century texts set out in Bernard Barbiche and Monique Chatenet, *L'édition des textes anciens, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1990). Tillemont's orthography, however, has been respected. Where what appears to be a careless spelling error in the second draft has a more usual spelling in the first draft (for instance "ell" instead of "elle") I have silently emended it. Otherwise, I have not altered idiosyncratic spellings (such as "cepandant", "crosade", and "fédaux"). In a few places, Tillemont crossed out and changed an original wording in his second draft. These instances rarely affect meaning, and I have not felt it necessary to indicate the original wording before the alteration. Parentheses in the text are Tillemont's, whereas square brackets in the text and notes contain my editorial insertions.

LA BIENHEUREUSE ISABELLE DE FRANCE, SOEUR DE S. LOUIS,
ET FONDATRICE DE L'ABBAYE DE LONGCHAMP^a

Élizabet ⁴, Isabeau ⁵ ou Isabelle, fille de Louis VIII et sœur de S. Louis, naquit l'an 1225, au mois de mars ⁶. Elle estoit fort belle et fort gentille, et extrêmement aimée de son père et de sa mère ⁷. Louis VIII luy laissa 20000# par son testament ⁸, qui est le double de ce que S. Louis donnoit à ses filles. //

Après la mort de Louis VIII, Blanche l'accorda en mariage, le 16 mars 1227, par le traité de Vendosme, avec Hugue, fils aîné de Hugue, comte de la Marche et d'Angoulesme, et d'Isabelle, reine d'Angleterre ⁹. Cette promesse fut confirmée de nouveau l'an 1230, et S. Louis s'y obligea sous de grandes peines ¹⁰. On ne marque point ce qui rompit ce traité, // mais seulement que Hugue, qui devoit épouser Isabelle, épousa Yoland de Bretagne l'an 1238 ¹¹, lors qu'Isabelle, qui n'avoit que 13 ans, n'estoit guères en âge de témoigner qu'elle vouloit un époux plus illustre que ce grand seigneur. //

Elle fut depuis recherchée par Conrad, fils de Frédéric II, déjà roy de Jérusalem, et qui selon toutes les appa-[fol. 90]-rances devoit estre empereur après son père, et roy de Sicile ¹². Isabelle fut extrêmement pressée par tous ses amis d'agréer ce mariage, et mesme Innocent IV qui fut fait pape le 2[4] juin 12[43]^b luy en écrivit, et l'y exhorta extrêmement, à cause des grands biens qu'il en attendoit, espérant sans doute que cette alliance rendroit Conrad et Frédéric mesme plus favorables à l'Église. // Il n'y a point d'apparence que cela soit arrivé après le 17 juillet 1245, auquel Frédéric fut condamné et déposé par Innocent dans le concile de Lion ¹³.

Mais quoy qu'on pust dire à Isabelle pour la porter à ce mariage, elle n'y eust aucun égard, estant dès lors résolue à n'avoir point d'autre époux que J. C. ¹⁴. Innocent, voyant qu'il ne pouvoit la faire changer de résolution, luy écrivit une autre lettre, où il relève la générosité avec laquelle elle embrassoit un estat si saint ¹⁵. Mais ce ne fut que longtemps après, // car cette lettre, que nous avons encore, est dattée du 22 juillet 1253. Il y a divers termes par lesquels il semble qu'elle eust fait un vœu exprès de demeurer vierge. Mais je ne sçay pourquoy Innocent luy recommande si fort de respecter le mariage ¹⁶.

Le chapitre de Cisteaux luy accorda en 1244 qu'on luy feroit des services après sa mort dans tout l'ordre ¹⁷. [fol. 91] Elle estoit peut-estre venu à ce chapitre avec S. Louis et la reine Blanche, mais je ne trouve point que cela soit marqué. // Elle fut

a. In marg. "452". Referring to BnF, ms. fr. 13749, fol. 452, where material on the year 1243 commences. Éd. de Gaulle, vol. 2, p. 480. – b. The phrase "qui fut fait pape le 24 Juin 1243" is added in the right margin of BnF, ms. fr. 13753, and the text was subsequently partially cut off. Supplied from BnF, ms. fr. 13751, fol. 1210.

4. *Du. cha.* 289, b.

5. *Joinv.* p. 169.

6. *Spicil.* t. 2. p. 813.

7. *Joinv.* p. 169 ; *Mousk.* p. 184.

8. *Du ch.* 325, b.

9. *Du Tillet*, 2. p. 173 ; V[o]ir p[age] 267 [= BnF, ms. fr. 13748, fol. 267. Éd. de Gaulle, vol. 1, p. 460].

10. [*Du Tillet*, 2. p.] 175 ; V[o]ir p[age] 294 [= BnF, ms. fr. 13748, fol. 294. Éd. de Gaulle, vol. 2, pp. 52-53].

11. *His. de Dreux.* p. 203.

12. *Joinv.* p. 170 ; *Cantimpr.* l.2. c.29. § 40, p. 319.

13. V[o]ir p[age] 505 [= BnF, ms. fr. 13749, fol. 505. Éd. de Gaulle, vol. 3, pp. 76-79].

14. *Joinv.* p. 170.

15. [*Joinv.*] p. 170.

16. Ms. B 67 ; [Ms.] D. 209.

17. *Cisterc.* p. 299.

avec eux à Cluni voir le pape Innocent IV au mois de novembre 1245¹⁸. Rouillard, qui a écrit sa vie, dit que ce fut dans la première croisade de S. Louis qu'elle envoya dix chevaliers outre mer à ses despens¹⁹.

Ayant dessein de fonder ou un hospital ou une maison de cordelières, elle se détermina à la dernière par le conseil d'Aimeri, chancelier de Paris, son confesseur, et peu après fonda la maison de Long-Champ (auprès de S. Cloud) à laquelle elle fit donner le nom de l'Humilité Nostre Dame²⁰. Et c'est le seul qui soit marqué dans les anciens actes originaux. // S. Louis son frère, pour qui elle avoit un si grand respect que quand il la venoit voir elle se mettoit toujours à genoux devant luy, l'assista extrêmement dans ce dessein²¹, voyant qu'elle persistoit toujours dans la résolution de se donner entièrement à Dieu²². Ce fut luy qui écrivit et qui envoya au pape pour toutes les choses qu'elle en voulut obtenir. Elle en usoit ainsi dans toutes les occasions importantes, ne voulant rien faire que par luy, et luy de son costé fesoit ce qu'elle souhaitait avec toutes la bonté et le soin possible. [fol. 92] C'est pourquoy le monastère de Longchamp le reconnoissoit pour père et sa sœur pour mère²³. On luy attribue la fondation de l'église²⁴ aussi bien qu'à sa sœur²⁵. Il y mit la première pierre, la reine Marguerite la seconde, Louis son fils (qui mourut au commencement de 1260) la troisième, et Isabelle la quatrième²⁶. On remarqua durant cette cérémonie trois pigeons blancs qui vinrent s'asseoir au mesme lieu²⁷. Il donna tout le bois nécessaire pour l'église²⁸, et sans doute beaucoup d'autres choses //, puisque ce monastère cousta 30000# parisis²⁹ qui estoit plus qu'Isabelle n'avoit de bien. //

Elle fit composer une règle pour ce monastère par six des plus habiles cordeliers, dont S. Bonaventure estoit le premier ; et elle y travailloit elle mesme avec grande application. Elle en fit ensuite demander la confirmation au pape par S. Louis, et durant qu'on poursuivoit cette confirmation l'inquiétude où elle estoit la fit tomber dans une fort grande maladie, etc.³⁰ Alexandre IV confirma cette règle le 26 février 1258^c à la prière de S. Louis³¹ et d'Isabelle³². On marque [que] cette règle estoit fort austère³³. Isabelle souhaita que les religieuses y fussent appelées sœurs mineures³⁴. [fol. 93] Alexandre ordonna qu'on appelleroit celles qui observeroient cette règle, l'ordre des humbles servantes de la glorieuse Vierge³⁵. L'un des articles de cette règle estoit que nulle personne séculière ou régulière ne pourroit entrer dans la clôture sans permission particulière du S. Siège. C'est pourquoy, le 2 février 1259^d, Alexandre accorda une permission à S. Louis pour y entrer quand il voudroit, *cum societate decenti et modesta, quia*, dit-il, *in eam formam te componit, sicut gratanter*

c. sic, for 10 February 1259. See Tillemont's Endnote 1 for his doubts about the date. — d. sic, for 22 February 1259.

18. *Rain.* [anno] 1245, 47.

19. *Rouill.* p. 135 ; *Joinv.* p. 172.

20. [*Joinv.*] p. 173.

21. [*Joinv.*] 173-174.

22. Ms. F. 256.

23. Ms. B. 62.

24. [Ms. B.] 62.

25. [Ms. B.] 70.

26. [Ms. B.] 62.

27. [Ms. B.] 62. Voir.

28. [Ms. B.] 62.

29. *Joinv.* p. 173.

30. [*Joinv.* p.] 173. Voir.

31. *Rouillard*, p. 164.

32. Ms. D. 136 [*sic*, probably for 236].

33. *Rouill.* p. 166, 167.

34. *Joinv.* p. 173.

35. Ms. D. 236.

*accepimus, timor Domini, quod accessu conspectuque tuo sumere possit sanctae institutionis disciplina religiosa profectum*³⁶. Il luy permit aussi d'y faire entrer et élever sa fille accompagnée de cinq femmes si l'abesse y consentoit³⁷. Nous avons veu qu'il avoit souhaitté que sa fille Blanche, qu'il avoit eu en Orient, entrast dans la profession religieuse, mais ce fut à Maubuisson qu'il la fit élever³⁸.

Le 25 du mesme mois de février, Alexandre osta le monastère de Long-champ de toute la juridiction et de tout le pouvoir de l'évesque de Paris et de l'archevesque de Sens et mesme des seigneurs séculiers³⁹. On ne voit point par la bulle s'il avoit fait appeller ceux à qui il fesoit ce tort pour alléguer leurs raisons. // On marque encorre plusieurs autres bulles de ce pape en faveur du mesme monastère⁴⁰. Nous avons une autre bulle du mesme pape, dattée du 3 mars 1259, par laquelle il permet à l'abesse et au monastère de Long-champ, sur la prière qu'ils luy en avoient faitte, [fol. 94] de pouvoir exiger, recevoir et retenir les biens qui fussent écheus aux religieuse de celieu, si elles fussent demeurées dans le monde, hors les biens fédaux⁴¹. Cette bulle est autorisée d'un vidimus du prévost de Paris du 20 novembre 1340⁴². Et néanmoins je ne voy pas qu'elle se puisse accorder avec l'histoire de ce monastère. Car les premières filles de ce monastère ne prirent l'habit que le mercredi 23 juin 1260 avant que la closture y fut mise le mesme jour ; comme on le voit par un mortuaire écrit en 1325, et il n'y eust point encorre d'abbesse cette année là⁴³.

Pour former les premières filles de ce monastère on fit venir quelques sœurs d'un monastère de Reims qui vivoient déjà en closture⁴⁴. (L'une desquelles nommée) sœur Isabelle de Venisse de Reims fut présidente la première année que les nouvelles eurent pris l'habit, n'y ayant point alors d'abesse⁴⁵. Rouillard nomme 20 filles qu'il dit avoir pris l'habit dans cette première vesture⁴⁶. Sr. Agnès d'Aneri, qui fut la première abbesse (dès l'an 1261 selon les Srs. de Ste. Marthe, p. 575 i. d.)^e, et Sr. Agnès d'Harcour (qui a escrit la vie de la B. Isabelle) furent certainement de ce nombre⁴⁷. Ces abbesse n'étoient pas perpétuelles // car il est marqué que Sr. Jeanne de Nevers, qui fut aussi l'une des premières, fut trois fois abbesse^{f48}.

S. Louis fut présent avec sa sœur, lorsque ces premières filles [fol. 95] prirent l'habit, et que la closture y fut mise⁴⁹. Il y revint peu de temps après avec sa sœur, et estant entré avec les religieuse dans le chapitre, il leur fit une exhortation, et comme elles disent, le premier sermon et la première exhortation qu'elles eussent entendu depuis leur entrée, etc.⁵⁰ Il leur faisoit ainsi des exhortations toutes les fois qu'il y

e. Scévole and Louis de Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia christiana*, vol. 4, Paris, 1656, 575. – f. This sentence is added on fol. 93v. It was also added on the facing verso (fol. 1212v) of the first draft in BnF, ms. fr. 13751, and so is a rare instance of a correction not being smoothly integrated into the second draft.

36. [Ms. D.] 236.

37. [Ms. D.] 236 ; *Inv.* t. 7. bulles, p. 370, 2.

38. *Du cha.* p. 449 a ; V[oir] p[age] 733 [= BnF, ms. fr. 13750, fol. 733. Ed. de Gaulle, vol. 3, 470-471].

39. Ms. B. 60 ; Note 1. p. 63 [= BnF, ms. fr. 13752, fol. 469, original foliation 63. See Tillemont's Endnotes below].

40. *Rouill.* p. 544.

41. Ms. B. 61.

42. [Ms. B.] 61.

43. [Ms. B.] 70.

44. Ms. D. 210.

45. [Ms.] B. 70.

46. *Rouill.* p. 195, 196.

47. Ms. B. 70.

48. [Ms. B.] 70.

49. [Ms. B.] 62 ; [Ms. B.] 70.

50. [Ms. B.] 62. Voir.

etroit, alloit visiter les malades, et voir ce que la communauté devoit manger⁵¹. Il leur donna des reliques et divers revenus, etc.⁵².

Urbain IV ayant succédé le 29 aoust 1261 à Alexandre IV, // S. Louis le pria d'attacher à ce monastère les filles de Reims qui y estoient venues d'abord pour l'établir, ce que le pape luy accorda par un bref du 20 novembre 1261, adressé au gardien des cordeliers de Paris⁵³. On prétend que les sœurs de Longchamp, après avoir taché de pratiquer durant un an ou deux la règle qu'Alexandre leur avoit donnée, elles trouvèrent qu'elle estoit trop forte pour elles. Elles l'avouèrent à Isabelle, qui en parla à S. Louis, et S. Louis en ayant écrit à Urbain IV, ce pape donna charge à Simon, cardinal de Ste. Cécile, d'i faire les changements et les modifications qu'il jugeroit à propos. Simon fit ce qu'Urbain avoit souhaitté, et Urbain authoriza son travail la 2 année de son pontificat⁵⁴, [fol. 96] commencée le 29 aoust 1262. // Rouillard en fait un abrégé⁵⁵, et dit que cette règle est ordinairement appelée Urbaniste, et qu'ayant esté depuis embrassée par d'autres monastères, cela a donné occasion à un auteur d'appeller l'abbaye de Longchamp l'archimonastère des Urbanistes de Ste. Claire⁵⁶. Je ne sçay néanmoins si cette règle Urbaniste n'est pas plus tost celle qu'Urbain IV a insérée dans sa bulle du 18 octobre 1263 sous laquelle il réduit toutes les religieuses de Ste. Claire qui avoient eu jusqu'alors des noms et des réglemens différens, et qu'il ordonne qu'on n'appellera plus à l'avenir que l'ordre de Ste. Claire⁵⁷. Cette règle paroist différente en quelques de celle que Rouillard dit avoir esté faite pour Long-Champ. Urbain y établit protecteur de l'ordre de Ste. Claire Jean, cardinal du titre de S. Nicolas (qui l'avoit peut estre composée)⁵⁸. Clément IV parle d'une règle du mesme cardinal pour les filles de cette ordre qui ne la vouloient point observer, et protestoient qu'elles vouloient rentrer dans leurs ancien estat, *vel si dubius ille videretur, vivendi formam quam habet... Soror Regis Franciae* [fol. 97] *acceptabunt*. Le pape mande à ce cardinal de luy envoyer son sentiment sur cette proposition⁵⁹. Le mesme Clément IV ordonna le 20 avril 1268 qu'il n'y auroit pas plus de 60 [religieuses]⁶⁰ à Long-champ⁶⁰.

On marque plusieurs filles de grandes naissance qui estoient religieuses de cette maison au siècle suivant, et entr'autres Blanche, fille du roy Philippe le Long⁶¹, qui y mourut le 26 avril 1358, après y avoir vescu 40 ans et plus⁶². On a l'extrait de son testament, qui n'est pas d'une religieuse. Elle laisse des tasses d'argent à 15 sœurs de la maison, etc.⁶³ Il faut voir ce qu'en dit Rouillard⁶⁴. Jeanne, fille aînée de Philippe roy de Navarre et de Jeanne de France, faisant proffession en ce monastère le 23 avril 1338, céda ses droits à sa sœur Marie, à condition qu'elle y rentre-roit si Marie mouroit sans enfans⁶⁵. On remarque que toutes les filles de plus haute naissance qui ont esté dans cette maison n'en ont jamais esté abbesse⁶⁶.

g. Supplied from BnF, ms. fr. 13751, fol. 1214.

51. [Ms. B.] 62.

52. [Ms. B.] 62 ; Ms. F. 256, 257.

53. [Ms.] D. 210.

54. *Rouill.* p. 166.

55. [*Rouill.* p.] 167, 168.

56. [*Rouill.* p.] 169, 167.

57. *Bullar.* p. 123.

58. [*Bullar.*] p. 126, 2.

59. *Clem. ep.* 197.

60. *Rouilla.* 195.

61. *Antiq. de Paris.* l.4., p. 116 ; *Rouill.* p. 506 etc.

62. [*Antiq. de Paris.* l.4] p. 116 ; Ms. B. 70.

63. Ms. B. 70.

64. [*Rouill.*] p. 492-502.

65. Ms. B. 70 ; *Rouill.* p. 503-505.

66. *Rouill.* p. 251.

Clément IV permit le 8 novembre 1266 aux religieuses de Longchamp d'entrer chez elles les princes descendus de S. Louis qui le souhaiteroient ⁶⁷. On prétend qu'Alexandre IV leur avoit déjà donné cette permission pour tout le monde ⁶⁸.

S. Louis leur donna, outre ce que nous avons dit, une rente de 500# parisis, dont elles rachettèrent 100# parisis pour 2000#, [fol. 98] qu'il leur donna en février 1267. Il leur avoit donné en 1264 une exemption de péages ⁶⁹. Il leur donna aussi des terres ⁷⁰. Il achetta pour elles de S. Germain des Prez, vers la fin de 1262, une terre près de leur monastère, dans la paroisse de Surene ⁷¹.

Isabelle avoit embrassé, comme nous avons dit, la virginité dès ses premières années. Nous avons une grande lettre qu'Alexandre IV luy écrit ⁷², qui apparemment doit estre dattée de l'an 1256 ⁷³, où il témoigne avoir appris, particulièrement de quelques cordeliers, la vie sainte qu'elle menoit ⁷⁴, qu'elle vouloit faire, ou plustost qu'elle avoit fait vœu de virginité, et qu'elle vouloit mesme embrasser la vie religieuse. Il l'exhorte à persévérer ⁷⁵, à reconnoistre avec humilité qu'un si grand don ne luy peut estre venu que de Dieu seul, et à luy en rendre l'honneur et les actions de grâces qui luy en sont deues ⁷⁶, et à entretenir avec soin cette ardeur divine dans une fille à qui Dieu avoit déjà inspiré de l'imiter, comme il y avoit lieu de croire qu'il l'inspireroit à beaucoup d'autres ⁷⁷.

Nangis écrit qu'après avoir fondé l'abbaye de Longchamp, elle y prit l'habit, et s'i acquitta jusqu'à la fin de sa vie de tous les devoirs de la profession religieuse ⁷⁸. [fol. 99] La requeste présentée à Léon X par les sœurs de Longchamp portoit que *Monasterium ingressa, et ordinem hujusmodi expresse professa sub religionis jugo inibi famulatum praestare, et vitam sanctimoniam ducere ad mortem usque indefesse non desivit* ⁷⁹. Cependant Rouillard et les *Antiquitez de Paris* soutiennent que cela n'est point, et qu'elle demeurait seulement à Longchamp en un logement à part sans avoir pris l'habit de religieuse ⁸⁰. Je ne sçay quelles raisons ils ont eu d'asseurer cela si positivement. Mais il est vray que ni sa vie, ni Thomas de Cantimpré, ni les lettres des papes ne donnent aucun lieu de dire qu'elle ait esté religieuse. Les auteurs de la vie de S. Louis l'auroient dû marquer ; aucun ne le fait, hors la chronique de Nangis, qui est moins exacte. // Il est certain qu'elle mourut à Longchamp, et que néanmoins les religieuses ne furent pas présentes à sa mort ⁸¹. Il faut voir les raisons pour lesquelles Rouillard dit qu'elle ne se voulut pas faire religieuse.

Le mesme auteur dit beaucoup de particularitez de la vie qu'elle menoit à Longchamp, qu'il cite de sa sœur Agnès de Harcour ⁸². [fol. 100] Il parle particulièrement d'une extase qui luy arriva vers le jour de S. Jean Baptiste ⁸³. Il n'en trouve rien dans l'imprimé de Mr. du Cange, ni dans la copie manuscrite faite très fidèlement sur un

67. Ms. D. 208.

67. Ms. D. 208.

69. [Ms.] B. 70.

70. *Spicil.* t. ii. [sic], p. 547.

71. Ms. D. 340 ; *Regi. alph.* p. 50 etc.

72. Ms. B. 66.

73. *Rouill.* p. 164, 257.

74. Ms. B. 66, p. 7.

75. [Ms. B.] 66.

76. [Ms. B.] 66, p. 5.

77. [Ms. B. 66,] p. 4, 5.

78. *Spicil.* t. 4, p. 547 ; Ms. F. 257.

79. Ms. B. 68, p. 3.

80. *Rouill.* p. 242 etc. ; *Antiq. de Paris* l.4., p. 119.

81. *Joinv.* p. 175.

82. [*Rouill.*] 269-273, 292, 318-321.

83. [*Rouill.*] 350-354.

grand rouleau de parchemin qui est à Long-champ comme l'a marqué Mr. le Maistre^h, de la main duquel est presque toute⁸⁴.

Cantipratensis dit d'elle, *solī Deo vacans, adeo contemplationi deditur et virtuti, ut nulla ei cura in ullis transitoriis videatur*⁸⁵. Dans les deux dernières années de sa vie elle fut affligé de divers maladies qu'elle souffrit avec beaucoup de patience et d'humilité⁸⁶. Et on adjoute que depuis l'an 1260 qu'elle se retira à Long-champ, et particulièrement depuis l'an 1264, elle estoit presque toujours infirme⁸⁷.

Comme elle souhaittoit d'estre enterré au dedans du monastère, elle pria le pape Clément IV de permettre que ses parens y pussent entrer seulement pour assister à sa sépulture, et Clément le luy accorda par son bref du 17 septembre 1267ⁱ⁸⁸. Le pape luy écrivit un autre bref le 18 avril de l'année suivante, sur une relique teste venu ce semble d'Orient, et quelques uns prétendoient estre le chef de S. Paul Apostre. Le pape l'assure que le chef de [fol. 101] S. Paul estoit certainement à Rome, où Grégoire IX l'avoit encore montré publiquement il n'y avoit que peu d'années ; et qu'ainsi il la prie de remettre cette relique entre les mains du cardinal Simon son légat en France pou[r] la luy envoyer, de peur que si elle venoit à tomber en d'autres mains, cela ne pust causer de l'erreur et du scandale⁸⁹. Ainsi l'on voit que l'Église n'approuve point qu'on donne à des reliques incertaines des noms qui peuvent les confondre avec d'autres reliques, et qu'elle ne croit point que la piété se doive édifier par le mensonge, quand on n'y mesleroit point des interests capable de souillir les actions les plus saintes par elles mesmes^j. //

C'est la dernière chose que nous sçachions de sa vie, // qu'elle finit le 23 de février de l'an 1270 sur le minuit en parfaite virginité⁹⁰, et en très grande humilité et charité⁹¹. Un cordelier de la maison qui assista avec les autres lors qu'on luy donna l'extrême-onction, fut guéri d'une fièvre quarte⁹². Les sœurs allant à matines apprirent la mort de la B. Isabelle, mais plusieurs en avoient déjà esté averties d'une manière miraculeuse, etc.⁹³. S. Louis se trouva à son enterrement, et se tint luy mesme à la porte de la closture, afin que personne n'y entrast que ceux qui le devoient (suivant le bref de Clément IV). Il s'agenouilla avec beaucoup de dévotion quand il vit le corps de sa sœur dans l'église, et fit ensuite une exhortation aux sœurs pour les consoler, etc. Le corps estoit vestu d'un habit noir⁹⁴, ce qui ne s'accorde pas avec ce que dit Rouillard, qu'on la revestit de l'habit de S. François (qui n'estoit pas noir)⁹⁵. On l'enterra dans le cloistre⁹⁶. Neuf jours après on la leva de terre pour la mettre dans un autre cercueil ; ce qui se fit en la présence de la comtesse de Flandre, etc.⁹⁷. Rouillard dit qu'on la porta dans le chœur pour y estre veue [fol. 102] plus aisément de ceux de dehors⁹⁸. Il ajoute que quelques mois après on fit le tombeau (où elle est

h. Antoine Le Maistre. See the references in note 8 to this article. — i. *sic*, for 10 September 1267. — j. In the right margin here reads a large "N^a", perhaps for "nota".

84. Ms. B. 71.

85. *Cantipr.* l.2. c. 29. §. 40, p. 319.

86. *Joinv.* p. 174.

87. *Rouillard*, p. 393.

88. Ms. B. 64 ; *Rouill.* p. 374.

89. *Rain.* [anno] 1268, 550.

90. *Rouillard*, p. 401 ; *Antiq. de P[aris]* l.4., p. 115.

91. *Joinv.* p. 174 ; Note 2. p. 64 [= BnF ms. fr. 13752, fols. 470, original foliation 64. See Tillemont's Endnotes below].

92. [*Joinv.* p.] 175.

93. [*Joinv.* p.] 175.

94. Ms. B. 62.

95. *Rouill.* 404 ; *Antiq. de P[aris]* l.4.] p. 115.

96. *Rouill.* p. 405.

97. *Joinv.* p. 175-176. Voir.

98. *Rouill.* p. 405.

encore aujour d'huy) partie dans le chœur des religieuses, partie dans l'église du dehors⁹⁹.

Sœur Agnès de Harcour, religieuse de Longchamp, écrivit la vie de la B. Isabelle à la prière de (Charles I) roy de Sicile son frère¹⁰⁰, qui estoit en France en 1283 et s'en estant retourné l'an 1284 en Italie¹⁰¹, il y mourut le 7 janvier 1285¹⁰². Elle l'écrivit en effet avant la mort de Philippe III (qui arriva en 1285)¹⁰³. Elle rapporte dans cette histoire jusqu'à 40 miracles faits par la B. Isabelle soit durant sa vie, soit après sa mort¹⁰⁴. Elle estoit abbesse au temps de la mort d'Isabelle¹⁰⁵.

Rouillard, avocat de Melun, en a fait une [autre]^k histoire d'autant moins belle qu'il s'est persuadé qu'elle l'estoit d'avantage. // Il rapporte une ouverture du tombeau de la Sainte suivi d'un miracle, en l'an 1461, lorsque la comtesse d'Estampes, mère de François, duc de Bretagne, y amena sa fille, Madeleine de Bretagne, pour y prendre l'habit¹⁰⁶. Il rapporte aussi plusieurs miracles arrivez depuis ce temps là¹⁰⁷.

Sous Léon X les religieuses de Longchamp demandèrent permission de célébrer solennellement la feste de la Bienheureuse Isabelle (car la bulle porte ces termes). Léon renvoya cette affaire au cardinal de Boisi, légat en France, et luy ordonna d'accorder ce que demandoient ces religieuses, s'il trouvoit que l'exposé de leur requeste fust véritable.

Le légat, après en avoir fait informer, permit le 11 décembre 1521 de célébrer tous les ans l'office de la B. Isabelle le 31 d'aoust¹⁰⁸. Rouillard rapporte encore quelques particularités de ce fait¹⁰⁹. Mr. le Maistre parle d'une visite du tombeau et d'une translation de la sainte faite le 4 juin 1637. Mais cela n'est pas assez clair.

End Notes

La B. Isabelle sœur de S. Louis

Note 1, p. 1213¹ :

La copie de cette bulle porte 5 *Kal. Mart. Indict. 2. Incarn. Dom. Anno 1258, pontificatus vero D. Alexandri Papae IV anno quinto*¹¹⁰. Mais ou la bulle est fausse, ou il faut 1259. Alexandre ayant esté fait pape le 23 décembre 1254, et la 2 indiction est aussi celle de l'an 1259.

Note 2, pour la p. 1217 :

La mort de la B. Isabelle est marquée dans le martyrologe de Long-champ le 23 février 1269¹¹¹, ce qui doit marquer l'an 1270, s'il faut l'entendre suivant le style du temps [fol. 470] où l'on ne commençoit l'année qu'à Pasque. Et en effet ce fut seulement dans le chapitre général de l'an 1270 que ceux de Cîteaux [décidèrent] de faire son service et son anniversaire le 23 de février¹¹². Cela revient mieux aussi à ce qui est dit que 8 jours après la mort d'Isabelle on couvrit les autels de l'église en

k. Supplied from BnF, ms. fr. 13751, fol. 1218. – 1. The page references are to folios in BnF, ms. fr. 13751 (Tillemont's first draft of the work).

99. [Rouill. p.] 406-407.

100. *Joinv.* 169.

101. *Du ch.* 542-543.

102. [Du ch.] 543, c.

103. *Joinv.* p. 177.

104. *Joinv.* p. 181.

105. [Joinv.] p. 176.

106. *Rouill.* p. 409-412. Voir.

107. [Rouill. p.] 449-464.

108. Ms. B. 68.

109. *Rouill.* p. 480-488.

110. Ms. B 60.

111. *Rouill.* p. 401 ; *Antiq. de P[aris]* 1.4]. p. 115.

112. *Cisterc.* p. 437.

Caresme ¹¹³, car le 23 février en 1270 estoit le dimanche de la Quinquagésime, et ainsi il falloit couvrir les autels le samedi ou le dimanche suivant ; au lieu qu'en 1269 c'estoit le 3 samedi de Caresme.

APPENDIX B

IDENTIFICATION OF SOURCES FOR LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT'S *LA BIENHEUREUSE ISABELLE OF FRANCE*

Jules de Gaulle's nineteenth-century edition of Tillemont's *Vie de saint Louis* promised a table that would clarify Tillemont's use of his sources. Although de Gaulle evidently went to great effort to verify and update Tillemont's references, he did not in fact print the promised table ¹¹⁴. The following, therefore, may be relevant not only to the present edition but to Tillemont's larger work. Where Tillemont's references are unclear, the "Table des auteurs" that proceeds Filleau de La Chaise, *Histoire de S. Louis* (Paris, Coignard, 1688) has been of great utility, since this author used Tillemont's manuscripts and provided some indications as to how to understand his references.

1. Printed Sources

Antiq. de Paris : Jacques du Breul and Claude Malingre, *Les antiquitez de la ville de Paris*. Tillemont's references are to book four of the folio edition of 1640 (Paris, Rocolet).

Bullar. : According to Filleau de La Chaise, this was a "recueil imprimé des bulles données par Alexander IV en faveur des mandians". I have not been able to identify such a printed volume that would have been available in the seventeenth century. Tillemont's references here are to Urban IV's Rule of 1263 for the newly created Order of St. Clare. The text can be found in J.-H. Sbaralea ed., *Bullarium franciscanum*, 4 vols., Rome, 1759-1768, vol. 2, pp. 509-521.

Cantipr. : Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, ed. George Colverinus, Douai, Belleri, 1627.

Cisterc. : Tillemont's manuscript, no longer extant. Described by Filleau de La Chaise as "un manuscrit contenant les Chapitres généraux de l'Ordre de Cîteaux". Tillemont's references correspond to J. M. Canivez, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis*, Louvain, 1934, vol. 2, p. 276, and vol. 3, p. 92.

Clem. ep. : Tillemont's manuscript, no longer extant. Described by Filleau de La Chaise as "Les Épîtres de Clément IV. en manuscrit". Tillemont's reference is to Clement IV's bull *De statu tuo audivimus prospera*, dated 31 May 1266, edited in *Bullarium franciscanum*, vol. 3, p. 82.

Du ch. (also abbreviated as *Du che.* and *Du cha.*) : André Du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, vol. 5, Paris, Cramoisy, 1649.

Du Tillet 2 : Jean Du Tillet, *Recueil des rois de France, leurs couronne et maison... ensemble, le rang des grands de France*. Tillemont used the edition of 1607 (Paris, Mettayer). His references are to vol. 2, *Contenant les guerres et traictez de paix, trespas et alliances d'entre les Rois de France & d'Angleterre*, which bears a separate date of 1606.

¹¹³. *Joinv.* p. 176.

¹¹⁴. See B. NEVEU, *Un historien à l'école de Port-Royal, op. cit.*, pp. 298-301, for an analysis of Tillemont's library at the time of his death. J. de Gaulle's promise was noted in *Vie de saint Louis*, vol. 1, p. ix.

His. de Dreux : André Du Chesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Dreux et de quelques autres familles illustres*, Paris, Cramoisy, 1631.

Inv. : Tillemont's manuscript copy of an inventory of the Trésor des Chartes, no longer extant. Presumably a copy of the inventory compiled by Dupuy and Godefroy in 1615, on which see H.-François Delaborde ed., *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, vol. 5, Paris, 1909, pp. CLXXII-CXCI. Tillemont's reference corresponds to vol. 3, p. 446, #4467, of the modern edition (ed. Joseph de Laborde [Paris, 1875]).

Joinv. : Charles du Fresne, Sieur du Cange, éd., *Histoire de S. Louys, IX du nom roy de France, écrite par Jean Sire de Joinville*, Paris, Mabre-Cramoisy, 1668. Agnes of Harcourt's *Vie d'Isabelle de France* is printed pp. 169-181.

Mousk. : Tillemont's manuscript copy of the rhymed chronicle of Philippe Mousket, no longer extant. Described by Filleau de La Chaise as "une histoire en vers écrite par Philippe Mouskes qui fut évêque de Tournay. Elle est parmi les manuscrits dont il a été parlé". (The latter reference indicates this manuscript was among Tillemont's cahiers A-G.) See the edition in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 22, Paris, 1865, pp. 34-81.

Rain. : The continuation by Odorico Rinaldi of Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*. Rinaldi published vol. 13 in 1646, and eight more volumes between 1669 and 1677 (Rome, Mascardus).

Regi. alph. : According to Filleau de La Chaise, Tillemont's manuscript containing an alphabetic register of the Trésor des Chartes, no longer extant. I know of no surviving document that records a purchase of land from St. Germain-des-Prés by Louis in 1262 on Longchamp's behalf. See, however, *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, vol. 3, #4806 for a purchase dated 1266. Longchamp's copy of this sale is AN, L 1020, no. 23. Perhaps Tillemont's manuscript incorrectly recorded the date.

Rouill. : Sébastien Rouillard, *La sainte mère, ou vie de M. sainte Isabel de France*, Paris, Taupinard, 1619.

Spicil. : Luc d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum*, 13 vols., Paris, Savreux, 1655-1677. Tillemont's reference to book 2 page 813, is to the *Chronicon breve ecclesiae S. Dionysii ad cyclos paschales*, and his references to book 4 page 547 are to the *Chronicon Guillelmi de Nangis*. (These correspond with vol. 2, p. 496, and vol. 3, p. 38 in the more widely available 1732 edition of d'Archery's *Spicilegium*.)

2. *Manuscript Sources on Longchamp from Tillemont's Notebook B, today BnF, ms. fr. 13747 (fol. references are to this manuscript)*¹¹⁵

B 60 : fol. 112r. First paragraph of Alexander IV's bull *Etsi universe orbis*, 25 February 1259, exempting Longchamp from local jurisdiction. The original bull is lost ; a fourteenth-century copy is found in Paris, AN, LL 1601, fols. 63-67. Ed. in F. M. Delorme, "En marge du Bullaire franciscain", *La France franciscaine*, 3rd Series, t. 21, 1938, pp. 1-45, at 20-22.

B 61 : fol. 113r. Vidimus by Guillaume Gormont, garde de la Prévôté de Paris, of Alexander IV's bull *Devotionis vestre precibus*, allowing nuns of Longchamp to inherit. Vidimus dated 20 November 1340, original bull dated 3 March 1259. The original bull is lost ; a fifteenth-century copy is found in BnF, ms. fr. 11662, fol. 43v. Ed. in F. M. Delorme, "En marge du Bullaire franciscain", art. cit., pp. 20-22. The original of the vidimus is also lost.

B 62 : now missing from Notebook B. Agnes of Harcourt's "Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp", dated 4 December 1282. Original is lost ; a fifteenth-century copy is found in BnF, ms. fr. 11662, fols. 40-41v. Éd. Sean L. Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt*, Notre Dame, 2003, pp. 46-50.

115. These copies are in a number of different hands, which I have not attempted to identify systematically. B 60, 61, 67, and 71, however, are in the hand of Antoine Le Maistre.

- B 63 : fols. 248-252v. An undated copy of a letter from a seventeenth-century abbess or sister of Saint-Marcel concerning the founding of her abbey. Written to someone (probably Le Maistre de Sacy, or Tillemont) who had asked for information about royal involvement in the founding. I do not know whether an original exists. To my knowledge this letter has not been edited.
- B 64 : fol. 114r. Clement IV's bull *Digne nos agere*, 10 September 1267, allowing Isabelle of France's family to attend her burial. The original bull is AN, L 261, no. 100. Ed. S. L. Field, "New Evidence for the Life of Isabelle of France", *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 13 (t. 74), 2002, p. 131.
- B 65 : missing from Notebook B. Contents unknown.
- B 66 : fols. 115-118v. Alexander IV's bull *Benedicta filia tu*, 12 June 1256, praising Isabelle of France's life of virginity. Original copies are AN, L 250, nos. 78 and 78bis. Ed. S. L. Field, "New Evidence for the Life of Isabelle of France", art. cit., pp. 129-131.
- B 67 : fol. 119r. Innocent IV's bull *Sanctae virginitatis propositum*, 22 July 1253, praising Isabelle of France's life of virginity. Original is lost ; no other copies are known to survive. Ed. S. L. Field, "New Evidence for the Life of Isabelle of France", art. cit., pp. 128-129.
- B 68 : fols. 120-123v. Cardinal Adrian Boissy's ratification of Pope Leo X's bull allowing the nuns of Longchamp to celebrate Isabelle of France's office, dated 11 December 1521. If the original bull survives, I have not been able to locate it ; a transcription is in Aubertus Miraëus [Aubert Le Mire], *Isabellae sanctae*, Brussels, 1622, fols. 10v-12v. Another partial copy, once part of Tillemont's papers, is in BnF, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 10407, fols. 141-142.
- B 69 : fols. 124-125r. First Office for Isabelle of France, ca. 1521. The original is BnF, ms. lat. 912. Ed. L. Oligier, "Le plus ancien office liturgique de la B.^{se} Isabelle de France", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 2, Vatican City, 1946, pp. 484-508.
- B 70 : fol. 126r. Diverse notes, mainly from Longchamp's first necrology, AN, L 1027, no. 22, which is edited by A. Molinier, in *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, vol. I/2, Paris, 1902, pp. 659-683.
- B 71 : fols. 127-141v. Agnes of Harcourt's *Vie d'Isabelle de France*, ca. 1283. The original manuscript is lost ; no other copies are known to survive. Ed. S. L. Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt*, op. cit., pp. 52-102.

3. References to manuscripts in Tillemont's Notebooks D and F, now lost

- D 208 : Clement IV's bull *Devotionis vestre promeretur*, dated 8 November 1266, allowing members of the French royal family to be buried at Longchamp. Original is AN, L 260, no. 92. Ed. S. L. Field, *The Princess, the Abbess, and the Friars : Isabelle of France and the Course of Thirteenth-Century Religious History*, Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2002, p. 406.
- D 209 : contents unclear, cited in conjunction with B 67 (see above).
- D 210 : Urban IV's bull, dated 20 November 1261, allowing nuns who had come from Reims to stay at Longchamp. No original is known to survive. A French translation made from the original at Longchamp by Pierre Perrier in 1699 is found in BnF, ms. fr. 14950, pp. 103-104. Ed. S. L. Field, *The Princess, the Abbess, and the Friars*, op. cit., p. 405.
- D 236 : Part or all of the first rule for Longchamp, approved by Alexander IV, 10 February 1259. I have been unable to locate the original. First edited (from a copy found at Santa Croce in Florence) in *Bullarium franciscanum*, vol. 3, pp. 64-68 note b. More recently reprinted in I. Omaechevarria, *Escritos de Santa Clara y documentos complementarios*, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1993, pp. 292-324. Tillemont's access to a copy of this rule is noteworthy, since the *Bullarium franciscanum* edition was based on the only known exemplar, which is now apparently lost. Presumably the nuns of Longchamp preserved a copy that is no longer extant.

D 340 : contents unclear, cited in conjunction with the *Regi. Alph.* (see above).

F 256 : contents unclear.

F 257 : A copy of the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis. See the edition by H. Géraud, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique*, vol. 1, Paris, 1843, p. 219.