Constructing Saint Louis in John the Good’s *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Royal MS. 16 G. VI)

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King John the Good of France’s *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Royal MS. 16 G. VI) is unique among the approximately seventy surviving illuminated copies of the chronicle. Not only does it contain a revised text that has been thoroughly annotated in its margins throughout the manuscript, it also incorporates an unprecedented cycle of over 400 one- and two-column wide miniatures that include over 600 individual scenes that both present Saint Louis as a powerful model for conduct for the young prince and that visually promote Valois legitimacy. These visual and textual characteristics break with prior and subsequent royal tradition; those who planned the manuscript seem to have ignored a freely accessible model in the royal library: the first *Grandes Chroniques* (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS. 782) illustrated with twenty historiated initials, fifteen single column miniatures and one two-column miniature that had been presented to King Philip III around 1280.¹

Why is King John’s manuscript so densely illuminated and so different in format and textual contents from all other *Grandes Chroniques*? An examination of the interaction between the textual rhetoric of the revised chronicle and the visual rhetoric of its expanded pictorial cycle begins to answer this question, for it elides the chronicle with a contemporary, densely illustrated, royal copy of Vincent of Beauvais’s *Miroir historial*, the first two volumes of which survive (Leiden, University Library, MS. Voss. G. G. Fol. 3A; Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS. 5080). The relationship between chronicle and *Miroir*, both of which were made for John the Good before he became king, suggests a different and possibly deliberately created historical context for the *Grandes Chroniques*.

Over 130 years ago Léopold Delisle outlined the complex steps that were taken by the anonymous editor who produced John the Good’s revised *Grandes Chroniques*.² Delisle analysed changes to the text in John’s *Grandes Chroniques* and its marginal annotations (see figs 1–2), which range in scale from an inserted word or sentence to full paragraphs, all written carefully by a professional scribe and keyed to the text by sigilla. Occasionally these marginal notes replace words or phrases that were crossed out, but most frequently they add material. Delisle observed that both the revisions to the main text of John’s chronicle and the notes annotating it betray a scholar’s effort to continue the practice that had governed the translation of the earliest *Grandes Chroniques* in the 1270s and the production of what we might call the initial version of John the Good’s manuscript, the portion of text written within the text block.

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Fig. 1. The pope sends Odo to Paris; nobles take the cross. Royal MS. 16 G. VI, f. 403.
Fig. 2. Charles of Anjou addresses the men of Marseille; his army. Royal MS. 16 G.VI, f. 425.
When Primat first translated the *Grandes Chroniques* from Latin in the 1270s at the request of Saint Louis, he used Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 5925, an anthology of Latin texts preserved at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, as his primary source (see the left column of Appendix 1). Over sixty years later when John the Good’s chronicle was first written, the person who supervised its production consulted the same Latin anthology at Saint-Denis in order to revise the text that would appear in the body of Royal MS. 16 G. VI. This unknown editor altered the text of Primat’s French translation contained in the body of John the Good’s chronicle, reintroducing some errors that only appear in the Latin texts of the Dionysian anthology, and deleting several interpolations that Primat had introduced when he translated the anthology into French in the late thirteenth century.

The marginal annotations throughout John’s chronicle are done in the same spirit as the revisions incorporated into the text of Royal MS. 16 G. VI, and – I now suspect – close in date to the initial production of the manuscript. These annotations appear throughout the manuscript, though they are most dense in the life of Saint Louis. Delisle showed that the annotator worked with the same Latin anthology preserved in the Library at Saint-Denis that Primat had used for the first *Grandes Chroniques*. In the anthology’s margins he wrote annotations that referred to an historical manuscript of the text of Aimon of Fleury kept at the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près and containing the lives of the Merovingian kings (identified as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 12711). Much of the content to which the annotator of BnF MS. lat. 5925 referred was incorporated into the marginal annotations of Royal 16 G. VI. He also wrote cross-references to the chapter division of the French *Grandes Chroniques* in BnF MS. lat. 5925, which suggests that he had consulted a copy of the French text he was improving, and French glosses noting a handful of faulty translations in the *Grandes Chroniques*.

The marginal annotations in John the Good’s manuscript reacted to many of the annotator’s notes in the margins of the Latin anthology. These annotations correct errors in John’s manuscript and insert newly translated portions of Primat’s Latin sources that Primat had not included when he translated the *Grandes Chroniques* in the 1270s. Delisle speculated that these annotations, which were made by someone who had access to a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* and to the libraries of the abbeys of Saint-Denis and Saint-Germain-des-Près, date from the reign of the bibliophile king Charles V in the 1370s. He hypothesized that they were made either by Charles V’s chancellor who continued the chronicle for Charles, or by a scholarly collaborator who was involved in the preparation of Charles V’s copy. When I first published John’s *Grandes Chroniques*, I argued differently, suggesting that, because none of these textual changes found their way into Charles V’s copy of the chronicle (BnF, MS. fr. 2813), they dated from John’s lifetime. I originally speculated that, because they were additions, they were done later in John’s lifetime. I now realize that my assumption that these additions were later may have been erroneous, because evidence from John the Good’s *Miroir historial*, made c. 1332-33, suggests that ongoing revision and retranslation occurred in other books made for the young duke of Normandy in the 1330s before he became king. It is possible that the marginal additions to John’s *Grandes Chroniques* may have been part of the extended initial process of production of John’s chronicle manuscript in the 1330s.

The most compelling evidence for an early dating of the revisions to the *Grandes Chroniques* comes from John’s personal copy of Jean de Vignay’s translation into French of the *Miroir historial* by Vincent of Beauvais, whose first two of four volumes survive in Leiden and Paris (figs 3 and 4) and

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Fig. 3. King Louis IX speaks to Vincent of Beauvais; Queen Jeanne of Burgundy speaks to Jean de Vignay. Leiden, University Library, MS. Voss. G. G. Fol. 3A, f. 1 (photograph courtesy Leiden University Library).
Fig. 4. King Louis IX speaks to Vincent of Beauvais; Queen Jeanne of Burgundy speaks to Jean de Vignay. Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS. 5080, f. 1 (photograph: Bibliothèque nationale de France).
date c. 1332-1333.\(^5\) John’s *Miroir historial* shares unique features with his *Grandes Chroniques*. Both manuscripts contained John’s ex-libris, which in Royal 16 G. VI describes him as duke; he assumed the title duke of Normandy in 1332 and held it until he was crowned king in 1350.\(^6\) Both manuscripts share the same distinctive layout of one- and two-column miniatures in which, as a rule, pictures and their rubrics always precede the text, which begins under the left corner of the image (see figs 5-8). Both books are ruled in two columns of forty-two lines with almost identical measurements and are made up of quires of twelve folios, unlike almost all other *Grandes Chroniques* and *Miroir* texts.\(^7\) While their scribes are different, their flourished initials are very similar. They even share some artists; for instance, Mahiet and the Master of the Cambrai Missal collaborated in each manuscript.\(^8\) Each manuscript involved different artists as well; the *Grandes Chroniques* was also painted by a follower of the Maubeuge Master and other anonymous artists, while the two surviving volumes of the *Miroir historial* also contain illuminations in the style of the Papeleu Master. Structural similarities between *Miroir* and chronicle must have encouraged John to see the books as associated.

One of the most intriguing features that the *Grandes Chroniques* and *Miroir historial* both share is that they were systematically revised by editors who went back to and retranslated parts of the original Latin source texts after the manuscripts had been transcribed. Neither subsequent *Grandes Chroniques* nor subsequent *Miroirs historiaux* incorporates the precise additions made to their texts in John’s copies of them, which suggests that this practice of revision may have been a hallmark of books made for John the Good in the 1330s.

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6. The ex-libris in the *Grandes Chroniques* (Royal 16 G. VI, f. 445v) is legible under ultraviolet light: ‘Jehan Ce rommant est monss. Le Duc’, and John’s arms as duke of Normandy appear on f. 3 (see fig. 12). The ex-libris in the first volume of the *Miroir historial* (Leiden, University Library, Voss. G. G. Fol. 3 A, f. 359v) is effaced, but Chavannes-Mazel, following Delisle, suggested John signed as duke of Normandy and Guyenne. The name ‘Jehan’ in the second volume (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS. 5080, f. 418v) is erased. For this see Hedeman, Royal Image, Chavannes-Mazel, ‘*Miroir historial* of Jean le Bon’, pp. 28-9 and 56; and Léopold Delisle, ‘Exemplaires royaux et princiers du *Miroir historial*, Gazette archéologique, xi (1886), p. 90.

7. The manuscripts of the *Miroir historial* in Leiden and Paris have quires of twelve written in two columns, each comprising forty-two lines. The justification of their text appear, for Leiden, University Library, Voss. G. G. Fol. 3 A, 26 x 18.8 [8.6 x 1.5 x 8.7] cm, and for Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS. 5080, 26.5 x 18.7 [8.5 x 1.5 x 8.7] cm. Compare the *Grandes Chroniques* (Royal MS. 16 G. VI), with quires of twelve written in two columns, each forty-two lines long and with a justification of 27 x 18.6 [8.4 x 1.9 x 8.3] cm. No other *Miroir historial* analysed by Chavannes-Mazel and very few copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* contain quires of twelve. For the chronicle, only the first copy (Paris, Sainte-Geneviève, MS. 782), and the Ex-Lord Mostyn manuscript painted by the Fauvel Master among the earlier copies, and five late fourteenth-century manuscripts (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 1469; London, British Library, Sloane 2433; New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, M. MS. 536; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS. fr. 2604 and 2608), contain quires of twelve.

8. The Papeleu Master and assistants, the Cambrai Master, and Mahiet collaborated on the decoration of the *Miroir historial* manuscripts and Mahiet, the Maubeuge Master, the Cambrai Master, and their collaborators worked on the *Grandes Chroniques*. For an outline of the hands, see Hedeman, *Royal Image*, p. 221, Chavannes-Mazel, ‘*Miroir historial* of Jean le Bon’, and Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France, History in Manuscript Painting 1250-1500* (Los Angeles, 2010), pp. 147-52, no. 17.
Fig. 5. Priam sending Paris, the rape of Helen, and the siege of Troy. Royal MS. 16 G. VI, f. 4v.
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Fig. 6. Valentinian sacks Troy. Royal MS. 16 G. VI, f. 5v.
Fig. 7. Joseph the Levite places money before the Apostles. Leiden, University Library, MS. Voss. G. G. Fol. 3A, f. 321 (photograph courtesy Leiden University Library).
Fig. 8. The Virgin Mary feeds the monks at Clairvaux. Leiden, University Library, MS. Voss. G. G. Fol. 3A, f. 347 (photograph courtesy Leiden University Library).
In a dissertation and subsequent articles, Claudine Chavannes-Mazel demonstrated how carefully John the Good’s copy of the *Miroir historial* was reworked while it was in production, even before its flourishing initials were painted. Someone scraped away text throughout both surviving volumes of the *Miroir historial* and then prepared the surface so that a second scribe could insert new words or phrases in a different shade of ink or, less frequently, insert extensive passages of text that were often so much bigger than the erasure that they were extensively abbreviated (figs 9-10). Her textual analysis revealed that the material

Fig. 9. Text page. Leiden, University Library, MS. Voss. G. G. Fol. 3A, f. 192v (photograph courtesy Leiden University Library).

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Fig. 10. Text page detail. Leiden, University Library, MS. Voss. G. G. Fol. 3A, f. 192v detail (photograph courtesy Leiden University Library).
added in this way came from a re-reading and retranslation of the original source, Vincent of Beauvais’s Latin original (Douai version). Like the person who made the additions to the *Grandes Chroniques*, this editor went back to an authoritative Latin text to find more detail. The similarity of format, mise-en-page, flourished initials, artists, provenance, and distinctive editing practice raises the possibility that these books—the original four volumes of the *Miroir historial* and the *Grandes Chroniques de France*—may have been planned at the same time, possibly by the same *libraire* or bookseller, and probably in the same intellectual milieu. Chavannes-Mazel suggested that the agent of revision in the *Miroir* was the translator Jean de Vignay himself. Who else, she speculated, would know Vincent of Beauvais’s text well enough to tweak a contemporary translation as it was first being published? Mattia Cavagna and Laurent Brun, scholars preparing an edition of the *Miroir historial*, are more cautious. They categorize interventions in the text as being of two types: some return to the Latin text and retranslate it, occasionally introducing errors, while others seek to achieve linguistic standardization by eliminating regional terms common to Normandy where Jean de Vignay originated. They believe that some of these interventions might be attributed to Jean de Vignay, but continue their analysis.10

Once in John’s collection, the mise-en-page and mise-en-image of John the Good’s four-volume *Miroir historial* and single-volume *Grandes Chroniques* would encourage these books to be seen as forming a large, ambitious set of world history that interlaces the stories of the French kings from their Trojan origins to the saintly Louis IX with Vincent of Beauvais’s *Miroir*. The set of the *Miroir historial* and *Grandes Chroniques* offered interlaced genealogical frames for John’s interpretation of history and offered the young heir to the throne a particularly powerful model in Saint Louis. The *Grandes Chroniques* begins with the fall of Troy and continues in stages to trace the history of the French kings ending first with the life of Philip Augustus, then with kings ranging from Louis IX (as in John’s royal manuscript) to Charles VI.11 In contrast, Vincent of Beauvais organized the *Miroir historial* within a biblical frame that commenced with Creation and ended with a postscript that described the last things and the Last Judgment.12 Between creation and judgment Vincent traces the history of the world, structured through ‘the time of the bible [and] the succession of empires and emperors’ that ends with the deposition of Emperor Frederick in 1245.13 The *Miroir* and chronicle texts are often dichotomous, as Serge Lusignan put it, but they do include points of contact in accounts involving Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, Hugh Capet, Louis VIII, Philip Augustus, Louis VIII and Saint Louis, which would encourage cross comparison and an interweaving of the similar and dissimilar tales contained in the *Miroir historial* and *Grandes Chroniques*.

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10 I would like to thank Mattia Cavagna for outlining his and Laurent Brun’s thoughts on the question of Jean de Vignay’s role in the revisions (email 15 December 2011). Cavagna noted that a second hand also made revisions of a different type to the text of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. fr. 316, Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne’s *Miroir historial*, dated 1333. This will be more fully discussed in Cavagna and Brun’s edition of the *Miroir historial*.


12 For the development of this theme of interleaving of chronicle and *miroir* in textual analysis see Serge Lusignan, ‘*Le Temps de l’homme au temps de monseigneur saint Louis: le Speculum historiale et les Grandes chroniques de France*’, in M. Paulmier-Foucart, S. Lusignan and A. Nadeau (eds.), *Vincent de Beauvais: Intentions et réceptions d’une oeuvre encyclopédique au moyen âge* (Paris, 1990), pp. 495–505; see especially pp. 500–5.

13 Ibid.
It is a shame that only the first two of the four volumes that made up John the Good’s *Miroir historial* survive, because we cannot examine how the French kings fared in the cross fertilization between revised text and the visual narratives that the visual similarities between the fourth volume of the *Miroir historial* and the *Grandes Chroniques* would have encouraged. However, edited rubric and prologue texts, prologue images to the *Miroir historial* and the *Grandes Chroniques*, and the life of Saint Louis that ends John’s *Grandes Chroniques* show a few ways in which this expanded set of *Miroir-Chroniques* doubtless worked to promote the French dynasty and the sanctity of the French line that was embodied in Louis IX.

The translators’ prologues to the *Miroir* and *Chronique* associate and differentiate the texts (see Appendix 2). Rather than summarizing the twenty chapters of Vincent de Beauvais’s book *Speculum maius* (libellus apologeticus), Jean de Vignay’s prologue to the *Miroir* (Leiden, University Library, Voss. G. G. Fol. 3 A, ff. 1-2) is more conventional. It explains among other things that Jean de Vignay wanted to offer the text to a member of the royal family who had expressed interest in it, and it argues in a traditional way for the *Miroir’s* relevance by encouraging readers to emulate its good and avoid its bad examples. Primat’s prologue to the *Grandes Chroniques* (Royal MS. 16 G. VI, ff. 3-4) also emphasizes the exemplarity of the history of the French kings and cites Vincent of Beauvais implicitly within the context of following good examples. While the prologues are similar in their emphasis on the exemplarity of history and the importance of positive models, the prologue miniatures in the chronicle and *Miroir* visualize complementary ideas of lineage. Each volume of John the Good’s four-volume *Miroir historial* began with the same picture: a scene that emphasized Jeanne de Bourgogne’s descent from Saint Louis, as Chavannes-Mazel first suggested (see figs 3 and 4). At left each image shows a moment in the thirteenth century: the haloed King Louis IX dressed in Franciscan garb orders the Latin compilation from Vincent who sits in his study with source books prominently displayed behind him. At right, in the fourteenth century, Philip of Valois’s wife, Queen Jeanne of Burgundy, mirrors Louis’s position as she stands before Jean de Vignay who works on his translation of Vincent’s book. As Chavannes-Mazel emphasized, there is a dynastic overlay to this image. Jeanne was Louis’s granddaughter and hence more directly descended from him than was Isabel of France, the daughter of King Philip IV, whose son, Edward III of England, contested Philip of Valois’s right to rule, and by extension John’s right to inherit. The scene with Louis appears against a ground of fleur-de-lis, and that with Jeanne against her arms, the French fleur-de-lis alternating with Burgundy.

John’s copy of the *Miroir* had a unique opening rubric in its first volume (fig. 11) that specifically identified his mother as the person for whom Jean de Vignay made the book. This clarification concretizes the references in the prologue; Queen Jeanne of Burgundy is the fruitful stalk of the lily who has borne flower and fruit – including her son John, the owner of this book – and John is directly descended from Saint Louis through his mother. Illustrating the expanded rubric and resonating with the first volume’s prologue, which refers to Jeanne, her genealogy, and her offspring, this image of Louis and Jeanne (see figs 3 and 4) must have gained in power as it was repeated at the beginning of each of the four volumes of John’s *Miroir historial*.

The image illustrating the prologue in John’s *Grandes Chroniques* and the deliberate additions to its text address a second kind of lineage, a lineage of office rather than blood that complements the dynastic message of the prologue of the *Miroir historial* and its prologue illustration. In emphasizing succession of office John’s *Grandes Chroniques* also conveniently sidesteps the problem of King Philip of Valois’s descent, which had been more contested than Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne’s. The controversy surrounding Valois succession had involved the Valois in simmering disputes with England from the moment of Philip’s coronation as king in 1328 and had put them in open conflict with King Edward III beginning in 1337.

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15 For the prologue of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, see Viard (ed.), *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. i, pp. 1-6.
17 Ibid.
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Fig. 11. Detail of rubric Miroir historial of John the Good, ca. 1332-33 (Leiden University Library, Ms. Voss. GGF3A, fol. 1) The part in italics is unique to this manuscript.

Detail of the introductory rubric Miroir historial of John the Good, ca. 1332-33 (Leiden University Library, Ms. Voss. GGF3A, fol. 1) The part in italics is unique to this manuscript.

Ci commence le premier volume du Mirouer hystorial translate de latin en francoiz par la main iehan de vignay a la requeste de tres haute et tres excellente dame Jehanne de bourgogne Royne de France. Et fu commencie ou quint an de son regne lan de grace mil CCC et XXXII Selonc lopinion de frere vincent qui en latin latin [sic] le compila a la requeste de monseigneur saint loys iadis roy de france.
The prologue image for the *Grandes Chroniques* (fig. 12) is unique for its non-narrative content; it arranges the rulers chronologically on a series of pedestals.\(^\text{18}\) The artist used a crown

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\(^{18}\) Most other prologue images from the *Grandes Chroniques* either represent a king enthroned, the translator at work, the presentation of the book, scenes from the Trojan story, or the story of Clovis. See Hedeman, *Royal Image*, catalogue of manuscripts.
to identify Pharamond, the legendary earliest pagan king of France whose coronation fills the picture’s centre, and the fleur-de-lis to distinguish the first Christian kings of France from France’s prior pagan rulers who wear black and gold. This image laid out the claims made explicit in changes to the prologue of John’s *Grandes Chroniques*, which are italicized in Appendix 2 and emphasize the descent of the most Christian French kings by long succession of time.¹⁹ It also echoed contemporary public art, like the sculptural installation (fig. 13) in the *Grand salle* of the royal palace which had been reconstructed in 1301–1315 under the last Capetian rulers and which featured painted and gilded statues of French monarchs on pillars, arranged in order beginning with Pharamond, and labelled with names but not with dynastic affiliations.²⁰

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Fig. 13. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Grand’Salle du Palais de la Cité* c. 1580. (Photograph: Wikipedia commons.)
The non-dynastic visual claim about the succession in office of Christian kings that initiates John’s manuscript is balanced by the rare translation of Guillaume of Nangis’s life of Saint Louis that concludes it. Usually in the early fourteenth century Louis IX’s life was paired with Philip III’s. For instance, the two manuscripts of the Grandes Chroniques made in the 1320s that used the same translation as appears in Royal 16 G. VI include the life of Philip III as well. Similarly, when Jean de Vignay did a translation between 1320 and 1336 of an original Latin chronicle of the lives of Louis IX and Philip III by Primat, the monastic translator of the Grandes Chroniques, he described undertaking it as a continuation of Vincent of Beauvais’s Miroir historial up to Jean de Vignay’s present. Even though the compiler/annotator of John the Good’s Grandes Chroniques worked with the anthology from Saint Denis that also contained Guillaume de Nangis’s life of Philip III (see Appendix 1), Philip III does not appear in John’s French chronicle. The propensity for Primat, Jean de Vignay, the anonymous compiler of BnF MS. lat. 5925, and contemporary copies of the Grandes Chroniques to pair lives of Louis IX and Philip III reveals how unusual and the choice of ending point was in Royal MS. 16 G. VI. Its presentation of Louis IX as the culmination of the French royal line of succession is its only point of contact with the first Grandes Chroniques (fig. 14) preserved in the royal library, which had a continuation added in the 1320s that ended with a different translation of Guillaume de Nangis’s life of Saint Louis than had been used in Royal MS. 16 G. VI.

John could have no better royal model than the saint-king Louis whom his chronicle promotes in text and image. The chronicle interweaves the themes of Louis’s piety, his kingship, and his participation and ultimate death in the crusades. These themes were emphasized equally in contemporary illustrated histories and hagiography, in the offices developed by religious orders after Louis’s canonization, and in their adaptation in illustrated Hours of Saint Louis, most notably in six surviving Books of Hours owned by women related to the saint. Indeed, in the large cycle of fifty-eight images decorating the life of Saint Louis in John’s chronicle, when Louis appears in subcycles, it is largely in the context of his emerging sanctity. Close to the midpoint of Louis’s life, a series of five scenes painted by a Maubeuge illuminator show his acts of mercy and the special royal prerogative of curing people suffering from scrofula (fig. 15), and the last images of his life are filled with ten scenes painted by Mahiet of the haloed Louis’s participation in his second crusade (see fig. 16). The visual cycle ends with the scenes of Louis’s testament (fig. 17), in which he gives guidance to his sons, and his exemplary Christian death (fig. 18).

Pairing Royal 16 G. VI with John’s four-volume Miroir historial enlivens the intertwined emphases of the chronicle’s visual cycle, which is so different from those that preceded and followed it. Their surviving framing images – the prologue illustrations of both chronicle and Miroir and the final images of the Grandes Chroniques – emphasize both John’s dynastic legitimacy, descended as he was from Saint Louis on both his mother’s and father’s sides, and the authority of the office of French king. They offer a rare view into the knowledge of the past deemed appropriate for John in the 1330s, and into the importance of the saintly King Louis IX from whom John was directly descended by blood, and by whose noble deeds and saintly death the Valois’s descent was justified.

21 This version of Saint Louis’s life appears in only two other copies of the Grandes Chroniques: Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 682 (probably c. 1320s) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. fr. 2615 (after 1314 and probably c. 1320s). See Hedeman, Royal Image, pp. 204, 220 and 242.
22 See Brun, Miroir historial, pp. 22-3, and for the text of Primat’s chronicle, see Natalis de Wailly, ‘Chronique de Primat traduite par Jean du Vignay’, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, vol. xxiii (Paris, 1876), pp. 5-106. This text’s edition was based on a manuscript of c. 1340 that belonged to Philip of Valois (London, British Library, Royal MS 19 D. I, ff. 192v-251v). Brun additionally draws attention to two bifolia from what might be an earlier copy of Jean de Vignay’s translation of Primat (Angers, Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, III.F.6). He notes that the text on these bifolia is better than that of the London manuscript. These bifolia are each ruled in forty-two lines and have similar text and illustrations – and thus are probably contemporary with John the Good’s Miroir historial.
24 For discussion of many of these visual cycles and for further bibliography, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages (Ithaca, 2008).
Fig. 15. The Cure of scrofula. Royal 16 G. VI, f. 424v.
Fig. 16. Louis IX at Tunis. Royal MS 16 G. VI, f. 440v.
Fig. 17. Louis IX’s Testament. Royal MS. 16. G. VI, f. 443v.
Fig. 18. The death of Saint Louis. Royal MS. 16 G. VI, f. 444v.
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Appendix 1

BnF MS lat. 5925 (textual hierarchy expressed through decorated initials in the manuscript as it was c. 1274). Additional texts added to the anthology in the late 13th–early 14th century are in red.

• Aimoin of Fleury, *Epistula in librum de gestis Francorum ad Abbonem abbatem*
• Aimoin of Fleury, *Praefatio*
• Aimoin of Fleury, *Historia Francorum* divided into 4 books
• Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*
• Pseudo-Turpin, *Chronicon*
• *Gesta Ludovici Pii imperatoris*
• Prologus
• Suger, *Vita Ludovici VI Grossi*
• *Gesta Ludovici VII*
• Prologus
• Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*
• *Gesta Ludovici VIII*
• Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Ludovici IX*
• Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Philippi III*

Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Gen. 782 (translations of many of the texts listed under lat. 5925). Additional texts appearing in the Grandes Chroniques of John the Good (Royal MS. 16 G. VI) are in red.

• Prologue
• Lives of Merovingians divided into 5 books
• Life of Charlemagne
• 5 books (includes translation of the Descriptio not present in BnF, lat. 5925)
• Life of Louis the Pious
• Life of Charles the Bald
• Life of Louis the Stammerer
• Life of Louis VI
• Life of Louis VII (no chapter list)
• Life of Philip Augustus divided into 3 books
• *Life of Louis VIII*
• Life of Louis IX

Appendix 2

Excerpts from the prologue to the Miroir historial

Si me suis mis a labourer. Et ay commencie a descriure et a translater de latin en francois le Mirouer des histoires du monde. Et la cause qui mameue a emprendre plus cest oevre que une autre si est. Que iai entendu par aucunes personnes dignes de foy que une des tasses du tres precieus lis benoit que Diex planta de sa main u douz et gracieus vergier de France – la quelle tasse, estreite, norrie et alevee du tres excellent lis roial de France, a tant fructefie que elle a porte fleur et fruit si tres precieus et si noble que le dit vergier de douce France [I set myself to work. And I began to describe and translate from Latin into French the Mirror of histories of the world. And the reason that I was led to undertake this work rather than another is this. That I understood from people worthy of faith that one of the clumps of the very precious blessed lily which God planted with his own hand in the sweet and gracious orchard of France – which originating in, nourished and raised from the excellent royal lily of France, has become so fruitful that it has borne such precious and
et autres en sont et seront plantez, peuples et ennoblit a touz le temps de vie – a volente d’oir recorder les hystoires et les fes des anciens qui sont contenus u dist livre […] Et que touz ceux qui orront ou liront le dit livre puissent faire et ensuir les fes des bons et eschever et fuir les fes des mauves. Et ce livre si est apele le Miroer hystorial. Car, aussi comme lomme ou la femme peut voir ou mirouer materiel en quoy len ce mire toutes les taches et autres choses qui en li sont apparans, aussi peut len voer ou dit livre toutes les hystoires du monde des le commencement que nostre sires Jhesu Crist le forma de noient iusques au iour que le livre fu fet.

Excerpt from Primat’s Prologue to the Grandes Chroniques with unique additions to the text of John’s manuscript in italics (Royal 16 G. VI, ff. 1-2):

[C]este oeuvre est profitable à fere pour fere cognoistre aus vaillanz genz la geste des rois de France et por mostrer à touz dont vient li hautece dou monde; car ce est examples de bone vie mener, meisement aus rois et aus princes qui ont terres à gouverner; car I vaillans mestres [Vincent of Beauvais] dit que ceste estoire est mireors de vie. Ci pourra chascuns trover bien et mal, bel et lait, sens et folie, et fere son preu de tout par les examples de l’estoire […] Li commencemenz de ceste hystoire sera pris à la haute ligne des Troiens, dont ele est descendue par longue succession de temps. This work is profitable to do to make known to valiant men the deeds of the kings of France and to show to all from whence came the nobility of the world, because it contains for leading a good life particularly for kings and princes who have lands to govern. Because a great master [Vincent of Beauvais] says that this history is a mirror of life. Here each can find good and evil, beauty and ugliness, sense and folly, and profit from all through the example of history […] This history will begin with the lofty line of the Trojans, from whom by a long succession of time, the French are descended.