

The artistic patronage of John Stuart, Duke of Albany, 1520–30: Vic-le-Comte, the last Sainte-Chapelle

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ABSTRACT

The Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte is one of the most important religious buildings surviving from the 16th century in the Auvergne. It was the last of ten French royal and ducal chapels founded, broadly following the precedent set by Louis IX's foundation of the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle in 1248. The primary function of this, and the other Saintes-Chapelles, was to provide a dignified structure within which to house fragments of the Passion relics inherited from Louis IX. For their patrons, such foundations served as important public expressions of piety, advertised the patrons' connections to the French crown, and simultaneously functioned as valuable diplomatic tools, encouraging important guests to venerate their relics.

The Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte has received limited scholarly attention, particularly in relation to its patron John Stuart, Duke of Albany, and his position as Regent of Scotland. This paper examines this foundation and its ambitious programme of decoration in relation to the aims and ambitions of its founder. The motivations behind the project are analysed in relation to Albany's position in Scotland, his growing prominence in France, and his strengthening ties to the Florentine Medici family. Investigated in relation to other examples of his patronage, Albany's foundation demonstrates how issues of ancient lineage, sacred kingship, and dynastic commemoration were of central importance.

Louis IX's acquisition of the Crown of Thorns in 1239 and other relics, including fragments of the True Cross in 1246, inspired him to commission a fitting chapel to be built in which to house them. The chapel was built within the royal palace on the Ile-de-la-Cité, Paris. It thus performed a double purpose as a reliquary church and a palace chapel. It was richly decorated with sculpture, stained glass and painted decoration. The chapel is today considered among the highest achievements of the Rayonnant period of Gothic architecture.¹ The term Sainte-Chapelle was also applied to a number of other buildings which 'copied' Louis IX's original structure, in that they were royal, or ducal, chapels following a broadly similar architectural form, built to house relics, particularly fragments of Louis' Passion relics deriving from royal gifts.² The foundation of such a chapel required papal approval and was, furthermore, exempt from local jurisdiction.³ The

last Sainte-Chapelle to be built in France was founded in 1520 by John Stuart, Duke of Albany.

Albany was born in the Auvergne in 1482. He was the son of Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany: the second son of King James II of Scotland and Mary of Gueldres.⁴ At an early age, Albany entered the court of Louis XII, and in 1505 married his cousin, Anne de la Tour. This match secured him the titles of comte de Boulogne, de la Marche and d'Auvergne. A pivotal point in Albany's career came on 9 September 1513, when King James IV was killed at Flodden, leaving the infant James V as his successor. Albany became heir presumptive and, almost immediately, ambassadors were dispatched from Scotland to Louis XII, to remind him of the two countries' special bond, and request that Albany travel to Scotland.⁵ Margaret Tudor forfeited her position as regent in 1514 by marrying Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus, thus

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causing Albany to be proclaimed regent.⁶ Albany travelled to Scotland three times over the course of his regency.⁷

That Albany and his wife, Anne de la Tour, founded a Sainte-Chapelle adjoining their ducal château at Vic-le-Comte, during the period that Albany was acting as regent of Scotland, has received little scholarly attention.⁸ The purpose of this paper is to examine this foundation, and its extensive programme of decoration, in relation to Albany's position at this time: as regent of Scotland, an important nobleman and military commander in France, and as valued kinsman of the Medici family in Italy. The paper analyses the theoretical framework that underpinned this project and highlights the impetus behind the foundation and its complex programme of decoration.

THE FOUNDATION

On 21 June 1520, Pope Leo X granted a papal bull, at the request of John Stuart, Duke of Albany (1482–1536), and his wife, Anne de la Tour (1496–1524), to authorise the foundation of a collegiate church in order that they might provide a dignified structure within which to house a number of precious relics: a thorn from the Crown of Thorns and a fragment of the True Cross.⁹ A chapel was to be erected adjoining the grand ducal château at Vic-le-Comte, founded under the double invocation of 'the Sainly Crown of Thorns of Jesus Christ and of Saint John the Baptist', the patron saint of the founder, and was to be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.¹⁰

The same pope, under a second papal bull dated to 1 December 1521, conferred a number of indulgences on those who used the chapel.¹¹ Specifically, he granted the sanctuary the privilege of the Roman stations. Thus, the faithful who visited the Sainte-Chapelle on specific feast days could earn the same indulgences as if they had visited the churches of Rome designated for stations.¹² This document, furthermore, explicitly details the wish of the founders to create a magnificent building, noting that the existing

chapel was so cramped, dark and gloomy that the canons and the faithful were hindered in their attempts to celebrate the divine office. The Sainte-Chapelle was constructed on the site of an older Romanesque chapel adjoining the ducal château.¹³ Albany's initial plans for the foundation were likely underway *c.* 1518–19 and surviving documentation suggests that in 1529 Albany was still preoccupied with commissioning decorative features for his new place of worship. Thus, the construction and decoration of the building spanned the 1520s.

A 17th-century copy of an apparently much older document, made by the French scholar Étienne Baluze, provides a glimpse into the manner in which the divine service was performed within the chapel.¹⁴ The document records the presence of eight vicars or chaplains presiding over the ceremony, testifying to the munificence of the founders, while the details of the service eloquently attest to the great importance placed on venerating one's ancestors and honouring the dead. The document also provides evidence of Albany and his wife's intentions: to provide a grand setting for the commemoration of their ancestors and to, henceforth, house the sepulchres of the counts of the Auvergne. Furthermore, two of the three masses assigned to the salvation of the family were also to provide for the salvation and prosperity of the founders; the preservation of their memory and the salvation of their souls being of primary importance.¹⁵ Their desire was, therefore, to found a chapel with a treasury, seal and other privileges accorded to an institution of this nature. The foundation was to support a dean, eight canons in receipt of prebends, eight in receipt of semi-prebends and four novices.¹⁶

When Anne de la Tour died in 1524, her will stated that she left all her burial and funeral arrangements in the hands of her husband and was thus likely interred in the Sainte-Chapelle.¹⁷ When Albany died at Mirefleurs in 1536, it appears that he joined his wife and was also interred there. In the 17th century, Baluze recorded a transcription of a plaque which marked the resting place of the founders' hearts, located at the altar of the chapel.¹⁸ Following Albany's death, and in the absence of any legitimate heirs, the Sainte-

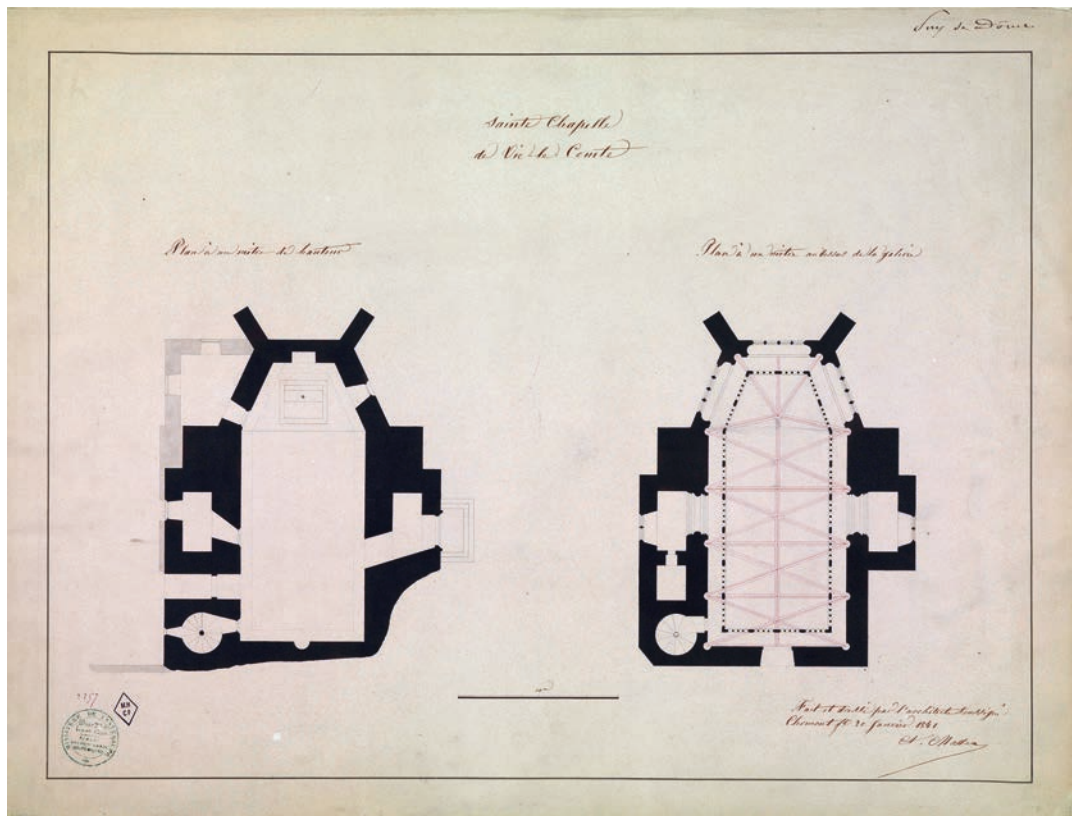
Chapelle passed to Catherine de Medici and thus to the French Crown.¹⁹

THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

The Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte is composed of a single nave of four bays, closed to the east by a three-sided polygonal choir, covered by a ribbed vault (Illus 1). The chapel, which forms the choir of the current extended building, measures 18m × 9m.²⁰ It consists of two levels, separated by a gallery that runs along the inside wall. The chapel is illuminated by three large stained glass windows situated in the apse, at the level of the gallery (Illus 2). Access to the lower chapel area was added in the 19th century, through a door on the south side. However, the

ground floor was originally accessed through a door sheltered by a porch, now walled up, that was situated in the first bay of the north wall. Originally the upper chapel was accessed directly from the château by a door on the west side. This allowed the Duke and his wife to move directly to their oratory from their apartments situated on the first floor of the château.²¹

In the north wall a spiral staircase leads from the ground floor to the roof. Two auxiliary spaces, accessible from the inside, also along the north wall, confer an irregular character to the perimeter of the edifice. The three-sided apse is preceded on the north side by a small extension which houses the sacristy. Visible traces of archivolt framing small Romanesque openings suggest that the founders, for the sake of expediency or economy, did not build the



ILLUS 1 Aymon Mallay, 'Plan of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte', 1841 (Ministère de la Culture – Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine – diffusion RMN)



ILLUS 2 The interior of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte looking towards the reredos and apse (B Coombs 2009)

Sainte-Chapelle *ex nihilo*, but rather adapted the old Romanesque chapel when creating the new building. Thus, only the apse and the lateral spaces built in stone are attributable to the 16th century.

Outside, the apse is reinforced by four powerful buttresses, and at the top of the wall an ornate frieze runs around the circumference of the building. The frieze consists of sculpted vegetal and zoomorphic motifs including: thistles, oak leaves, griffins, a pelican in her piety, a salamander, deer, lions, grotesques, a green man, aquatic beasts, instruments of the Passion, a centaur, the Holy Dove and a unicorn (Illus 3). The salamander represents the emblem of Francis I and it is likely, therefore, that the inclusion of the unicorn and the thistle relate to the iconography of the royal house of Scotland and Albany's place within it.²² The design of this frieze is identical in style to one adorning the access to the Sainte-Chapelle at Aigueperse. This was most likely added by Charles III de Bourbon between 1510 and 1520, and is an interesting example, therefore, of the recognition between de Bourbon and Albany of their equivalent grand architectural foundations.²³

The adjoining ducal château at Vic-le-Comte no longer survives.²⁴ However, several early drawings provide us with an idea of how the two buildings were orientated. The earliest surviving visual evidence of the château is an illustration dating to 1518 (Illus 4).²⁵ The sketchy topographical portrait is accompanied by a poem, which notes its antiquity and suggests that during John Stuart's lifetime it was still undergoing improvements.²⁶

Il y a mille ans que je suis faict.

I was made one-thousand years ago

De mon premier commencement.

As of my beginning

Encores ne suis pas parfaict.

Still I am not perfect

Du tout en tout entièrement.

All in all entirely

Maiz j'ay ung bel soulagement.

But I have a beautiful solace

Chescun m'appelle Vic-le-Comte.

Everyone calls me Vic-le-Comte

Il y a longtemps certainement.

It has certainly been a long time

Qu'on a tenu de moy grand compte.

Since people have thought greatly of me.



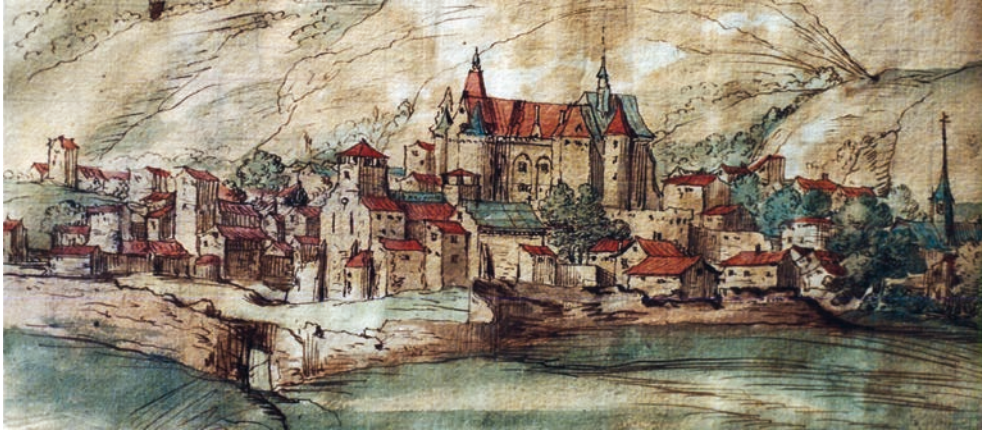
ILLUS 3 The frieze on the exterior of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, showing a unicorn, the Holy Dove and a centaur (B Coombs 2009)



ILLUS 4 Bremond Domat, the château and chapel at Vic-le-Comte, *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11, f 55v. 1518 (© Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag)



ILLUS 5 The château and Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, *Revenus du comté d'Auvergne, avec les revenus particuliers et les portraits des châteaux*. Ars MS 4264, f 2r (© Paris BnF)



ILLUS 6 'The château and Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte', 17th-century watercolour. Courtesy of Professor Michael Greenhalgh, Australian National University

This drawing predates the reconstruction of the old chapel into the new Sainte-Chapelle, although plans were no doubt underway at this time.²⁷ The spire depicted behind the château is outwith the ducal enclosure and represents the church of Saint John the Baptist to the south-west of the château. A later version of this drawing dating to 1552 includes the Sainte-Chapelle, although with an imprecise rendering of the relationship between the two buildings (Illus 5).²⁸ A 17th-century watercolour, however, provides a detailed account of how the two buildings were aligned, again including the church of Saint John the Baptist to the south-west (Illus 6). The poem and the three images noted here provide us with important information regarding the château and adjoining Sainte-Chapelle: the poem supports the suggestion that the foundation of the new chapel fitted into a larger programme of work undertaken by Albany to improve and aggrandise the ducal château. Furthermore, the images provide visual evidence of the proximity and orientation of the two buildings, a factor of great significance in relation to the decorative programme employed.

The ducal château subsequently fell into ruin and now survives only as a gateway with a section of the façade leading onto the modern-day rue de la Porte Robin. The Sainte-Chapelle has fared better over the years, yet suffered from desecration in the wake of the French Revolution. In 1793 it was converted into a 'temple of justice'. The floor of

the chapel was destroyed, many decorative details were defaced, and major items of equipment were destroyed or sold. It was classed as a Historic Monument in 1840, and enlarged in 1842–3 by the diocesan architect Aymon Mally. The west wall of the chapel was lost at this time to make way for the expansion of the building and the creation of a nave forming today's parish church. A recent comprehensive restoration of the interior took place after 1990. The chapel survives, despite its turbulent history, as a building of great historic and aesthetic significance.

THE PROGRAMME OF INTERIOR DECORATION

The programme of interior decoration employed in the Sainte-Chapelle is a fascinating visual testimony to the grandeur and magnificence that Albany and Anne de la Tour wished to project. In the section that follows, after outlining the major features of the iconographic programme, I will concentrate on analysing its theoretical basis and the international context into which it must be placed in order to be fully understood. Initially, however, a brief description of the major decorative components provides an overview of the efforts, both financial and intellectual, that went into realising the foundation.

THE STAINED GLASS WINDOWS

The chapel is lit by three large windows set in the walls of the apse above the gallery (Illus 2). These windows are almost identical in composition: each is divided by three mullions into four lights. The trefoiled lancets are crowned with a pierced tympanum, composed of three soufflets, ten mouchettes, and ten spandrels.³⁰ The subject of the axial window occupies the whole window, while the two side windows are divided into six registers of four panels each. The central window is filled with a large depiction of the Tree of Jesse, below which are donor portraits of Albany and his wife kneeling before prie-dieux, which bear their respective arms (Illus 7). The panels of the south window are composed of scenes from the New Testament, while those of the north display a complex series of Old Testament prefigurative scenes (Illus 8). The tympanum of the south window is decorated with angels bearing the Instruments of the Passion and the sun, that of the north window by musical angels and the moon.³¹

The eight panels composing the two lower registers of the south and north windows are reconstructions undertaken in 1898 by Félix Gaudin, after cartoons by Victor Tardieu, following the original iconography.³² The 16 panels composing the upper four registers of each window are original and date to the 1520s. The Tree of Jesse in the central window dates to 1891 and is



ILLUS 7 The axial window in the apse of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte (B Coombs 2009)



ILLUS 8 The Old Testament (left) and New Testament (right) windows in the apse of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte (B Coombs 2009)

the work of Félix Gaudin and Eugène Grasset, again following the original iconography that disappeared at the end of the 18th century.³³ The reconstructed portraits of the donors may be compared with an engraving of the original representations made by Baluze in 1708 (Illus 9).

The typological programme of Old and New Testament scenes depicted is one of the most significant surviving examples of 16th-century stained glass from Renaissance France. The great originality of this programme, as highlighted by Luneau, is testament to the importance placed by Albany on the decorative programme of his foundation.³⁴ The complexity of the programme of stained glass, and indeed of the programme of decoration as a whole, is such that it appears likely that Albany employed a theologian or academic to devise the scheme.³⁵ Installed *c.* 1524, the windows are of an exceptional quality,

and survive as an important testimony to the artistic tastes and magnificence of Albany. The complex typological programme with its strong genealogical and dynastic values is appropriate for a Sainte-Chapelle, and yet contains a number of extraordinary details. Identifying the atelier responsible is not easy; however, similarities in composition and decorative elements have been drawn to the celebrated glass-painter from Bourges, Jean Lécuyer, and may be a product of his, or an associated atelier of Bourges.³⁶ Of particular note in the windows is the use of contemporary early 16th-century dress and ornate suits of armour, which confer a distinctly military aspect to the Old Testament windows (Illus 10).³⁷

The importance of light to the conception of the building of the Sainte-Chapelle reflects the preoccupation with the concept of divine light,



ILLUS 9 'Portraits de Jean Stuart Duc d'Albanie et d'Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne sa femme, tirez d'une vitre de la Sainte-Chapelle de Vic le Comte' (Baluze 1708). Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland

made explicit in the original Parisian foundation and echoed in numerous examples of stained glass windows in the later Saintes-Chapelles.³⁸ The typological programme employed at Vic-le-Comte utilises both iconographic and compositional typology to stress themes of sacred kingship and dynastic royal authority, which will be examined more closely in due course. The iconography is derived from a multiplicity of sources and forms a unique iconographic programme (Appendix 1). The time and expense evidently incurred emphasises the importance placed by Albany on projecting a didactic message.

THE GALLERY AND BALUSTRADE

Aristocratic chapels were frequently divided into two levels, allowing the lord and his family to occupy the upper level, physically distancing themselves from those using the chapel on the level below.³⁹ At Vic-le-Comte the two levels are

separated by a large corbelled gallery (Illus 11). Albany and his wife could thus access the upper gallery space directly from their apartments on the first floor of the château. This arrangement emphasised Albany's magnificence and projected his elevated status in very literal terms. The gallery runs around the interior of the original edifice, with the exception of the west wall, and forms a richly ornamented element of the overall decorative programme, all in Renaissance rather than Gothic style. The lower projecting part is an attempt at a classical entablature, with an oversize architrave including an egg and dart ovolo moulding, a disproportionately narrow frieze, and a cornice. Above runs a parapet with balusters punctuated by fluted pedestals. At regular intervals the gallery is adorned with sculpted coats of arms. These are now greatly defaced, however, they originally displayed alternately the arms of Albany with those of Albany impaled by those of his wife.⁴⁰ On



ILLUS 10 Daniel revealing the meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, as Nebuchadnezzar condemns the wise men of Babylon, from the Old Testament window of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte (B Coombs 2009)

the level of the gallery are two small auxiliary chapels, one to each side, whose vaulted ceilings are each ornamented with a heraldic boss bearing the arms of Boulogne and d'Auvergne.⁴¹ Thus the interior is prominently adorned with heraldic signifiers, stressing the identity of the founder, his family, and his ancestry.

THE REREDOS

In the apse, rising above the height of the balustrade, stands a finely carved early 16th-

century stone reredos (Illus 12). Although mutilated in some of its details, it survives as a remarkable example of 16th-century French sculpture. It takes the form of a richly ornamented portico, surmounted by a pediment bearing three pedestals originally intended to support statues. The façade of the reredos is occupied by two stages of niches: the lower four, displaying sculpted figures of the cardinal virtues, and the upper three, the theological virtues.⁴² Originally the pedestals supported sculpted figures of God the Father in the centre, flanked by Adam and



ILLUS 11 The gallery, balustrade and two of the terracotta apostle figures from the apostolic gallery of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte (B Coombs 2009)



ILLUS 12 The early 16th-century stone reredos displaying the cardinal and theological virtues at the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte (B Coombs 2009)

Eve on each side. This was replaced by figures of the Virgin and two angels *c* 1834, apparently due to 19th-century distaste of Adam and Eve's nudity.⁴³ Despite early commentators attributing the work of the reredos and the gallery to later Italian sculptors employed by Catherine de Medici, both works are French, the reredos being consistent in style with a successor to Michel Colombe, perhaps the work of Jean de Chartres or an associate.⁴⁴ The choice of iconography, the personifications of the virtues, is in line with French courtly tastes for funerary statuary during this period. For instance, the tomb of Francis II, Duke of Brittany, at Nantes was executed in the early 16th century by Michel Colombe, based on a design by the royal artist Jean Perréal, and prominently features personifications of the cardinal virtues.⁴⁵ The reredos at Vic-le-Comte is profusely adorned with heraldic devices which, although defaced, may be identified as those of the royal house of France on the pediment, and of Albany, and the arms of Albany impaled by those of his wife, on the façade.⁴⁶

THE APOSTLES

On the wall between the level of the gallery and the vaulted ceiling is a sculpted gallery of 12 terracotta figures of the apostles (Illus 2 and 11). The statues are set into decorative carved niches, ornamented with the attributes of the four evangelists and carved floral motifs. While the sculpted reredos may be attributed to the work of French artists, the apostolic college betrays a knowledge of *cinquecento* Florentine sculpture and has been convincingly attributed to the Florentine artist Giovanni Francesco Rustici, who was working in Paris in the late 1520s.⁴⁷ A document brought to light by Leproux, dating to August 1529, notes that three carriers were charged to transport from Paris to Vic-le-Comte 'douze ymages de terre cuyte des douze apostres Nostre Seigneur'.⁴⁸ The document does not name the sculptor, however, an attribution to Rustici on stylistic and circumstantial grounds is convincing. The documentation of this transportation of sculptures is important: it demonstrates the great lengths that Albany went to to complete the decorative programme

of his chapel. Transporting these figures almost 300 miles (483km) from Paris to Vic-le-Comte was an enormous undertaking for the period. Furthermore, Albany's evident desire to integrate a fashionable Italian aesthetic in his foundation is telling when viewed in light of his personal connections to Italy, as uncle and guardian of Catherine de Medici.

The visual presence of the apostolic college in the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte was evidently judged necessary by Albany, in order to evoke a close connection to the original Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, and perhaps other earlier foundations, such as Jean, duc de Berry's chapel in Bourges.⁴⁹ It demonstrated strong visual connections to the French tradition of the Sainte-Chapelle, while simultaneously employing the most the most up-to-date Italian aesthetics.

THE SACRISTY, TREASURY AND OTHER DECORATIVE ITEMS

The lintel of the door to the old sacristy was originally adorned, according to Baluze, by an elegant carving of Albany and Anne de la Tour's arms (Illus 13),⁵⁰ a visual reminder to visitors that the work performed in the chapel was a direct consequence of the founders' generosity. The heraldic signifiers also emphasised that the important relics housed in the chapel were the inheritance of this important family. Papal approval for the foundation of the building rested on Albany and his wife's inheritance of two important Passion relics: a thorn from the Crown of Thorns and a splinter from the True Cross. Both relics derived from the original Capetian examples housed in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.⁵¹ Furthermore, the papal bull for the foundation records the presence of many relics of the Virgin and the Apostles housed in reliquaries.⁵² In the early 18th century, Baluze recorded several ornate reliquaries, including a mid-15th-century example commissioned by Bertrand VI, comte d'Auvergne, and a hexagonal ivory reliquary supported by two angels containing a tooth of the Virgin all housed in the Sainte-Chapelle.⁵³ He also recorded the presence of four richly embroidered chasubles, again bearing the arms of Bertrand VI, comte



ILLUS 13 'Armoiries de Jean Stuart Duc d'Albanie et d'Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne sa femme tirez d'apres celles qui sont sur la porte de la Sacristie de la Sainte-Chapelle de Vic le Comte' (Baluze 1708). Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland

d'Auvergne, providing further evidence of the visual splendour employed in the chapel.⁵⁴

Other surviving decorative features of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte include several early paintings whose provenance appear tied to the chapel. An early 16th-century quadriptych, painted on wood, is still displayed there. The painting represents four Stations of the Cross: Simon of Cyrene helping Jesus bear the Cross; Jesus stripped of his garments; his death on the Cross and his being laid in the tomb.⁵⁵ The frame is decorated with the monogram INRI, *Iesvs Nazarenvs Rex Ivdæorum* (Jesus the Nazarene, King of the Jews). Few of the early accounts of the chapel mention the painting, and much of the recent literature also fails to note this work.⁵⁶ However, an identification of the subject of the painting as a meditation on the Stations of the Cross, which has not previously been recognised, suggests a connection with the papal indulgence granted to the foundation in 1521. Although nothing of the early history of the painting is known, its iconographic relevance to this event suggests that it may have been acquired by Albany in recognition of this privilege.⁵⁷

Throughout the history of the chapel a number of magnificent items appear to have been held there. The circumstances surrounding their commission and how they were acquired is currently unknown. In 2010, it came to light that an early 15th-century painting of the Pietà with Saint John and two angels, attributed to the French painter Jean Malouel (1370–1415), had been discovered in a storeroom adjoining the chapel.⁵⁸ A plausible explanation for the existence of the panel at Vic-le-Comte is that it was acquired by Jean, duc de Berry. In 1400 Vic-le-Comte was the property of Jean de Berry, brother of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the patron of Jean Malouel. After inheriting land in the Auvergne, Jean de Berry set to expanding or rebuilding the châteaux of his fiefdoms, including Vic-le-Comte. Indeed, the château was completely rebuilt at the end of the 14th century. It is likely that on this occasion the Duke commissioned the panel for the château chapel, which was later rebuilt as the Sainte-Chapelle.

Nothing is known of the manuscripts originally held in the Sainte-Chapelle. The

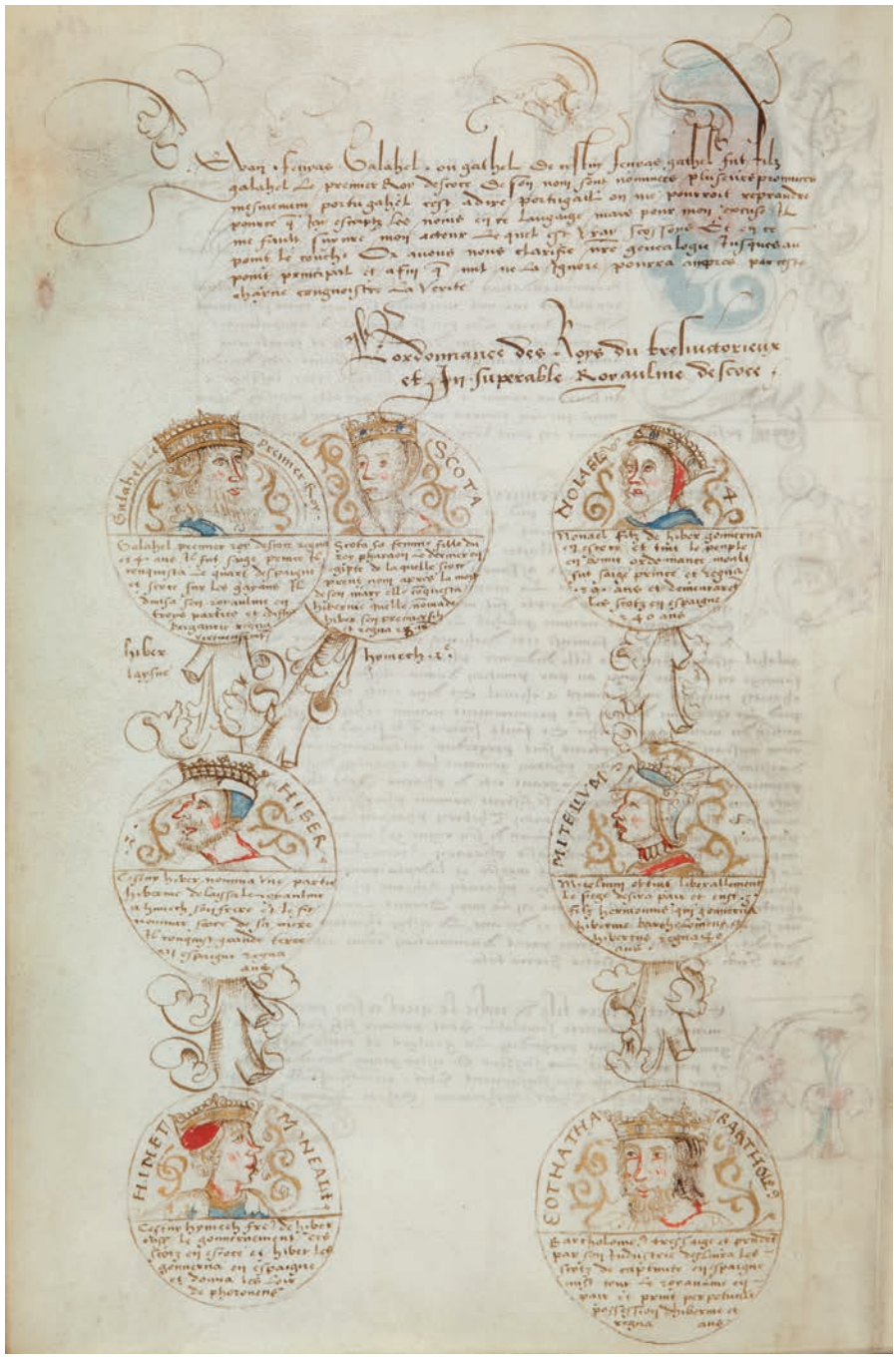
existence, however, of a fragment of a register, containing copies of acts relative to the foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle, pasted into a 12th-century *Sacramentaire de Senlis* indicates that this manuscript may have been used in the chapel. The fact that it now forms part of the collection of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, where we know another of Albany's manuscripts is held, may support this hypothesis.⁵⁹ Unfortunately the beginning of the register is missing and it is difficult to determine for certain if this was a document in Albany's possession at the time it was written in 1530.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ANCIENT DESCENT

Albany was proclaimed regent of Scotland in 1514 and in 1518 a chain of events unfolded that greatly bolstered his position, both in social and political terms. On 2 May 1518, Madeleine de la Tour, his sister-in-law, was married to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino. The marriage was extremely important for Albany, substantially elevating his standing in France by allying him with the powerful Florentine Medici family, and by providing him with a direct connection to Lorenzo's uncle, Pope Leo X: a connection Albany was keen to exploit, both for his own ends and on behalf of Scotland. This can be seen in Albany's correspondence with the papacy directly after this time.⁶⁰

Madeleine gave birth to Lorenzo's only child, Catherine, at Urbino on 19 April 1519, however, within several months of the birth both parents died. This left Catherine's closest relatives as Pope Leo X and Albany. Francis I decreed that the child should inherit her parents' share of the de la Tour lands and properties, making Catherine de Medici a great heiress in France. Following the death of Pope Leo X on 1 December 1521, Albany was appointed Catherine's tutor and guardian, as her closest male relative.

During this key period of 1518–19, when Albany's ties to the Medici family were forged, he commissioned two genealogical manuscripts: a French translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis*,



ILLUS 14 Bremond Domat, 'Illuminated Genealogy of the Kings of Scotland', *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*. MS 936, f 256v, 1519 (© Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. Courtesy of Nabil Boutros)



ILLUS 15 Bremond Domat, 'Les armes de la fille Du roy descoce qui fut comtesse de bologne', *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11, f 40v. 1518 (© Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag)

with an illuminated genealogy of the kings of Scotland appended (the Paris Manuscript), and a composite manuscript including genealogical material relevant to his wife's family, the counts of Boulogne and d'Auvergne (the Hague Manuscript).⁶¹ This dual commission highlights Albany's preoccupation with his ancestry and lineage in the years immediately prior to his foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle.

The principal iconographic focus of the programme of decoration in the Sainte-Chapelle is the Tree of Jesse, adorning the axial window, below which kneel the donor figures, Albany and Anne de la Tour (Illus 7 and 9).⁶² While the north and south windows emphasise the Passion, with the concordance between the Old and New Testaments drawing particular attention to the Passion relics, the central window unites the scheme by drawing attention to the genealogy of Christ and his earthly lineage. Christ's ancestral descent from Adam was popularly conflated with the Tree of Jesse. In the Sainte-Chapelle this point was highlighted by the positioning of the carved stone reredos in front of the axial window, which aligned the stone sculptures of Adam and Eve on each side of the stained glass Tree of Jesse, thus suggesting a dual reading of the tree: as the Tree of Jesse and as the Tree of Knowledge. The inclusion of Albany and his wife kneeling below the tree integrated the founders' earthly lineage into this Christian cosmology.⁶³

In the introduction to the illustrated genealogy in the Paris Manuscript, the author, Domat, makes his intention clear. He stresses that it was written to 'clarify and resolve the very illustrious and ancient lineage of Scots to that end that every noble prince descended from this line may apprehend the true source and origin of their lineage'. He then stressed that few kingdoms can claim such an ancient line of descent as that of Scotland, which was traced back 330 years before the advent of Christ. The genealogy began, as it did in the *Scotichronicon*, with Japhet, third son of Noah, leading to Galahel, who was proclaimed the first king of the Scots (Illus 14).⁶⁴ Furthermore, in an introductory poem which Domat included prefacing his translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis*, he stressed the evidential

character of the material included in the chronicle and again noted the kingdom of Scotland's sovereignty and antiquity. Examined in light of the iconography employed in the Sainte-Chapelle, it appears that Albany was concerned with illustrating his place as a descendant of the ancient line of the kings of Scotland in a broader cosmological scheme. There are several points that arise from this: a preoccupation with kingship and dynastic concerns, which will be dealt with in due course, and a desire to reinforce an idea of cohesion between his wife and his dual descent from St Louis and the ancient kings of Scotland.

The iconography employed in the chapel, viewed in relation to the genealogical manuscripts, suggests that Albany was concerned with illustrating the importance of a union between a descendant of the kings of Scotland and of the Capetian kings of France. This was a joining of bloodlines which had occurred previously and which is highlighted in the Hague Manuscript by the earlier marriage of Mary, the youngest daughter of Malcolm Canmore and St Margaret of Scotland, to Eustace III, Count of Boulogne (Illus 15).⁶⁵ Eustace III was the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, a leading figure in the first crusade, who also features prominently in this genealogy (Illus 16). Godfrey was famed for his role in the successful siege of Jerusalem in 1099, upon which he was declared the first ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem, however, he refused the title of king declaring that he would never wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns.⁶⁶

Having examined the theme of lineage in relation to the intellectual proximity of the foundation to the genealogical manuscripts immediately preceding it, we can also examine the physical proximity of the iconography of the Tree of Jesse to a visual genealogy adorning the windows of the gallery of the ducal château. The windows were installed under Jean I, comte d'Auvergne and de Boulogne (1361–86).⁶⁷ They related to the genealogy of the houses of d'Auvergne and Boulogne from their origin until 1360. Although the château does not survive, a 16th-century document records the iconography of the windows. BnF, MS fr 4652, consists of



ILLUS 16 Bremond Domat, 'The arms of Godfrey of Boulogne', *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11, f 42v. 1518 (© Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag)

an inventory of titles and charters of the house of Boulogne and includes a list of the coats of arms once found on the stained glass windows in the gallery of the château.⁶⁸ The description was written by Augustin le Prévost for Catherine de Medici in 1582. Le Prévost notes that the gallery was lit by eight windows, each bearing four coats of arms. The windows were organised in such a manner as to visually celebrate the ancient familial alliances of the house of Boulogne and d'Auvergne with the house of France, house of Bourbon, and other 'princes of the blood', as well as with the kingdom of Scotland.⁶⁹ This

is stressed by the inclusion of the marriage of Mary, the aforementioned daughter of Malcolm Canmore.⁷⁰

The designer of the windows, who conceived the programme in the 1380s, wished to illustrate the ancestral ties of this family.⁷¹ It utilises the same King Arthur to Ligier line of descent employed in the genealogies contained in the Hague Manuscript.⁷² As the windows predate Albany's patronage it is interesting to see how he built upon an already established heraldic scheme that drew attention to the connections between this house and the royal house of

Scotland. The 1518 poem relating to the château at Vic-le-Comte suggests that the foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle may have formed part of a larger scheme of improvements instigated by Albany to aggrandise his ducal residence.⁷³ The iconographic focus on genealogy of the Sainte-Chapelle must, therefore, be seen in relation to the already existing scheme of decoration relating to this subject. The bold inclusion of the portraits of Albany and his wife, with their arms situated directly below the Tree of Jesse, therefore takes on a greater significance: as a bold visual statement of this meeting of bloodlines, highlighting not only their place in a terrestrial genealogy but in a celestial one too.

Returning to the Scottish royal genealogy in the Paris Manuscript and the notion of cohesion, it is important to bear in mind that Albany's position necessitated that he promote Scotland's interests and status in Europe. Although he shared Boulogne and d'Auvergne descent through his mother's side, in his marriage to Anne de la Tour he was of significantly lower status in French eyes.⁷⁴ His appointment as regent in Scotland offered an opportunity to advertise his royal credentials and engage in a campaign of self-promotion. Key to the success of this endeavour was the advancement of Scottish prestige.

Albany's patronage of a translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis* into French is significant in this context as the text promoted the idea that Scotland was among the most ancient kingdoms of Europe, having preserved her integrity and independence since pre-Christian times. While buttressing the authority of the royal line, the genealogy also demonstrated the ancient and independent origins of its people. This formed an emphatic restatement of the historical basis for an autonomous Scottish identity. The royal genealogy, embodied by its reigning monarch, was an important symbol of an independent nation, subject to God alone. Albany, as regent during this period, to a degree filled this position. Advertising this fact in Europe was likely to have been a central concern for Albany during the period he founded the Sainte-Chapelle.

It is hypothesised, therefore, that Albany was concerned with promoting a certain view of the past for his own ends. His motivations were

fuelled by a desire to self-fashion himself in the eyes of the European nobility as a sovereign of an important ancient and independent nation. Furthermore, he sought to stress the link between the royal lineage of Scotland with that of the Capetian kings of France: to provide an anchor for the new dynasty emerging from his marriage to Anne de la Tour. The Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte may be seen as a magnificent embodiment of Albany's efforts towards cohesion and self-promotion.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SACRAL KINGSHIP

Sacral kingship is the religious and political concept by which a ruler is seen as a manifestation or agent of the sacred. This is a particularly potent concept in relation to the French monarchy. The iconography of the decorative programme employed in Albany's chapel, in line with the original Parisian Sainte-Chapelle, stresses this idea.⁷⁵ To a French audience, the reference to sacral kingship would have been unproblematic, and its use in relation to a building housing relics inherited from Louis IX was consistent with other examples of such buildings. However, the deployment of this idea in relation to Albany's position as regent of Scotland deserves further consideration.

Albany had been declared regent by hereditary right. Parliament noted this in declaring that his appointment was made according to 'imperiall cannoune and oure awin civile lawis, be quhilkis lawis is decernit that the nerrest and lauchfull personage of the agnatis side sall have the cure, tutory and governance, and in inlikwise sall take the charge and pane in governans, alsweill as thai have the aventure and respecte of proffitt to successiounne'.⁷⁶ His blood relationship to the monarch was, therefore, all important and he was, from 1504 onwards, either the heir presumptive or the second in line to the throne of kingdom of Scotland. Given that Albany planned and founded the Sainte-Chapelle during his tenure as regent, it is useful to keep this in mind when we go on to examine the themes explored in the decoration.

In 1960, Grodecki propounded the idea of the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle as a monumental reliquary built to house the Crown of Thorns procured by Louis IX.⁷⁷ The shrine functioned, he proposed, as the site of spiritual power translated from the Holy Land to France. Building on this idea of a monumental reliquary, other historians have shown that the programme of stained glass formed a visual essay on kingship, with particular emphasis on the Capetian claims to sacral kingship.⁷⁸ In the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, the stained glass windows draw particular attention to examples of Old Testament kingship and to the idea of Christ as king, emphasising the role of the paraphernalia of royalty and stressing, in visual terms, concepts such as good government and just rule.

The first typological pair of scenes employed at Vic-le-Comte draws attention to the parallels of Old and New Testament kingship by equating King David's entry into Jerusalem with Christ's entry into the same city. Here Christ lets himself be proclaimed King of Israel by the crowd. The episode draws attention to the royalty of Christ while establishing the pattern for the typological programme (Appendix 1). Furthermore, the pairing stresses the prophesy made to David that 'Your house and your kingdom will endure forever before me; your throne will be established forever'.⁷⁹ In iconographic terms, the

stress on symbols of authority and kingship is employed repeatedly in the typological pairings; the conflation of the Old Testament figure King Aï descending from the Cross and wearing a crown of gold with Christ's descent from the Cross wearing the Crown of Thorns explicitly draws attention to this symbol of kingship (Illus 17), while the Christ figure in the Last Supper is set against a fireplace which evokes a throne.⁸⁰ The Old Testament sovereigns in the window are resplendent in their royal and military regalia, thus drawing attention to the royal lineage of Christ and to the military aspect of kingship that was fundamental to Albany's political ambitions.

This programme of typology, stressing the symbols and behaviours of kingship, is unified by the central depiction of the Tree of Jesse, demonstrating the continuity between the Old and New Testaments and illustrating Christ's genealogical descent from King David. The two types of kings are conflated: David, a terrestrial king of Judea, and Christ, a celestial king of Israel. The viewer is invited to consider kingship in all its forms, to recognise the royalty of Christ, to consider this in relation to the kings of France, and to contemplate the founders' relationship to this hierarchy of kingship.

By viewing the ideas discussed in this section in relation to the manuscripts Albany commissioned in the years prior to his foundation,



ILLUS 17 King Aï's descent from the Cross (left), Christ's descent from the Cross (right), the fourteenth typological pair from the Old and New Testament windows of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte (B Coombs, 2009)

we can relate the idea of sacral kingship to evidence of how this concerned Albany. First was his concern with demonstrating that his possession of fragments of the Passion relics was indicative of his links to the Capetian kings of France.⁸¹ In the Hague Manuscript, attention is drawn to his wife's descent from Godfrey of Boulogne. Godfrey is significant in this context due to his prominent role in the Crusades and his appointment as king of Jerusalem. In the manuscript, visual stress is given to his bestowal of a royal title: the crest of his arms being ornamented by the Crown of Thorns encircling the Cross, which bears a small royal crown (Illus 16). The comparison made between terrestrial and celestial kingship is inescapable.

The chief function of Albany's foundation, as set out in the papal bull, was to provide a dignified structure to house fragments of the Passion relics.⁸² This structure took on the form, loosely following the Parisian precedent, of a monumental reliquary. The decorative programme highlights the significance of the relics contained within, illuminating their origin, and the means by which they related to the founders. Albany was, by all accounts, a very pious man and took particular pride in his collection of sacred relics. Accounts survive, for instance, noting his propensity for swearing 'upon a piece of the Holy Cross and other diverse relics which be in a tablet of gold, hung around his neck'.⁸³ Fundamental to the programme of decoration employed in the chapel was visually demonstrating his and his wife's genealogical descent from Louis IX, who was an embodiment of sacral kingship.⁸⁴

A second concern for Albany was promoting his position as regent of Scotland and the opportunities and privileges that this afforded him. The Hague Manuscript contains a poem and prognostication detailing Albany's political prospects in 1518. The poem, in translation, reads:

The year one thousand, four hundred, eighty and
two in July,
The eighth was born on earth,
Albany, bonnie child,
who will by sea conquer,
Scotland also England,

and put them into subjection,
by strength of arms and of war,
he will take possession of them.⁸⁵

This poem makes a bold statement of Albany's intention to rule, not only Scotland, but England. Regardless of how serious he was in making this a reality, it was how he wished to promote himself at the time. Below the poem is written 'The prognostication of the nativity of prince John, Duke of Albany, as speculated by the planets'. This is followed by three verses of eight lines on the influence of the planetary deities on the life of Albany. Beginning by noting that Venus, the principal planet, promises him papal power, it then refers to him as 'double-crowned, two times king', an affirmation of the military ambitions expressed above.⁸⁶ In relation to the focus on kingship expressed in his Sainte-Chapelle, this statement is enlightening. The poem is an affirmation of Albany's power and prestige and a bold prediction of what his future could hold. The concept of kingship and the means by which one was destined to hold such power was evidently an important concern for Albany.

A secondary focus on the virtues of kingship is also implicit in this reading.⁸⁷ The iconography in the Sainte-Chapelle was intended to fulfil a didactic role, and as such visually expressed the virtues befitting a sovereign, that is: an ability to foster peace, conduct just wars and uphold justice. The focus on virtue was emphasised in the chapel by the stone reredos prominently displaying the four cardinal and three theological virtues. Just as the figures of Adam and Eve were arranged in such a manner as to invite their contemplation in relation to the Tree of Jesse, so too were these virtues intended to be read in relation to the concepts of kingship and genealogy, the appeal to ancestry being a common tool in the education of a prince. By claiming descent from paragons of virtue, a prince was encouraged to follow their example. Given that the foundation of public and political morality was ultimately the law of God, the expression of such concepts was to be expected in such a foundation.

When Albany commissioned the French translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis*, in the Paris Manuscript, he had an imperative to

promote a biblical origin myth for the Scottish nation. Given his statement of intent in the Hague Manuscript, foreseeing himself as ‘double-crowned, two times king’, he had every impetus to stress Scotland’s antiquity and rights over England. In the preface and prologue to the *Liber Pluscardensis*, Domat noted that he sought to praise the victorious and invincible men of Scotland, a nation resplendent in all parts of the world and feared by all, a nation who was not defeated by the obstacles of persecution, pests, tyranny and insults. The royal house of Scotland, he wrote, had its origin 330 years before the incarnation of our Lord and had not succumbed to subjection. This longevity and autonomy was crucial to any ideas Albany harboured regarding a claim to sovereignty in England as well as Scotland. The aims and ambitions which are set out in Albany’s manuscripts paved the way for his grand architectural foundation: the Sainte-Chapelle. One should, therefore, read the programme of decoration in relation to his concerns and political objectives as expressed in these works.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PRESTIGE AND PERPETUAL MEMORY

The functional significance of Albany’s foundation was its ability to act both as a monumental reliquary and as a funerary monument. It was intended to provide a grand setting for the commemoration of Albany and Anne de la Tour’s ancestors and a fitting place in which to honour the dead. The services employed in the chapel eloquently attest to this cult of death and the family.⁸⁸ Within this programme of commemoration, two of the three masses assigned to the salvation of the family were also to provide for the salvation and prosperity of the founders.⁸⁹ That the divine office was performed by eight chapter canons or their vicars provides proof of the munificence of the founders and their taste for liturgical solemnities. Albany wished to improve upon his predecessors by providing a larger, brighter and more magnificent setting for the family chapel. Thus he replaced a modest and gloomy building with

a magnificent hybrid Renaissance show-piece.⁹⁰ Furthermore, by expanding the commemorative services celebrated in the older chapel, Albany ensured that the preservation of his name was guaranteed.⁹¹

As we have noted, the hearts of Albany and Anne de la Tour were preserved, as if relics themselves, in a niche at the front of the high altar, in a lead box. The niche was covered by a bronze plaque. Through this practice, a more intimate connection was drawn between the founders and the relics housed in the chapel. Furthermore, it acted as a direct reminder to all who used the chapel of the founders’ royal lineage and their place in the iconographic scheme viewed directly behind the altar (Illus 2). The prolific inclusion of visual signifiers relating to the identity of the founders, sculpted coats of arms and their heraldic portraits on the stained glass windows, all served to advertise their power, prestige, and munificence.

The chapel may, therefore, be understood as a physical expression of the competing demands of piety and self-interest. It at once represents an earthly treasury of prestige and self-accomplishment, while simultaneously acting as a conduit for spiritual redemption. It performed at once a political, social and salvific function. A key temporal aspect of the foundation was a certain amount of one-upmanship.⁹² In the light of the perceived discrepancy between Albany and Anne de la Tour’s social standing in France, Albany’s motivations in this regard become clear. Traditionally the counts of Auvergne had been interred at the Abbey of Bouchet, which Robert IV had founded at the end of the 12th century. This was a choice perpetuated by Bertrand VII and his wife, Louise de la Trémoille, even though they had founded a house for a Mendicant order at Vic-le-Comte.⁹³ The decision by Albany and Anne de la Tour to abandon the traditional family necropolis and found a new family mausoleum tells us a great deal about their dynastic ambitions and their desire to advertise their importance.

The foundation of the convent of the Cordeliers at Vic-le-Comte by Albany and Anne de la Tour’s grandparents, Bertrand VII and Louise de la Trémoille, is of interest in relation to the Sainte-Chapelle, particularly as

it benefited from a number of valuable bequests from the de la Tour family. These gifts included, from Anne's mother, Jeanne de Bourbon: a chasuble, two dalmatics and altar paraments all in silk, embroidered in silver and gold with the arms of Bourbon-Vendome, Auvergne and Boulogne.⁹⁴ The same Countess also gave the convent a triptych painted on wood.⁹⁵ The painting had been commissioned by the Countess and her first husband, Jean III. After the Count's death, Jeanne kept the painting at the ducal château in Vic-le-Comte. She later bequeathed it to the Cordeliers.⁹⁶ The painting depicts an Annunciation scene and includes portraits of the donors in prayer before *prie-dieux*, draped in their coats of arms. The similarity in composition to the stained glass portraits of Albany and his wife in the Sainte-Chapelle is clear. At the top of the triptych, banners bearing French verses offer prayers to the Virgin. The scroll on the left refers to the salvation of the Count, while the verses on the right request the blessing of children for the Countess.⁹⁷ Again the sentiment behind the devotional painting is similar to that in the Sainte-Chapelle portraits. As the Sainte-Chapelle was designed as the seat of a new dynasty uniting the powerful ancestries of the royal house of Scotland and the counts of Boulogne and d'Auvergne, an important concern for Albany and Anne de la Tour would have been the continuation of that line.⁹⁸ The Cordeliers at Vic-le-Comte appears to have acted, therefore, in a two-fold capacity in influencing Albany's later foundation: both as a monumental act of charity undertaken by a member of his immediate family and also as a repository for grand and magnificent gifts and bequests that would ensure the perpetual memory of their name. If Albany wished to equal, or out-do, the public acts of piety accomplished by his parents-in-law and grandparents, it was incumbent upon him to make a grand gesture in terms of his religious patronage.

Returning to the papal bull for the foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle, the bull specifically mentions Albany and Anne de la Tour's important ancestry, and much of Albany's motivations may be seen in this context.⁹⁹ The bull itself, furthermore, is a very elaborate document and its ornamentation also provides evidence of

Albany's preoccupations. Particularly telling is the inclusion of various coats of arms. The royal arms of France feature in the centre, those of Scotland to the right, with the arms of Pope Leo X tied to those of Albany to the left. Below this is a coat of arms that is no doubt intended to record the arms of Albany impaled by those of Anne de la Tour, however, Albany's alone have been executed (Illus 18).¹⁰⁰ The decorative features of the bull visually express similar concerns to Albany's manuscript patronage. Albany's close ties to Pope Leo X, noted in the Hague Manuscript, are given visual form on the papal bull, his concern with expressing both French and Scottish royal descent are clearly illustrated, and his pre-eminence with regards to his wife's family, certainly in relation to this foundation, is hinted at by the complete absence of the de la Tour arms on the document.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: SCOTLAND, FRANCE AND ITALY

During the period that the Sainte-Chapelle was planned and constructed, Albany was negotiating a complex political path, juggling various demands from various countries. Principal among these were his position as regent of Scotland, his responsibilities to the French Court, and the diplomatic importance of his links to the house of Medici in Italy. Each of these ties played their part in shaping his foundation.

SCOTLAND

Much of Albany's career during this period revolved around his activities as a key player in negotiations concerning the preservation of the Franco-Scottish alliance. In 1517, for instance, Albany, as governor of Scotland, and Charles, duc d'Alençon, on behalf of France, began negotiations for a treaty of friendship and alliance. This was signed at Rouen on 20 August. The treaty reconfirmed the 'auld alliance', defining in military terms the mutual responsibilities of each kingdom should either be attacked by England, and setting out the agreement that James V should be betrothed to a



ILLUS 18 Details of the coats of arms elaborating the papal bull granted by Pope Leo X to John Stuart, Duke of Albany authorising his foundation of a Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte: John Stuart, Duke of Albany's arms tied to those of Pope Leo X (top, left), the royal arms of Francis I (top, right), the unfinished arms of John Stuart, Duke of Albany and Anne de la Tour (bottom, left), the royal arms of Scotland (bottom, right). J/1130, no. 25, 21 June 1520 (© Paris, Archives Nationale)

French princess.¹⁰¹ Albany's continued personal interest in the history and origin of this alliance and of his royal Scottish descent is illustrated in the manuscripts he commissioned soon after. By looking at Albany's patronage in relation to his trips to Scotland, we can provide greater context for his foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle.

Albany's architectural patronage was not confined to his work in France and there is evidence that he was keen, during his time in Scotland, to improve the royal residences and particularly to improve military fortifications.¹⁰² Praise for the improvements Albany made at this time was published in the *Sommaire de l'origine*,

description et merveilles d'Escoce (1538) by Jehan dit Le-Fresne Des-Montiers. The author particularly noted Albany's work at Dunbar castle, which he rendered impregnable. He also makes special mention of the improvements Albany made to agriculture in the country.¹⁰³ A reflection of Albany's status in Scotland at this time and of his perceived place within a hierarchy of European nobility may be seen in the inclusion of his arms on St Machar's Cathedral ceiling of 1520: his arms appear behind James V's and St Margaret of Scotland's, and in the illustrious company of the greatest European leaders of the time.¹⁰⁴ The prominent inclusion of his arms attests both to his relationship to Gavin Dunbar and to the status and prestige he was accorded in Scotland.¹⁰⁵

During Albany's final visit to Scotland, from September 1523 to May 1524, he appears to have been concerned with commissioning visual material which might be used to advertise his status. It was in 1524 that he commissioned a series of small gold medals bearing the inscription, 'ioannis.albannie.dvc.gvbern', a proud statement of his position as governor of Scotland.¹⁰⁶ The medals advertise his arms, his membership of the Order of St Michel through the inclusion of the collar, his union with the de la Tour family through their impaled arms, and his religious credentials through the inclusion of the Holy Dove and his motto 'svb vmbrā tvarvm'. It should be noted that even after this date, Albany's correspondence reveals that in France he continued to be considered 'la qualité de Regent et Gouverneur de royaume d'Escoce', and Albany's use of these medals as diplomatic tokens supports the idea that he continued to employ this title.¹⁰⁷

That Albany sought to advertise his foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte to James V of Scotland may be seen in the reference to a relic of the 'True Cross' sent by Albany, recorded in an inventory of the Royal Scottish households of 1542.¹⁰⁸ This follows the precedent set by Louis IX in advertising his foundation of the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle by gifting small fragments of his relics to important dignitaries. It is evidence of Albany's wish to bring his foundation to the attention of the

Scottish king and no doubt to encourage royal visitors. Whether Albany was successful in this endeavour with regards to James V is unclear. However, it is plausible that the Scottish king may have visited the Sainte-Chapelle during his tour of France in 1536–7, where we know that he travelled as far as Moulins to see Francis I.¹⁰⁹ Given that James V was in the vicinity of Vic-le-Comte, it is tempting to suppose that he may have visited Albany's magnificent foundation at this time and paid his respects to the recently deceased Duke.

FRANCE

In a French context, the foundation of a Sainte-Chapelle was a potent means of advertising one's prestige among the ranks of the French nobility. It allied Albany to such illustrious French patrons as Jean, duc de Berry, for instance, who founded Saintes-Chapelles at Riom and Bourges in 1395 and 1405 respectively, and to Louis 1er de Montpensier, who founded a Sainte-Chapelle at Aigueperse in 1475.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the spectre of Jean, duc de Berry may well have loomed large over Albany, as a former comte d'Auvergne et de Boulogne, and thus a formidable figure in the de la Tour family tree.¹¹¹ The physical structure of Albany's Sainte-Chapelle strongly resembles the foundations at Bourges and Riom and it may be suggested that they held a special significance as sources of inspiration for Albany. In the poem of 1518, which accompanied the depiction of the château at Vic-le-Comte, the author noted that it had been a long time since people thought highly of the château: 'Il y a longtemps certainement, Qu'on a tenu de moy grand compte.' One wonders if high in Albany's mind at this time was the desire to self-fashion himself with equal magnificence as such illustrious patrons of the past as Jean, duc de Berry.¹¹²

From the outset of Albany's marriage to Anne de la Tour, concerns were raised regarding the equality of the match. On 5 December 1512, Louis XII sent a request to James IV of Scotland to restore his father's dukedom to Albany, the intention being to place him on an equal footing with his wife.¹¹³ The request appears to have been unsuccessful but demonstrates the perceived

imbalance between the wealthy heiress, Anne de la Tour, and Albany. This was, of course, redressed to a degree by Albany's appointment as regent in Scotland, and yet throughout the project of the foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle the theme reoccurs of Albany's need to assert himself and his status, in relation to that of his wife. The foundation was conceived as providing a focal point for a new dynasty uniting the powerful ancestries of the royal house of Scotland and the counts of Boulogne and d'Auvergne.

The diplomatic significance of using genealogies to further one's prestige is demonstrated in Albany's manuscript patronage. The Paris and Hague Manuscripts have already been discussed, yet there survives a significant corpus of genealogical material likely commissioned by Albany and Anne de la Tour as gifts to nobles and dignitaries. This material demonstrates how genealogical texts were drawn upon in the service of diplomatic and political endeavours. Most notable among these are two copies of the Hague Manuscript commissioned and tailored to be presented to François de la Guesle, seigneur de Busséol (BnF fr 20209), and to Pope Clement VII (BnF fr 5227). Each served to strengthen ties and encourage loyalty. Later during the negotiations surrounding the betrothal of Catherine de Medici, on whose behalf Albany was employed, again a series of genealogical manuscripts were produced in order to promote the Boulogne and d'Auvergne lineage. In 1531, for example, three copies of a text attributed to Geoffrey Tory were used in relation to the marriage negotiations.¹¹⁴

As already noted, a key aspect of the foundation of a Sainte-Chapelle was its ability to advertise the proximity of the founder to the kings of France and it should be stressed that, although playing an important role in Scottish history at this time, Albany remained an important figure in the French political sphere. Evidence of the important role he played in French military and diplomatic activity in the 1520s might be inferred from the fact that he was offered as a hostage in the diplomatic discussions intended to secure the release of the French king in 1526.¹¹⁵ Throughout the period of Albany's return to France in 1524 and his death in 1536 he was a prominent

servant of the French Crown, involved in the most important French diplomatic and military activity of the time.

Albany was, furthermore, evidently successful in strengthening ties with the French king and elevating his status. This is apparent in the important diplomatic and military activities he undertook and in his success in securing the first French royal visit to the Auvergne in 160 years.¹¹⁶ In July 1533, Francis I was received by entry ceremonies into a number of towns in the area: the festivities were all overseen by Albany. All these preparations did not come cheap and Albany appears to have been reimbursed by the crown the sum of 14,000 écus d'or soleil for his expenses.¹¹⁷ We have no direct account of the French king visiting the Sainte-Chapelle during his tour of the Auvergne, however it would have been astonishing, given that the King lodged for a time in the neighbouring town of Mirefleurs, if he had not have visited Albany's prized foundation.

ITALY

As Catherine de Medici's closest male relative, Albany's standing in Rome, first under Leo X and then under another Medici pope, Clement VII, was greatly enhanced. He used this to promote various interests. On 5 March 1519, Pope Leo X granted a papal bull confirming the ancient privileges of the kings and kingdom of Scotland, noting that he acted on the supplication of Albany, his *dilecti filli*, 'beloved nephew'.¹¹⁸ It was on this same trip that Albany secured the papal bull authorising his foundation. His newly gained papal connections thus proved an invaluable tool for Albany, enhancing his status both in Scotland and in France, and providing him with the necessary connections to fulfil such ambitions as founding a Sainte-Chapelle.

As tutor to Catherine de Medici, Albany had frequent contact with the Medici family.¹¹⁹ He spent, furthermore, a reasonably prolonged period in Italy in the mid-1520s. Albany appeared in the vanguard of Francis I's army that left France for Milan in autumn 1524. Around 25 November he was ordered by the French king to proceed with 4,000 foot soldiers and 500 lances and commence an attack on Naples.

He was accompanied by Giovanni de Medici as commander of the light cavalry. Albany prepared for this expedition by corresponding with the governors of Parma, Piacenza and Bologna requesting safe conduct and permission to purchase supplies.¹²⁰ Albany was, however, recalled by the French king, before subsequently being dispatched a second time to Naples, this time with 300 light horsemen, 600 men at arms, 7,000 foot soldiers and a dozen pieces of artillery. He thus proceeded through Lucca, but appears to have made slow progress thereafter, perhaps fearing that he would once again be recalled. By the end of January 1525 Albany had only reached Siena. Albany entered Rome on 13 February and was lodged with honour as the Pope's kinsman.¹²¹ Here Albany no doubt took the opportunity to visit his niece, Catherine. Given that Anne de la Tour had died a year earlier and that they had no children, Catherine was Albany's closest surviving family. Furthermore, Albany's own plans of seeing Catherine betrothed to James V would have ensured the continuation of the union between the illustrious lineages of Stuart and de la Tour. Having then travelled to Formello, on 24 February, Albany was informed of the devastating news that Francis had been captured at Pavia. He thus retreated to papal territory and left Italy for France at the end of March.

Albany's activities in Italy during the mid-1520s provided him with an important opportunity to become acquainted with contemporary Italian aesthetics at first hand. It was, perhaps, during this time that Albany first became acquainted with the work of Rustici or witnessed the sculpted apostle figures commissioned for the cathedral of *Santa Maria del Fiore* in Florence. Certainly, something of his visual experience in Italy appears to have influenced his later commission of the 12 terracotta apostles from an Italian artist in Paris.¹²² Other evidence that Albany was acquainted with artistic personalities during his time in Italy may be seen on a note added to a sketch of a fortification attributed to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.¹²³ Under the sketch it is noted that it was undertaken following the 'opinion' of the Duke of Albany. Albany was, therefore, moving in cultural circles during his time in Italy. Both Rustici and Sangallo the

Younger benefited from Medici patronage, which may explain Albany's interest and appreciation of their work.¹²⁴

In relation to the other French *Saintes-Chapelles*, there was a precedent for including Italian art in the programme of decoration. Mantegna's *St Sebastian*, now in the Louvre, was once displayed in the *Sainte-Chapelle* of Aigueperse, as was the *Nativity* by Ghirlandaio, still in Aigueperse today. The two paintings' presence there is no doubt related to the marriage of Chiara Gonzaga, daughter of Federico I of Mantua, to Gilbert de Bourbon, Dauphin d'Auvergne (1481). The inclusion of contemporary Italian aesthetics was certainly very popular in France by the early 16th century and Albany was displaying his taste, contacts, and magnificence in commissioning an Italian artist to create the apostle figures for his foundation.¹²⁵

As to whether Albany enticed members of the Medici family to Vic-le-Comte before his lands and properties formed the inheritance of Catherine de Medici, again it is not clear. Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino, was at Amboise in January 1518 for his wedding to Madeleine de la Tour. By July he had travelled to the *château St Saturnin* in the Auvergne, where he and Albany signed an agreement detailing the split of de la Tour properties, yet this was before work had begun on the chapel.¹²⁶ Later in 1533, a merchant, Etienne Medici, was present in Puy and provided a detailed account of the entry celebrations that took place there, eight days after the events at Clermont and Montferrand. However, his connections to the main Medici family are unclear, and although he mentions the surrounding area, his account does not include Vic-le-Comte.¹²⁷

CONCLUSION

At the time that Albany was planning the foundation of the *Sainte-Chapelle* at Vic-le-Comte, his position as governor of Scotland must have been at the forefront of his thoughts. The foundation and its decorative programme stress above all lineage, kingship, and the joining of two illustrious blood-lines. The foundation gives visual form to Albany's concerns regarding his

status in France, advertising his illustrious royal lineage, and demonstrating his magnificence and political power. As work progressed on his foundation the situation began to change: his wife died in 1524, and his regular contacts with his Medici kinsmen in Italy appear to have influenced his tastes and aspirations. Albany was a fascinating example of pan-European nobility whose agency spanned multiple countries. He attempted to juggle the competing demands made of him by Scotland, France, and Italy but also manipulated his position to his advantage when he could.

By founding a Sainte-Chapelle, Albany made a grand physical statement of his pre-eminence in France. He utilised the de la Tour genealogy to great effect; commissioning finely illuminated versions of the history of this family, both for his own use, and for political and diplomatic purposes. The foundation of the chapel enabled him to demonstrate his prestige in relation to this long-established line of the French nobility. In building upon an existing scheme of heraldic decoration, he highlighted in visual terms that he and his wife were the culmination of this line and the confluence of the counts of Boulogne and d’Auvergne with the royal house of Scotland. The idea that Albany held a hereditary right to the title of regent in Scotland was paramount. Albany possessed royal Stuart blood and thus could claim the same virtues that were seen as all important in a reigning monarch. The ideas of illustrious lineage, of sacral kingship, and of the perpetual memory of this union were all central in the planning and execution of the chapel.

The chapel as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* contains a heterogeneity of parts added throughout the 1520s, and yet the overall programme, despite the variations in its aesthetic, follows a relatively clear theoretical framework. The stained glass windows, commissioned perhaps from a Bourges atelier c 1520–4, were intended to be read in relation to the stone reredos commissioned from an entirely different atelier. The later addition of the terracotta apostles – evidently added in 1529 – were no doubt always intended to form part of the chapel interior, even if their execution by a Florentine artist was a later development following Albany’s expedition to Italy. That

Albany fostered, furthermore, a genuine interest in the art and science emerging in Italy at this time is beyond doubt, and his importance as a conduit for emerging ideas has hitherto been undervalued. Albany’s poor performance in military situations certainly tainted his later reputation, yet he was an astute diplomat and excelled in crafting his self-image. The Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte is a tour-de-force in self-fashioning and provides an insight into his priorities during a significant period of his career.

By examining the Sainte-Chapelle in relation to the two genealogical manuscripts commissioned immediately before its foundation, it can be demonstrated that the building provides physical expression of the intellectual efforts undertaken by their author and translator, Domat. The claim in the Paris Manuscript’s genealogy, that it was written to clarify and resolve the true source and origin of Albany’s Scottish lineage, is important. Albany required this lineage in order to bolster his constitutional theory: the long and unbroken line of descent being a key argument employed to ward off English claims to suzerainty. In the turbulent post-Flodden times during Albany’s regency, highlighting Scotland’s heroic past and the patriotic deeds that had won and secured national independence was crucial. The *leitmotif* of noble and virtuous lineage, therefore, resonates in multiple ways. It has been suggested that the complex typology employed in the stained glass windows was likely overseen by a clerical advisor, perhaps Pierre Talve, the first dean of the Sainte-Chapelle.¹²⁸ Yet, it should not be discounted that Domat also may have had some input into the overall scheme of decoration, especially given that we know he acted as *arbiter elegantiarum* for the pageants enacted for Francis I entry ceremonies to Clermont and Montferrand in 1533.

The heterogeneity of the chapel aesthetics reflects Albany’s own heterogeneity: it is a product of his unique position in Europe, and yet the theoretic concepts underpinning the programme of decoration are specific and harmonious. It is the product of a patron acutely aware of his image and of his legacy: ensuring the perpetual memory of himself and his wife was paramount. From a Scottish perspective,

the building survives as physical evidence of a connection between Scottish kingship and one of the most important French buildings in history: the Sainte-Chapelle. That the final Sainte-Chapelle to be founded in France was an enterprise commissioned by a Stuart, during his tenure as regent of Scotland, must surely be an area of research worthy of greater scholarly attention.

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NOTES

- 1 For the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle see among others: Grodecki 1979; Billot 1998; Jordan 2002; Erlande-Brandenburg 2012; Cohen 2015.
- 2 There is frequent confusion between the terms *chapelle royale*, *chapelle princières* and *Sainte-Chapelle*. Those most securely titled *Sainte-Chapelle* are: Paris, 1248, founded by Louis IX of France; Bourbon-l'Archambault, c 1315, Duke Louis I de Bourbon (ruined); château royal du Vivier, 1352, Charles V (ruined); château de Vincennes, 1379, Charles V; Riom, 1395, Jean de Berry; Bourges, 1405, Jean de Berry (destroyed); Châteaudun, 1451, Jean de Dunois; Aigueperse, 1475, the Bourbon-Montpensier family; Bourbon-l'Archambault, 1483, Jean II de Bourbon (a second chapel again ruined); château de Champigny-sur-Veude, 1499, Louis I de Bourbon; Vic-le-Comte, c 1520, John Stuart, Duke of Albany and Anne de la Tour. See Billot 1987; Billot 1998; Wessel 2003; Noblet 2009. For the exclusion of Gué-de-Maulny, 1329, as a *Sainte-Chapelle* see Wessel 2003: 225.
- 3 Wessel 2003: 9.

- 4 For the life and career of John Stuart, Duke of Albany see Stuart 1940; Bentley-Cranch & Marshall 2003; Bonner 2004; Coombs 2013; Coombs 2014; Blakeway 2015.
- 5 Fleming & Miller 1908: 281.
- 6 Regents who were heirs presumptive to an infant monarch, such as Albany, were often afforded the title *governor* rather than *regent*. This was frequently rendered '*gubernator*' as we find on Albany's medal of 1524. I have used the title *regent* in this paper for clarity. McNeill 1967: 129; Blakeway 2015: 22.
- 7 Albany's three visits to Scotland were: 1st: May 1515–June 1517; 2nd: Nov 1521–Oct 1522; 3rd: Sept 1523–May 1524. Albany was welcomed to Scotland with the composition of a ballad that survives (translated into French) in Paris, BnF, MS fr 20055, f 73v. Here he is described as imperial and repeatedly welcomed as a wise and good governor.
- 8 The focus of this paper is primarily an analysis of the foundation in relation to Albany and his European standing, particularly in relation to his position in Scotland. This is not to diminish the importance and agency of his wife, Anne de la Tour, who is considered in some depth in the French literature relating to this foundation. That Albany's political and social objectives have not previously been investigated in this context appeared, to the author, to be a scholarly oversight that this paper aims to correct.
- 9 '*Sane pro parte dilecti filii nobilis viri Johannis Stuard Albanie Ducis, Marchie Bolonie et Alvernie Comitit et dilecte in Christo filie nobilis mulieris Anne de Bolonia, Ducisse et Comitisse ejus conthoralis nuper nobis exhibita petitio continebat quod licet oppidum de Vico vulgariter nuncupatum satis insigne inter alia oppida dicti Comitatus Alvernie Claromontensis diocesis existat, nulla tamen collegiata ecclesia inibi esse dinoscitur et propterea prefati Dux et Ducissa cupiant in quadam capella sub vocabulo sancti Johannis Baptiste intra eorum palatium seu fortalitium ejusdem oppidi consistente in qua una ex Spinis Corone Domini ...*' Paris A.N. J/1130, no. 25. The bull is transcribed in Noblet 2009: 234–9.
- 10 '*supplicatum ut in eadem capella unam insignem collegiatam ecclesiam sub invocatione gloriose Corone Spinee Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi et beatissimi Johannis Baptiste ...*' Paris

- A.N. J/1130, no. 25. Noblet 2009: 78. The term 'Capella Sancta' does not appear in the papal bull. It does, however, appear in a previously unrecognised document relating to the chapel's foundation, dating to 1530. This document is pasted into the back of a *Sacramentaire de Senlis* dating to the 12th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 126). The two folios at the end of the manuscript are composed of a fragmentary document detailing acts relative to the foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte. The document provides valuable, and hitherto unexplored, information regarding the foundation.
- 11 This second bull of Leo X (1 December 1521), following that granting erection of the Sainte-Chapelle (21 June 1520), is known only as it is referred to in a bull of Clement VII confirming the privileges granted by his predecessor. Paris A.N. J/1141, no. 7.
 - 12 'le pape accordait au sanctuaire le privilège des Stations Romaines, aux fêtes de la Résurrection et de la Nativité de Nostre-Seigneur, de l'Assomption de la Sainte-Vierge, de la Toussaint, de la Nativité Sainte-Jean-Baptiste, de l'Invention et de l'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix, tous les jours depuis le dimanche de la Passion jusqu'à Pâques, et tous les autres jours où les Stations se célèbrent à Rome. Tous les fidèles, contrits et confessés, qui visiteraient la Sainte-Chapelle aux jours précités, pourvaient gagner les mêmes indulgences que s'ils avaient visité les églises de Rome désignées pour les stations.' Fouilhoux 1898: 250–1.
 - 13 In this second bull, Leo X mentions the old chapel of Saint John the Baptist, denouncing the exiguity incompatible with the canonical service. The chapel referred to is one mentioned in 1371, when Count John I established a rule that 'que le service divin [soit] ordinairement ert solennellement faict et celebre en nostre chapelle du Palais de Vic le Comte', Baluze 1708, II: 201. The erection of the chapel into a collegiate foundation was accompanied by the project of rebuilding the chapel. This was aided by the obtaining of indulgences to provide financial assistance. Noblet 2009: 154, no. 62.
 - 14 *Obits des anciens comtes d'Auvergne*. BnF MS Baluze 208, f 229r–230r; Baluze 1708, II: 201; transcribed by Fouilhoux 1898: 242–5.
 - 15 Fouilhoux 1898: 243; Noblet 2009: 73.
 - 16 Paris A.N. J/1130, no. 25, lines 7–9. Fouilhoux 1898: 247. The seal bore an image of John the Baptist with the lamb of God. Wessel 2003: 217.
 - 17 Baluze 1708, II: 688; Noblet 2009: 36, no. 28.
 - 18 *Est engrave en une plaque de-fonte au milieu du maistre autel du ceste eglise comme sensuit*, MS Baluze 208, f 230v; Baluze 1708, I: 357; Fouilhoux 1898: 285. In a niche at the front of the main altar at the Sainte-Chapelle there was a lead box in which were the embalmed hearts of Albany and his wife. There was a brass plaque bearing the obits of the founders.
 - 19 On her death in 1524, Anne de la Tour's properties were left directly to Catherine. Baluze 1708, II: 689.
 - 20 The dimensions and plans of the Saintes-Chapelles differ widely. At 18m in length the chapel at Vic-le-Comte was one of the smallest. Noblet 2009: 112.
 - 21 A hierarchy was thus established between Albany and his family symbolically dominating the level below. The monastery of Brou possessed, in a similar manner to the chapel at Vic-le-Comte, direct access from the apartments of the founder, Margaret of Austria, to the first floor of the chapel. Noblet 2009: 119. Today you access the building through a door on the west side of the current extended building.
 - 22 The positioning of the unicorn beside the Holy Dove emerging from an aureola makes this especially likely. The dove is comparable to those depicted on Albany's manuscripts and engraved on the medal he commissioned in 1524. Albany used the dove in relation to his motto 'sub umbra alarum tuarum'. The frieze is mentioned in Toynbee 1948: 151.
 - 23 Noblet 2005: 488–503.
 - 24 All that remains of the château is a section of wall, a gateway, and several windows facing onto rue de la Porte Robin.
 - 25 *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11, f 55v. 1518, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag. For a discussion of this manuscript in relation to Albany see Coombs 2014. There is an earlier manuscript that includes topographical portraits of a number of châteaux in this area: The Revel Armorial c 1456 (Paris, BnF MS fr 22297). The image of the château at Vic-le-Comte, which was intended to appear on f 80v, has, however, not been executed. See Fournier 1973; Bernage, Courtillé & Mégemont 2002.

- 26 Dulaure and Bielawski suggest that Albany reconstructed the château 'with more magnificence'. Dulaure 1789: 406; Bielawski 1888: 320–1.
- 27 This manuscript was executed in 1518 following the marriage of Albany's sister-in-law, Madeleine de la Tour, to Lorenzo de Medici. As a result of this marriage, Albany benefited from close ties to the papacy thus enabling him to obtain papal approval for his foundation. See Coombs 2014.
- 28 *Revenus du comté d'Auvergne, avec les revenus particuliers et les portraits des châteaux*. Paris, BnF Ars MS 4264 f 2r. MS 4264 dates to 1552 and contains the arms of Marie de Medici. It contains copies of the château portraits found in the Hague Manuscript. Some differences show the deterioration or changes made to the properties between 1518 and 1552. A 16th-century manuscript sold at Sotheby's on 3 May 2012 also includes copies of the château portraits. This manuscript contains the arms of Catherine de Medici and was apparently bound for presentation to Margaret de Valois. See Sotheby's Sale Catalogue 2012.
- 29 Aymon Gilbert Mallay (1805–83) was a French architect, specialising in the restoration of historic monuments in the Auvergne.
- 30 Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 182.
- 31 As Émile Mâle explained: 'that which the Gospel shows men in the light of *sun*, the Old Testament showed them in the uncertain light of the *moon* and stars', basing his ideas on an Augustinian metaphor. Mâle 1972: 133.
- 32 Luneau 1995: 24; Luneau 1996b: 4; Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 180.
- 33 Luneau 1995: 24; Luneau 1996a: 55–65; Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 180.
- 34 Luneau 1995: 17–26.
- 35 Perhaps it was Pierre Talve, the first dean of the chapter of the Sainte-Chapelle. Fouilhoux 1898: 300.
- 36 Jean Lécuyer was active from *c* 1520 until his death in 1556. In particular, the work at Vic-le-Comte is comparable to that in the chapel founded by Pierre Coppin, at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Bourges, bay no. 46. Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 51–2. There are, furthermore, similarities in the style of the Vic-le-Comte windows to those depicting the legend of St Barbara, at Moulins Cathedral, dating to 1510–20.
- 37 In this image I disagree with Luneau's interpretation of the scene. The text on the ground indicates the king figure is Nebuchadnezzar. The shield of the figures to the right identify the figures as Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Hebrew Babylonians). The scene thus shows Nebuchadnezzar handing a sword to Arioch to slay the wise Babylonians. Daniel is shown interpreting the dream to Arioch and Nebuchadnezzar. The key part of the text is: 'Praise be to the name of God for ever and ever, wisdom and power are his. He changes times and seasons; he deposes kings and raises up others. He gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to the discerning.' Daniel 2:20–1 (NIV).
- 38 For light and the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle see most recently Cohen 2015.
- 39 See note 21.
- 40 In 1792 the municipality received an order to destroy all the coats of arms displayed in the Sainte-Chapelle. Fouilhoux 1898: 276.
- 41 Also in the southern auxiliary chapel are vestiges of the older chapel in the form of decorative glass dating to *c* 1400. Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 33.
- 42 Beautifully carved figures of Faith, Hope and Charity are found on the top register with Justice, Prudence and Temperance below. Courage is missing.
- 43 Legrand d'Aussy was scandalised by the nudity displayed, describing it as 'très indécente' and 'vraiment scandaleux'. Legrand d'Aussy 1787–8: 246–7. Dulaure describes the figures as being Adam and Eve and the Virgin. Dulaure 1789: 407. Bielawski notes that these figures were replaced by angels and the Virgin in 1830. Bielawski 1888: 325. Deshoulières notes that Adam and Eve and God the Father were replaced in 1834. Deshoulières 1925: 108–9.
- 44 Leproux suggests a Bourbonnais atelier could be responsible. Leproux 2004: 75. Jean de Chartres (*c* 1465–*c* 1513) was a French sculptor and important pupil of Michel Colombe. He was active in Moulins and the personal sculptor of Anne de France.
- 45 The tomb of Francis II, Duke of Brittany, is a monument located in Nantes, in the Cathedral of St Peter. The project was commissioned by Anne of Brittany, Queen of France. It was executed in Carrara marble in the early 16th century by Michel Colombe and is considered a masterpiece of French sculpture.

- 46 Five coats of arms surmount the lower register of figures: alternately Albany and the arms of Albany impaled by those of Anne de la Tour. This identification of the arms further confirms that the reredos was not the work of Florentine sculptors employed by Catherine de Medici.
- 47 Leproux attributes the sculptures to Rustici. Leproux 2004. This is repeated by Noblet 2009: 280. Doubt has been cast on this attribution by Sénéchal. Sénéchal 2007: 245–8. However, he concedes that they were likely executed in Paris by a workshop run by an Italian. An attribution to Rustici, he notes, is feasible if we factor in rapid execution and the participation of assistants. It seems likely, given the great expense incurred in transporting the sculptures, that Albany would have commissioned them from an eminent artist like Rustici, even if they were hurried and aided by assistants in their final execution. The sculptures have undergone extensive restoration over the years. This is detailed by Leproux 2004: 75–91.
- 48 Archives Nationales, Minutier Centrale, CXXII, 15; 1529, 23 August. This document is transcribed in Leproux 2004: 80.
- 49 See the Saintes-Chapelles at Champigny and Bourges. Noblet 2009: 48.
- 50 This was apparently destroyed *c* 1792, see note 40. To the right of the altar is an ornately carved stone sacrament house. It is now largely defaced. The carving is closely comparable to that surrounding the door to the sacristy *c* 1520–4. There may have been a coat of arms adorning the lintel of the sacrament house but the damage is such that this is not certain.
- 51 Attention is drawn to the relics in the papal bull granting authorisation for the foundation: ‘una ex Spinis Corone Domini nostri Jhesu Christi et multe alie venerabiles relliquie gloriose Virginis Marie et nonnullorum apostolorum, necnon de ligno sanctissime Crucis quedam pars, que a majoribus predecessoribus dictorum Ducis et Ducisse a partibus ultramarini transportate fuerunt’, A.N. J/1130, no. 25. On 20 September 1790 a record was made of the furniture of the Sainte-Chapelle noting ‘un reliquaire en vermeil contenant une Épine de la Couronne de Notre Seigneur’, Noblet 2009: 39, note 53.
- 52 ‘et multe alie venerabiles relliquie gloriose Virginis Marie et nonnullorum apostolorum’, A.N. J/1130, no. 25.
- 53 Bertrand VI de la Tour d’Auvergne (1417–26 September 1497) was both Albany and Anne de la Tour’s grandfather (they were first cousins). For an engraving of the reliquary see Baluze 1708, I: 331.
- 54 The chasubles were finely embroidered with the arms of Boulogne and d’Auvergne and with scenes from the infancy of Christ. They are now lost, however detailed engravings may be found in Baluze 1708, I: 332. They are noted in Deshoulières 1925: 107 and described in Fouilloux 1898: 280–2.
- 55 These represent Stations 5, 10, 12 and 14 of the 14 Stations of the Cross.
- 56 This may be due to the provincial style of the painting which has only recently been cleaned. It receives a passing mention in Deshoulières 1925: 108, who dates it to the 17th century. A small notice in the chapel itself dates it to the 15th century.
- 57 Bielawski noted that a beautifully carved oak screen stretched across the chapel and that this was sold. There is the possibility, therefore, that the painted panels originally belonged to a larger scheme of decoration, perhaps arranged in the manner of a rood screen. Bielawski 1888: 228; Noblet 2009: 125.
- 58 The parish priest, trying to raise money to install a heating system in the church, had sold various bric-a-brac and old furniture from a church storeroom. A second-hand dealer purchased the contents of the room and in examining them noticed an ornate 18th-century frame. The painting, obscured by white wash, was then uncovered. The painting was originally attributed to Flemish-born Jean Malouel *c* 1400. Malouel was the official painter of Philip the Bold and principally known for his work at the Chartreuse of Champmol. Thiébaud 2012. The Louvre, Paris, has more recently revised this attribution suggesting that it may be the work of the famous Limbourg brothers from Nijmegen. The arguments supporting this reattribution have not yet been published.
- 59 Albany’s French translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis*, with a genealogy of the kings of Scotland appended, is held at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 936. For this MS see Coombs 2014. The *Sacramentaire de Senlis*, with a fragmentary register dating to 1530 pasted into the back, is at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 126.

- 60 Hannay 1954: 68–9. During Albany’s visit to Rome in 1520 he not only secured a papal bull confirming his position as governor, but also gained permission to construct the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte. Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, CH7/46; Paris, Archives Nationales, J/1130, no. 25.
- 61 Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, *Chronique d’Écosse & généalogie des rois d’Écosse*. MS 936 (Paris Manuscript); Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l’Écosse*. KB, 74 G 11 (Hague Manuscript). For these two manuscripts see Coombs 2014.
- 62 Luneau 1995; Luneau 1996a; Luneau 1996b; Noblet 2009: 188–9; Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 180.
- 63 The inventive integration of the coats of arms of the founders did not escape the attention of Dulaure visiting in 1789. Dulaure 1789: 408.
- 64 Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 936, f 256r. Bremond Domat 1519. Throughout the genealogical tree the concepts of clarity and truth are stressed repeatedly.
- 65 ‘Les armes de la fille du Roy descoco qui fut comtesse de boloigne’, The Hague, KB, 74 G 11, f 40v. The marriage of his father, Alexander Stuart, to another Anne de la Tour also provides a precedent for the union of the royal house of Scotland and the counts of Boulogne and d’Auvergne.
- 66 Godfrey of Bouillon (18 September 1060 – 18 July 1100) was a Frankish knight and one of the leaders of the First Crusade from 1096 until its conclusion in 1099. After the successful siege of Jerusalem in 1099, Godfrey became the first ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He refused the title of king as he believed that the true king of Jerusalem was Christ, preferring the title of Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.
- 67 Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 33.
- 68 *Inventaire des titres et chartes de la maison de Boulogne, avec les armoires trouvées au chasteau de Vic*. MS fr 4652, f 30–45. The document includes painted copies of the armorials and escutcheons.
- 69 BnF MS fr 4652, f 5r.
- 70 BnF MS fr 4652, f 37r. The Hague Manuscript follows the lineage that was illustrated on the château windows (although it is a more detailed genealogy).
- 71 Beaune & Lequain 2005: 398–9; Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 186.
- 72 Beaune & Lequain 2005: 398–9; Coombs 2014: 290.
- 73 See note 26.
- 74 On 5 December 1512 Louis XII dispatched a request to James IV that Alexander Stuart’s confiscated estates be restored upon Albany, thus enabling the French king to make a marriage settlement befitting the rich dowry of Anne de la Tour. Wood: 62–5.
- 75 Cohen 2015: 113–46.
- 76 Brown et al 2007–17: A1516/7/1. Also quoted by Blakeway 2015: 20.
- 77 Grodecki 1979.
- 78 Jordan 2002.
- 79 2 Samuel 7:16 (NIV).
- 80 Luneau 1995: 22–3. The pairing of red and gold for both the crowns of the Old Testament emperors, such as Nebuchadnezzar in the tenth pair with the same colours used on Christ’s nimbus, makes this particularly clear. Although the RSV bible describes King Aï as descending from a tree, the Vulgate states that he descended from a cross (Joshua 8:29).
- 81 The status of the chapel at Vic-le-Comte as a Sainte-Chapelle rested on the presence of the relics it contained. These formed the inheritance of Anne de la Tour. The Tree of Jesse iconography suggests a parallel between Christ’s genealogy and the donor, drawing upon an established parallel between Christ as king and the Capetian monarchy. The stained glass thus served to remind the viewer of the prestigious pedigree of the founders, both of whom could claim this descent (being first cousins). However, it also allowed Albany to stress his royal Scottish lineage.
- 82 As emphasised in the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle to the ‘glorioso Corone Spinee Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi’, Paris A.N. J/1130, no. 25.
- 83 Brewer 1920 II, no. 2610. Clarencieux to Wolsey: ‘These words said, he took my hand betwixt his two hands, and sware to me by the faith he oweth unto God ... that he forsaketh his part of paradise, and giveth him, body and soul, to all the devils of hell; and further sware in like manner, upon a piece of the Holy Cross, and on divers other relies, which be in a tablet of gold

- hanging about his neck, beseeching God if he minded not as he said, that all his life an evil chance and evil fortune might fall upon him.’
- 84 Louis IX was a devout Christian and the perception of him as the exemplary Christian prince was reinforced by his religious zeal. He erected the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle as a shrine for what he believed to be the Crown of Thorns and a fragment of the True Cross. Louis purchased the relics in 1239–41 from Emperor Baldwin II of Constantinople. Louis IX was acutely aware of his image throughout his life and he fashioned himself as ‘lieutenant of God on Earth’, a title he had been invested with when he was crowned at Reims.
- 85 ‘L’an mil, cd lxxx et deux en julhet, Le huictiesme nas quixt sur terre, D’albanie enfant joliet, Le quel tra par mer conquerre, Escoce aussi angleterre, Et les mectra en subjection, Par force d’armes et de guerre, Il en prandra poccusion,’ The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f 52v. Bremond Domat 1518.
- 86 The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f 53r. Bremond Domat 1518. Albany is also referred to as ‘double prince’ in Domat’s introduction in the Paris Manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 936, f 3r. Bremond Domat 1519. It should be noted that Albany’s father harboured his own pretensions to both the thrones of Scotland and England.
- 87 Evidence that Albany was interested in the virtues required by a ruler may be seen in the inclusion of a poem on good government in the Hague Manuscript. The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f 55r. Bremond Domat 1518. The poem is accompanied by a figure of a fool and signed by the author, Domat, ‘Do’. See Coombs 2014: 294–6.
- 88 See note 14.
- 89 Fouilhoux 1898: 242–5; Noblet 2009: 73.
- 90 By this I refer to a Gothic/Renaissance hybrid. In relation to this concept of hybridisation see Burke 2016.
- 91 *Obits des anciens comtes d’Auvergne*. BnF MS. Baluze 208, f 229r–230r; Baluze 1708, II: 201; transcribed by Fouilhoux 1898: 242–5.
- 92 Noblet goes some way towards this suggestion. Noblet 2009: 162.
- 93 On 15 February 1473 a papal bull had been granted by Pope Sixtus IV authorising the installation of a convent for the Cordeliers at Vic-le-Comte. Though Jean III chose to be interred at Bouchet, his wife Jeanne de Bourbon was interred at this foundation. Fouilhoux 1898: 223–4. There survives in the Louvre an extraordinary cadaver tomb commissioned by Jeanne de Bourbon (d 1511) that was originally at the Cordeliers at Vic-le-Comte. Paris, The Louvre, R.F. 1212. Fouilhoux 1898: 229. The tomb is described in horrified terms by Dulaure 1789: 410.
- 94 These are now sadly lost and not recorded in visual terms. Fouilhoux 1898: 225.
- 95 *The Annunciation with Saints and Donors*, called *The Latour d’Auvergne Triptych*, c 1497. North Carolina Museum of Art, gift of the Samuel H Kress Foundation, GL.60.17.61.
- 96 The Cordeliers retained possession of it until 1703, when it was returned to the Latour d’Auvergne family.
- 97 Since the couple married in 1495 and are believed to have had their first child in 1498, the inscription dates the painting to about 1497.
- 98 Albany had no surviving legitimate children with Anne de la Tour, thus his lands and properties passed to his niece, Catherine de Medici. Evidence suggests that Albany had an affair while in Scotland with Jean Abernethy, who bore him a daughter, Eleanor Stuart. Later in life Albany appears to have sent for Eleanor and she travelled to France. Records show that Eléonore Stuart married in October 1547, with great pomp and in the King’s presence, to Jean de l’Hôpital, comte de Choisy, gentleman of the king’s chamber and tutor of Francois, duc d’Alençon.
- 99 ‘necnon de ligno sanctissime Crucis quedam pars, que a majoribus predecessoribus dictorum Ducis et Ducisse a partibus ultramarinis transportate fuerunt in maxima reverentia habentur et custodiuntur divinum cultum decoremque,’ Paris A.N. J/1130, no. 25.
- 100 Note the importance placed on crowns in relation to the arms: Leo X’s arms bear the papal tiara, the royal arms of France and Scotland bear their respective royal crowns, while both examples of Albany’s arms bear a ducal coronet.
- 101 For the treaty see Teutlet 1851, I: 39–43. Albany spent much of his later career engaged in the complex diplomacy surrounding securing James V a French bride. See Bapst 1889.
- 102 Work on this subject is forthcoming, the preliminary findings of which were presented in July 2017 at Rambouillet, Paris. The duration

- of Albany's three visits to Scotland intersect notable periods of building activity at four of the royal residences: Edinburgh Castle, Falkland Palace, Holyrood Palace and Stirling Castle. A more detailed look at the accounts provides insights into this activity, such as the record of 'ane gret lantern of glas for to hyng in the palice of the abbay of Halyrudhous to hald lycht thairin'. It also provides evidence of French workmen who either accompanied Albany to Scotland or were summoned from France. Other written accounts hint at further work undertaken by the Duke, such as George Majoribanks passing reference to 'the auld touer of Holyrudhous, wich wes foundit by the said ducke'. For domestic improvements see Stuart 1940: 65–78; Thomas 2005: 55–90; Blakeway 2015: 150–6.
- 103 London, British Library *Sommaire de l'origine, description et merveilles d'Escosse* (1538) by Jehan dit Le-Fresne Des-Montiers, G.5441, f xv. See also: Millar 1903: 27–38; Young 1952, 1–11. Millar makes the suggestion that Albany may have employed Des-Montiers. Millar 1903: 34.
- 104 For St Machar's see Geddes & Duguid 1888; Shire 1996: 62–96.
- 105 In 1517 Gavin Dunbar participated in the negotiations surrounding the Treaty of Rouen with Albany and Charles, duc d'Alençon, providing him with an opportunity to become well acquainted with Albany. By 1518 he was preceptor to King James V and that same year he was recommended to Pope Leo X by Albany for provision to the Priory of Whithorn. He was archbishop of Glasgow from 1524 to 1547.
- 106 For this medal see Coombs 2014. A letter from Thomas Wharton to Wriothesley in 1546 suggests that gold medals struck for Albany were made from Scottish gold found on Crawford Moor. Brewer 1920 XXI, part 2: 481. At Crawford Moor, 'Johne Drane', a Frenchman was employed as a refiner, washer, and melter of gold. Dickson 1877–1905, vol V: 10–12, 18–20. When Albany departed Scotland, he left on good terms with James V and it appears that there was always the possibility that he might return. Rumours circulated later in the 1520s that Albany and Robert Stuart d'Aubigny were planning to amass boats to take to Scotland. See Hannay 1954: 144.
- 107 Baluze 1708, I: 354; Stuart 1940: 200. An inventory taken of Albany's belongings taken after his death in 1536 suggests he had over 50 of these medals still in his possession. See Fouilhoux 1926: 351; Coombs 2014: note 16.
- 108 'Item ane lytill box of gold with the haly croce send be the duk of Albany to the kingis graice', Thomson 1815: 66. On another occasion a package was conveyed from Albany, via the President of Toulouse, to James V containing a gift of a little dagger. Stuart 1940: 203.
- 109 Bapst 1889: 292–3.
- 110 See note 2.
- 111 Around 1390, Jean, duc de Berry had set about rebuilding and improving a number of the properties in the Auvergne, including the château at Vic-le-Comte.
- 112 *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse*. KB 74 G 11, f 55v. 1518, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag.
- 113 See note 74.
- 114 The occasion of the marriage of Madeleine de la Tour into the Medici family proved an excellent opportunity to promote the Boulogne and d'Auvergne lineage. This was achieved through the commission of genealogical manuscripts and included the Hague Manuscript and two later copies: BnF, fr 5227 and BnF fr 20209. In 1531 a genealogical text attributed to Geoffrey Tory was utilised in the marriage negotiations surrounding the match between Catherine de Medici and the dauphin. This text survives in three copies: a New York manuscript edited by G Cohen in 1944; BnF fr 4653, f 19r–25r, and included at the back of BnF fr 20209, f 77r–84v. Cohen 1944; Beaune & Lequain 2005: 414–15. The attribution to Tory rests on the inclusion of the devise 'ne plus, ne moins'. It is likely that Albany may have had some hand in commissioning this work and a connection between Albany and Tory is of great interest.
- 115 See Brantome 1864–82, vol 3: 170–1; Bentley-Cranch & Marshall 2003: 298.
- 116 For these events see Bouillet 1842: 48–73; Teilhard 1888: 22–43; Brewer 1920 VI: nos 811, 831.
- 117 Fouilhoux 1926: 348.
- 118 Teulet 1851, I: 15–16. He also uses this address in Paris A.N. J/1130, no. 25.
- 119 Leproux 2004: 78.
- 120 Bergenroth 1866: 700.

- 121 Brewer 1920 IV: 1010, 1045–6, 1054, 1085, 1102.
- 122 Rustici (1475–1554) moved from Italy to Paris and entered Francis I's service in 1528. On 23 August 1529 Albany's apostle figures were transported from Paris to Vic-le-Comte. Given Rustici's ties to the Medici family, perhaps Albany became acquainted with his work during his time in Italy in 1524–5.
- 123 A fortification study for an unknown location c 1525. Florence, Uffizi, U10510r. Recto: 'Fortezza opinione/del Duca dalbania', Verso: 'Forteze; openione delducha/dalbania'. The inscription on the verso appears to be in Sangallo the Younger's hand. It is especially interesting that the drawing provides evidence of the collaboration between Albany, in a military capacity, and an eminent Italian architect. Frommel & Adams 1994: 193, 386.
- 124 Rustici profited from study of the Medici sculpture in the garden at San Marco, and Vasari said that Lorenzo de Medici placed him in the studio of Verrocchio. His *Mercury* was commissioned by Cardinal Giuliano de Medici (later Pope Clement VII) in 1515 as a fountain figure for the courtyard of Palazzo Medici in Florence. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was one of several artists hired to design the *Villa Madama* by Cardinal Giulio de Medici. He was personally responsible for the final design of the building.
- 125 Noblet 2009: 49.
- 126 Baluze 1708, I: 684–5; Stuart 1940: 99.
- 127 Chassaing 1818.
- 128 Fouilhoux 1898: 300; Gatouillat & Hérold 2011: 180.

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APPENDIX 1: The Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle, Vic-le-Comte: The Typological Programme*

Group	North Window – Old Testament	South Window – New Testament
1 (BP & SHS)	Entry of David into Jerusalem (1 Sam 17:54, 18:6–7)	Christ's entry to Jerusalem (Mt 21:7–9; Mk 11:7–9; Lk 19:35–8 etc)
2 (BP & SHS)	Manna from Heaven (Ex 15:1–36)	The Last Supper (Mt 26:26–9; Mk 14:22–5 etc)
3 (NT: BP & SHS)	The penitence of David (2 Sam 12:1–15, 24:11–14)	Agony in the Garden (Mt 26:30, 36–46; Mk 14:26, 32–42 etc)
4 (BP)	Abner betrayed and killed by Joab (2 Sam 3:22–7)	Kiss of Judas and arrest of Christ (Mt 26:47–55; Mk 14:43–7 etc)
5 (BP & SHS)	Drunkenness of Noah (Gen 9:20–7)	Derision of Christ (Mt 26:67–8; Mk 14:65 etc)
6 (Unknown)	Joseph accused by Potiphar (Gen 39:7–20)	Jesus accused before Caliph (Mt 26:57–66; Mk 14:53–64 etc)
7 (SHS)	Achior beaten on the order of Holofernes (Judith 6:10–13)	The flagellation of Christ (Mt 27:26; Mk 15:15 etc)
8 (NT: BP & SHS)	Elisha insulted (2 Kings 2:22–4)	Jesus crowned with thorns (Mt 27:27–31; Mk 15:16–20 etc)
9 (OT: BP & SHS)	Job on the Dung Heap (Job 2:7–13)	Ecce Homo (Mt 27:15–23; Mk 15:6–14 etc)
10 (NT: BP)	Daniel revealing the meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's dream as the King condemns the wise men of Babylon (Dan 2:12–30)	Jesus condemned by Pilate (Mt 27:24–6; Mk 15:15 etc)
11 (BP & SHS)	Isaac carrying wood for his sacrifice (Gen 22:6–8)	Christ carrying the Cross (Mt 27:32; Mk 15:20–2 etc)
12 (BP)	Moses lifted up the bronze snake in the wilderness (Num 21:4–9)	Christ on the Cross (Mt 27:33–44; Mk 15:23–32 etc)
13 (BP)	David victorious over Goliath (1 Sam 17:48–51)	Descent into Limbo (Apocryphal)
14 (BP)	Descent from the Cross of King Aï (Josh 8:29)	Descent from the Cross (Mk 15:42–6; Lk 23:50–3)
15 (BP & SHS)	Jonah swallowed by the whale (Jon 1:15, 2:1)	Burial (Mt 27:57–61; Mk 15:42–7 etc)
16 (BP & SHS)	Jonah rejected by the whale (Jon 2:11)	Resurrection
17 (Unknown)	Intrigue of Nathan and Bathsheba (1 Kings 1:11–14)	Apparition of Christ to Peter (Lk 24:34)
18 (Unknown)	A resurrection of the Old Testament (1 Kings 17:17–24 or 2 Kings 4:18–37)	Appearance of Christ to the Women (Mt 28:9–10)
19 (OT: BP)	Hospitality of Abraham (Gen 18:1–8)	The appearance of Christ to the Disciples at Emmaus (Mk 16:12–13; Lk 14:13–32)
20 (NT: BP)	Moses hits the rock a second time (Num 20:1–13)	Doubting Thomas (Jn 20:24–9)
21 (Unknown)	Benediction and death of Jacob (Gen 48–9)	The Apostles (Mt 28:16–20; Mk 16:15–16 etc)
22 (Unknown)	Moses and the Burning Bush (Ex 3:1–10)	St Peter chosen as head of the Apostles (Lk 22:32; Jn 21:15–17)
23 (BP & SHS)	Eli carried to Heaven (2 Kings 2:8–13)	The Ascension (Mk 16:19; Lk 24:50–1 etc)
24 (SHS)	The Tower of Babel (Gen 11:1–9)	The Pentecost (Mk 16:17; Lk 24:49 etc)

BP: Source of the typology: *Bible des Pauvre*. SHS: Source of the typology: *Speculum Humanarum Salvationis*. OT: Source for the Old Testament scene only.

NT: Source for the New Testament scene only. Unknown: source of typology unknown, perhaps an original composition.

* This follows initial work by Luneau 1995: 17–26.